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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

FIFTEENTH REPORT, APPENDIX, PART VI.

THE

MANUSCRIPTS

OF

THE EARL OF CARLISLE,

PRESERVED AT

CASTLE HOWARD.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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INTRODUCTION.

It is now some years since the Earl of Carlisle first gave permission for the examination of his collection of manuscripts at Castle Howard, and since the late Rev. J. A. Bennett was instructed to inspect and report upon it. Mr. Bennett proceeded so far as to select such letters and papers as he deemed to be of public interest, chiefly between the years 1780 and 1820, and they were accordingly transcribed, but he unfortunately died before the transcripts were collated and prepared for press.

Subsequently to Mr. Bennett's inspection, many bundles of earlier correspondence were discovered by Mr. J. Duthie, the custodian of Castle Howard, in various parts of the Castle, and were brought together by him for the first time, being added to the bundles seen by Mr. Bennett. After arranging the whole collection partly under the writers' names and partly in order of date, as circumstances required, Mr. Duthie inserted all the papers into convenient cases or letter-books, and made lists of their contents.

Lord Carlisle readily consented to the inclusion of extracts from this correspondence in the report left unfinished by Mr. Bennett, and the work of selecting and editing such of the papers at Castle Howard as might be found useful for the purposes of the Commission was placed in my hands. To facilitate the copying at length of the more interesting portion of the correspondence Lord Carlisle liberally allowed it to be sent to London and deposited for a time in the Public Record Office.

On reference to the Report printed in this volume, it will be seen that it commences with descriptions of sundry ancient manuscripts, but that there is no correspondence of very early date. There is not so much as might have been expected relating to Lord William Howard, the founder of the Naworth branch of the Howard family; and in fact there is comparatively little of older date than the 18th century. A few of Lord William's papers are preserved in various collections in the Bodleian Library, and in the British Museum, with other papers of his great grandson, Charles Howard, the first Earl of Carlisle, who was Ambassador to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, and

Governor of Jamaica, in the reign of Charles II., and some of whose letters are printed in the Thurloe Papers. Possibly many of their papers perished in the burning of the old Castle of Henderskelf, on the site of which the present Castle Howard was erected by the third Earl; for although the principal seat of the family was at Naworth Castle, in Cumberland, one of the first Earl's letters in this collection, and two others in the British Museum, show that he frequently resided at Henderskelf.

The Surtees Society has already published the Cartulary of Newminster Abbey, and the Household Accounts of Lord William Howard, in two separate volumes, and therefore no more need be said about them here. His treatise on Duelling contains many corrections and additions by himself in a very neat hand. The Appendix to the volume of Household Accounts includes a number of Lord William's legal papers relating to his claims to the Dacre estates, including some of his own compositions, which were formerly at Castle Howard, and are now at Naworth Castle; but I have not been able to learn that there is any correspondence at the latter seat.

For the 17th century there are copies of letters and papers of King Charles I., dated in 1645 and 1646, and a number of curious entries relating to Sir John Fenwick, who was executed on Tower Hill in 1698. Several bound books of the same century are of some value, especially the account-book of the King's silver mines in Scotland for part of the year 1608. These accounts show that King James I. must be credited not only with bringing Scotchmen to England, but with employing Englishmen in Scotland.

While the materials for the history of the 17th century are so meagre, those for the 18th century are extremely abundant and varied. Almost every personage and every event of importance belonging to that eventful period, besides innumerable matters of social, literary, artistic, and general interest, receive more or less illumination from the extracts now printed for the first time.

Letters will be found from most of the leading statesmen and politicians in the reigns of the first three Georges, including Walpole, Pitt, Fox, and Burke. Details are given in respect of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, the affairs of the South Sea

Company, the administrations of Sir Robert Walpole and successive Cabinet ministers, the rise and progress of "the Opposition"—or "the Minority," as it was first called—debates in the House of Lords and the House of Commons, Parliamentary procedure, the disputes in the royal family in the reign of George II., the American War of Independence, the negotiations with the Americans in 1778–80, the fifth Earl of Carlisle's mission to America as British Commissioner, and his Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland in 1780–2, the French Revolution, the Regency, and Lord Fitzwilliam's Lieutenancy of Ireland in 1795; and there are some few papers, selected by Mr. Bennett from many others, of the beginning of the present century.

It was not thought proper to include the correspondence of the third Earl, especially with Sir John Vanbrugh, relating to the erection of the noble edifice which is now the principal seat of the family, and showing the careful attention which was bestowed on its architecture and surroundings. Other letters of Vanbrugh on more general subjects are, of course, included. Matters of purely local interest, such as Parliamentary elections in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Northumberland, have usually been omitted.

No attempt can be made here to give even a bare list of the names of the royal, noble, and famous personages whose letters appear on nearly every page. It is advisable, however, to point out that several of the larger series of letters are written by persons who have not hitherto been known as letter-writers, but whose contributions to the history of the times will cause them henceforth to be regarded as high authorities. The voluminous letters of the younger son, daughters, and sons-in-law of Charles Howard, third Earl of Carlisle, between 1718 and 1758, mostly addressed to their father, but partly to their brother the fourth Earl, give very elaborate particulars of Court and Parliamentary news during that period, which has stood in great need of illustration.

One of these series consists of the letters of Lady Anne, Viscountess of Irwin, relating chiefly to the differences between George II. and his son Prince Frederick, in whose household she held the position of lady-in-waiting to the Princess Augusta; but also referring to many other matters between 1720 and 1743, about which she was well able to acquire accurate information.

Two other series of letters, those of Colonel, afterwards General, the Hon. Sir Charles Howard, M.P. for Carlisle (1727–60), and those of Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart., of Rokeby Park, Yorkshire, M.P. for Morpeth (1727-34*), a Commissioner of Excise (1735-42), and Governor of Barbadoes (1742–7), give many descriptions of Parliamentary proceedings and debates in both Houses during the reign of George II., which are very meagrely reported in Cobbett's Debates and in the Historical Register, besides court and general news, obtained at first hand. The important letters of Lady Elizabeth Lechmere and Colonel William Douglas refer to the same period.

For a later period we have the extensive correspondence of Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle. His own earlier letters, some in the form of a diary, were written while he was on his way to America, and during his residence there in negotiation with the Americans. They throw much light on the Earl's proceedings and opinions as one of the British Commissioners. He soon discovered that he had been sent too late to do any good, and he strongly advocated the adoption of energetic measures for the retention of the colonies. His later letters were written during his Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, and subsequently. There are also many letters and papers of William Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, who was another of the Commissioners to America, and Chief Secretary in Ireland under Lord Carlisle. They prove him to have been an able man, well versed in diplomacy. He was M.P. for Woodstock from 1774 to 1784, and afterwards for Heytesbury. Some of the letters of Lord Carlisle and Eden, and others relating to America, have been reproduced in Mr. B. F. Stevens's Facsimiles.

Perhaps the greatest find, from a literary point of view, is an extensive collection of letters from George Selwyn to the fifth Earl of Carlisle and his Countess, dated between 1767 and 1790. Mr. Bennett made no extracts whatever from this or from any of the principal series just alluded to; probably they were not produced to him. Even, however, if he saw any part of this collection, he would scarcely have realised its value on a

* Another Thomas Robinson was M.P. for Thirsk in the same Parliament, 1727–34. The baronet must not be confounded with the Sir Thomas Robinson who was K.B. in 1742, Secretary of State in 1754, and Lord Grantham in 1761.

cursory examination. They are written in an increasingly careless hand, always without signature, mostly without year-date and address, often without any apparent beginning or ending, and at first sight their importance is not evident. But Mr. Duthie has brought them together, and labelled them as Selwyn's. Of the correctness of this ascription there can be no doubt, as a few of the letters are endorsed by the fifth Earl himself with the name of "Selwyn," and some others have addresses, in the same hand as the letters, showing that they were franked by "George Selwyn," as he always called himself and his friends called him, though his full name was George Augustus Selwyn. No arrangement of the originals has yet been attempted, and sometimes portions of one and the same letter are to be found in different places; but the extracts have of course been arranged, as far as possible, in chronological order.

Altogether there are some hundreds of Selwyn's letters, and none of them appear to be contained in Mr. John Heneage Jesse's work, "George Selwyn and his Contemporaries," published in 1843–4, in four volumes, which consist almost entirely of letters to Selwyn from his numerous correspondents, selected from his own collection of papers. Many of Selwyn's letters relate to private and personal matters, but the greater number refer to matters of general concern, and these have been extracted. He appears to have assumed the part of mentor to the Earl, first of all, and to the Earl's children afterwards, from their tenderest years; and whenever he was at a distance from the family he maintained an exhaustive correspondence, dealing not only with matters within his own sphere, but with every conceivable topic of the day—the doings of his acquaintances at Court, Parliamentary debates and intrigues, club gossip and scandal, anecdotes of the gaming tables and faro banks, social occurrences and observances—interspersed with literary, artistic, and dramatic criticism, and with philosophical reflection and caustic satire on men and manners in general. It is instructive to learn in what way so keen an intellect regarded the stirring events of the times, such as the American Rebellion and the French Revolution; and it will be seen that there is a great deal about the Fox family and affairs at Holland House, especially touching Charles James Fox, his public and private life, and his notorious gambling debts.

Although Selwyn was acknowledged by his contemporaries to be the greatest wit of the day, in rightful succession to Lord Chesterfield, Mr. Jesse lamented that he could adduce very few examples of Selwyn's witticisms; but here we have abundant proofs of his versatility, if not of the conversational brilliancy for which he was celebrated. With all his skill in writing, he was not an author, and, like Chesterfield, will be henceforth best remembered as a letter-writer.

Owing to the discursive nature of this correspondence, it may be well to annotate a few facts for the reader's assistance. Selwyn was born in 1719, and spent much of his early life in France, where he became a great favourite in royal and aristocratic circles. This accounts for his perfect familiarity with the French language, in which he thought and wrote as readily as in English. As to his employments, his father, Colonel John Selwyn, procured for him the appointment of Clerk of the Irons and Surveyor of the Meltings in the Mint, as early as 1740. He became Paymaster of the Board of Works in 1755, but he was deprived of that office in 1782 under Burke's Bill for reducing the Civil List. To compensate him, in 1784, he was nominated by Pitt as Surveyor-General of Crown Lands. He was also Registrar-General of the Court of Chancery in Barbadoes. In the House of Commons he was member for Ludgershall in Wiltshire from 1747 to 1754, for Gloucester City from 1754 to 1780, and again for Ludgershall from 1780 to 1791; his seat being at Matson in Gloucestershire.

The numerous allusions in Selwyn's letters to a child whom he mentions merely by the pet name of "Mie Mie," make it needful to explain that she was his adopted daughter, Maria Fagniani, afterwards wife of the Earl of Yarmouth (third Marquis of Hertford). Selwyn died at his house in Cleveland Row, St. James's, on the 25th January 1791, having appointed his friend and correspondent, the Earl of Carlisle, to be one of his executors.

A smaller number of letters from Selwyn's intimate friends, Anthony Storer and James Hare, are of similar style and quality to his own, and relate to the same matters. These two, with Lords Carlisle and Fitzwilliam, Fox, and Eden, were at Eton together. Storer's handwriting closely resembles Selwyn's, and it is hard to distinguish between them. They were fond of writing on

all four sides of the paper, without an atom of margin, the letters varying in length from one to three sheets.

It will now be convenient to refer more in detail to the principal items of interest comprised in this collection. The earlier matters have already been sufficiently dealt with, and we may commence with the accession of George I. The third Earl of Carlisle was one of the Regents appointed on the death of Queen Anne, but on the arrival of the new King he had to complain of being passed over without any mark of royal favour. In the next year, 1715, however, he was entrusted, as Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmorland, with the responsible task of repressing the "unnatural Rebellion," in which he was assisted by Lord Lonsdale, who gives particulars of the measures taken; and there is a letter of the Duke of Marlborough congratulating the Earl on his "success in Lancashire."

Several letters of Lord Sunderland and the Duke of Kingston attest Carlisle's great influence at Court in subsequent years. The latter writes to him: "You are perhaps the only man in "whose power it is to create a good understanding between "the King and the Prince"; while Sunderland says, "I must "congratulate you upon another thing which I know you have "long had at heart, and which will contribute more to the "King's and the public service than any other thing; that is, "the resolution the King has taken, not to suffer his Germans "to meddle in English affairs, he having forbid them to presume "so much as to speak to him about them; and this he has "ordered all his servants to declare to everybody to be his "resolution, and tells it himself to as many as come to him."

Lord Sunderland was with the King in Hanover in October 1720, when the failure of the South Sea Company became known; and he states that "upon the first news we had of the "unhappy turn the Stocks and public Credit began to take, we "got the King to fix the meeting of the Parliament to (for) the "25th of November. I know very well," he adds, "that when "misfortunes happen in most countries, and particularly in "England, it's the way to lay it at the door of those who have "a share in the administration. . . . That never was more "the case than in this affair of the South Sea, which had almost "the unanimous approbation and applause of all parties in the

" nation, in Parliament and out of it, and which of a sudden, in " the compass of a very few, not months, not weeks, but days, " has taken so strange and so surprising a turn."

At a "general court" held at the South Sea House to consider the affairs of the Company, Henry Howard, Lord Morpeth, eldest son of the Earl of Carlisle, "spoke with great applause." According to his sister, Lady Irwin, "there were papers " dropped about the court to desire every honest gentleman not " to sit near the Directors, for fear of accidents; and I believe, " had they proposed giving out the receipts (of the third sub- " scription) at a 1,000, there had been a great deal of mischief " done, for there were several people went with pocket pistols " and resolved to use them."

A "secret committee" of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the affair, but the person who could have thrown the most light on it, Robert Knight, the cashier, absconded early in 1721, and is referred to nine years after as living magnificently in Paris, though "perfectly unhappy he " can't breathe the air of dear England."

The Ministry fell into great discredit, and Lord Sunderland ceased to be Prime Minister, though, according to Sir John Vanbrugh, he still retained the King's favour; and the King lost by death the services of Lord Stanhope and Secretary Craggs. Of the latter the Duchess of Marlborough writes, "I thank " God he is now no more able to do any mischief, and the Par- " liament seem to be dissatisfied with his ill-gotten estate, and " have a mind to recover what they can of it for the use of the " unfortunate South Sea people. I know it was very difficult " to get the better of Mr. Craggs when he was living, but " perhaps his ghost may not have so much influence upon the " members of Parliament."

The Duchess's suit against Vanbrugh in reference to the cost of Blenheim was then in course of trial, and if she was unsuccessful it was not through any wiliness on the part of her opponent. Lady Lechmere, who attended the trial, remarks, " I was sorry to find Sir John make so wretched a figure, and " indeed could not have believed it, without his letters, papers, " and oaths, which spoke very contrary." The Duchess appealed

to the House of Lords, and Sir John put himself in the wrong by circulating a printed "libel" among the peers; but she lost her cause after all.

The Duke of Marlborough was now very feeble, and during the summer of 1721 stayed at Windsor, where a course of "gentle exercise" did him much good. It was not then a favourite royal residence, and Lady Lechmere observes: "I "went once or twice to Windsor Castle, and could not help "wondering the King should not choose to be there sometimes; "it has so much more the air of a palace than his house here "(Kensington); and the park is so beautiful there, and Hide "Park here, at his garden gate, so shamefully kept."

In these years, 1720 and 1721, the small-pox was very rife, and inoculation was first practised, the results being stated by Vanbrugh, who also says that "two new operas are preparing, "but Heydegger is much in fear the Bishops won't let his "masquerades appear till the plague is over;" which the King did not think to be a valid reason.

In 1722 the King was greatly disturbed by the unexpected death of Lord Sunderland, yet Vanbrugh thought he was really opposed to Sunderland's "Tory schemes," and would in future be more ready to rely on a purely Whig ministry. Marlborough died in the same year, and Vanbrugh, after referring to his great wealth, goes on: "He has left his widow—I wish some ensign "had her—ten thousand pounds a year to spoil Blenheim her "own way," besides "12,000*l.* a year more to keep herself "clean and plague folks at law with." Vanbrugh inveighs against the expense of the "pompous funeral," and says the Duchess "is now looked upon as a thorough perfect Jacobite, "and her having furnished money to the Pretender not denied "by her family."

Shortly afterwards the Duke of Norfolk and others were committed to the Tower of London, of which Lord Carlisle was Lieutenant, but the Earl was soon removed from this office, having incurred the King's displeasure. He was, however, in 1723, appointed Constable of Windsor Castle and Warden of Windsor Forest, concerning which there are several letters.

In 1724 Lord Morpeth undertook the conduct of the Bill for paving the streets of London, but he did not obtain the hearty support of "the great men," though Walpole expressed his approval. At this time "the masquerades" flourished more than ever. Some of the Bishops "had a mind to attack the King "about them," but "he took occasion to declare aloud in the "Drawing-room that whilst there were masquerades he would "go to them."

From 1729 to 1738 the proceedings and debates in Parliament, the measures of Sir Robert Walpole, and the conduct of the Minority under Mr. Pulteney are rather fully described by Lady Irwin, Col. Howard, and Sir Thomas Robinson. A specimen of Pulteney's humour may be cited. Mr. Tompson having attacked the "Craftsman" newspaper, and quoted from a printed book, "Mr. Pulteney answered him, and said he had often heard that "gentleman speak well, but he must own he had never heard "him speak so well as he had done that day by the help of his "book. This turned the laugh upon our Yorkshire member, "and he was forced to sit down." It was in reply to the same member that Pulteney gave the famous instance of misquotation from Scripture, "there is no God."

Similar instances occur of Walpole's smartness in repartee. When Pulteney epigrammatically said, in reference to the defence of the country, "If the Ministers had comprehended as much as "they apprehended, they'd have saved the nation a great deal of "money," Sir Robert neatly retorted, "I comprehend that "gentleman, though I don't apprehend him."

At the close of a sharp debate, Mr. William Shippen wound up by saying that "the more Ministers were rubbed, he thought the "brighter they were." Then "Sir Robert got up, and said he "believed, if rubbing could make a Minister bright, he might "venture to say without vanity he was the brightest that had "been of some ages. . . . As to his overgrown fortune, "which was a subject of envy, he was born to a good gentle-"man's estate, he had for many years had his Prince's favour, "and been in profitable employments. Had he increased his "fortune with the same number of years' service, and the same "application, in any profession of the other side of Temple Bar, "nobody would have thought it unreasonable."

On another occasion Mr. Shippen was extremely outspoken: "He hoped he should never see these kingdoms so Germanised as "to become military; he went on with giving reasons that such "a number of troops (17,000) were inconsistent with our Con- "stitution; then, says he, force and violence are the resort "of usurpers and tyrants, whose only security is in a standing "army." The House, though much surprised, did not call him to order; but Col. Howard was so scandalised that he remarks, "Had a journey to the Tower been any punishment to him, he "should freely have had my consent."

From this and many other passages it is evident that Col. Howard was a supporter of Walpole's, but he was not so out-and-out an admirer of Sir Robert as was Sir Thomas Robinson; while Lord Morpeth usually voted with the Minority, much to the Premier's "concern," he being always "mighty well heard" in the House of Commons.

Although Walpole continued in as great favour with George II. as he had done with that King's father, "clamours" began to increase against him both in and out of Parliament. Trade was at a low ebb, and many English ships were being captured by the Spaniards, while the continued maintenance of large numbers of English and Hessian troops was a great drain upon the resources of the nation. "However," says Lady Irwin, "this "unhappy situation of our affairs does not hinder the generality "of the world from fulfilling the Scripture of letting the morrow "take care for itself; they eat, drink, make balls, and run in "debt, and do everything but pay for their extravagances." To this she subjoins a curious observation upon London.

Robinson gives an account of the sumptuous entertainments at Walpole's seat at Houghton, and of the elaborate attention paid to its architecture and the plantation of its park and gardens; with particulars of the chief features of other mansions in the eastern counties. Col. Howard records his impressions of Blenheim and Oxford, very unfavourably to the latter.

Lady Irwin is very severe on the literary critics of the time. "'Tis a critical age, and the more I see of people of genius the "less amiable they appear, since they dedicate those talents "which were given 'em for the pleasure of mankind, wholly "to the detriment of those who dare take pen in hand; as

" for the numerous herd of readers, they pass uncensured; " 'tis the poor writers only upon whose reputation they sit; the " province of wit being monopolised by a few, who won't " allow any person but themselves to retail an ounce of it." Posterity will certainly not be so censorious in respect of her own writings. Both she and Sir Thomas frequently refer to " Mr. Pope's new poems " and other literary essays.

Under date of 1733 there are minute details of the debates and turmoils which arose upon the introduction by Walpole of the famous Excise Bill. The approaches to the House were filled with excited crowds from the City. On this subject Lady Irwin remarks, " An excise man has always been a most hateful " officer to the inferior people, and should they be multiplied " they'll look upon 'em like the plagues of Egypt; and Sir " Robert in the end perhaps may act the part of Moses, and be " forced, after he has brought what is now said will prove real " evils on the country by his power and authority, to remove " 'em."

According to Col. Howard, " the objections the Minority made " to the question were, the striking at your liberties, and the " difficulties you put the merchants under in relation to their " trade." The Bill was divided into two parts, one relating to tobacco, the other to wine; and the Corporation of London petitioned to be heard against both. The Government majority in the House gradually decreased to such an extent that Sir Robert reluctantly withdrew the former, and this implied the abandonment of the latter.

On leaving the House, he found the lobby full of well-dressed people, who all cried, " Thank you, Sir Robert, we are much " obliged to you; Sir Robert, we will never forget you; " but on proceeding down stairs and through the Court of Requests the mob assembled to hear the result " enclosed him of all sides, " crying, 'Damn you, no Excise!' " He was borne from one side of the Court to the other, and narrowly escaped being knocked down and " trod to death."

Great were the rejoicings on that night and the following one in the City. The bells were rung in all the churches, and bonfires made in every street, Sir Robert in some places being burnt in

effigy with his insignia and the Bill, and with figures resembling excise officers; the windows of the General Post Office and of many houses were broken; and the rioters stopped every coach that came by, and made the occupants cry "No Excise!" Col. Howard feared that if the success of the Minority had continued, it "would have obliged the King to employ Tories "instead of Whigs."

A few weeks afterwards "the marriage designed between the "Princess Royal and the Prince of Orange" was announced to the House, and Mr. Stephen Fox was the seconder of the Address thereupon, which was agreed to almost unanimously, Mr. Shippen being one of its few opponents. Preparations were made for the wedding, and large prices paid for tickets to view the procession, but the Prince, having been ill before he left Holland, suffered a relapse on his arrival here, and the ceremony had to be postponed for some months. Meanwhile the tickets were called in, as several forgeries had been discovered.

In 1734 the Minority introduced the "Place Bill," and a Bill providing "that no officer should be displaced from his "commission but by a court-martial." As to the former, they "thought the influence of the Crown too great, and that a "Parliament composed of such a number of officers (office-"holders) was no true representative of the people"; but it was rejected by a majority of 39, not a large one in those days. The latter was introduced by Lord Morpeth, and was intended to deprive the King of the power of dismissing officers in the Army. The reasons urged in support of it were, that many such officers sat in both Houses; "that two noble Lords had "lost their commissions last winter from differing in opinion "with those who conduct the King's affairs; that others might "suffer, and others might be influenced." It was negatived after a long debate without a division, because "Shippen and "his squadron" would not support it. An Address was then moved to know who advised the King to "cashier" the two Lords, but was rejected by 252 to 151.

In Robinson's view these propositions were as unconstitutional as the opposition of the Bishops to the King's nomination of Dr. Rundle to the see of Gloucester. About this time he

reverts to architecture, and describes Stainborough and Wentworth, and "the new Treasury," which last he judged to be "one of the most perfect designs in the island." He mentions also the results of "a new taste in gardening," originated by Mr. Kent, and first practised in "the Prince's garden in town."

The meeting of the new Parliament in 1735 was anticipated by the friends of Government with much anxiety, "the number of Tories" in the House having greatly increased. Lord Carlisle, though now growing old, was urged to attend in the House of Lords, his "regular conduct for the cause of the "Whigs and of liberty" being well known. The Minority began at once to act on the offensive. In supporting Lord Morpeth's amendment to the Address in reply to the King's speech, Mr. Pulteney "declared he did not know what appellation to give "to the state Great Britain had been in for some years past, "and since the fatal Treaty of Hanover; in his opinion, he "said, 'twas peace without rest, and war without hostilities." The Master of the Rolls, Jekyll, made an extraordinary speech, changing his opinion seven times, "and as often the party which thought they had got him roared out the *Hear him;*" an exclamation which was evidently the origin of the now familiar "*Hear, hear.*" Col. Howard on a previous occasion had referred to "very loud *heerum's* from the Ministerial bench" (p. 105). This suggests that "him" first became contracted to "um," and that in the course of time the primary meaning became lost, and a second "hear" was substituted for a sound unintelligible to later members. But the earliest form was distinguishable even so late as 1780, under which date Sir G. O. Trevelyan in his "Life of Fox" refers to the use of "*Hear him, hear him;*" from which it may be inferred that the older ejaculation was often redoubled long before the adoption of the modern one.

Lord Morpeth's amendment was lost by 265 to 185, "a vast minority, considering the question." Then a proposal was made to reduce the proposed number of seamen, 30,000, to 20,000. Pulteney admitted there might be war, but asked "Will you in time of peace exhaust your strength, and of "course (consequently) be without a possibility of helping "yourselves when the fatal time comes?" Jekyll referred

to William III.'s wise management in reducing the National Debt, an example which had not been followed. The "Court" majority was rather less this time; and Robinson observes, "'tis "the first division that was ever in Parliament upon the number "of seamen demanded by the Court since we were a nation." He next gives very full particulars of the speeches of Lord Chesterfield and others in the House of Lords on the Scotch Petition.

Although Sir Thomas had ceased to be a member in 1734, it is interesting to note that he was still allowed to attend the House, "by the indulgence of the Speaker." He was soon after appointed one of the Commissioners of Excise, and was instructed in his duties by Walpole himself. The Board then met at the early hour of nine in the morning, while the Law Courts seem to have sat as soon as half-past eight (p. 101).

In the next Session, 1736, an Act was passed "for suppressing spirituous liquors," especially "Geneva" and the gin-shops. This liquor had become very popular since the accession of George II. "Everybody," says Col. Howard, "is fully apprised "of the pernicious consequences of gin, and equally zealous "to prohibit it. At the same time 292,000*l.* per year, which "these liquors bring in, is a consideration." The Board of Excise acted with great energy in putting the Act into effect, and Sir Thomas anticipated that "before Christmas we shall "entirely break the drinking of it."

On the marriage of Prince Frederick and Princess Augusta of Gotha, Lady Irwin was appointed lady-in-waiting on the latter, who spoke neither French nor English; "but women," she remarks, "will always find a tongue in one language or other." She reports the special directions she received from the Queen as to the manner in which the Princess was to conduct herself.

The next year, 1737, is notable for the quarrel between the King and the Prince. The latter was mortified by having no share given him in the Regency during the King's absence abroad. The Army at the same time was alarmed at the King's "turning out Mr. Pitt from a cornetcy," which revived the memory of an old grievance before alluded to. While "the popu-"lace" were "extravagantly angry" with the King, the Prince

was extremely popular with all classes, and added to his popularity by personally superintending the efforts to extinguish "a "dreadful fire" in the Temple. The final estrangement between the King and the Prince was brought about by the latter's application to Parliament for an increased allowance, which was warmly supported by Pulteney and Jekyll. Details of the debates are given, and of the dismissals consequent on the votes given against the King.

A clause being soon after introduced into the Land Tax Bill to exempt the Prince of Wales's allowance from paying fees, Pulteney treated this as having been "done without the "direction of the House, and by surprise," and became extremely heated, saying, "that there was end of Parliaments, and he "would cease his attendance."

The Prince's amusements while in banishment from the Court are minutely described. The Queen seems to have been more opposed than the King was to the Prince, but her sudden death evoked much lamentation. Particulars of her last illness are related by Col. Douglas, second husband of Lady Irwin.

There is comparatively little between 1738 and 1758, but besides the series of letters already mentioned, there are some neatly written letters by Robert Ord, M.P. for Morpeth, which, with those of General Sir Charles Howard, give some particulars of the Rebellion of 1745 and the subsequent trials.

Before parting with these interesting writers, we may note references to the discomforts of home and foreign travel, pp. 55, 61, 63; highway robberies near London, pp. 72, 93; Mr. Ward's "pill and drop," pp. 82, 139, 141; hunting and hounds, pp. 83, 92, 94, 162; lawyers, pp. 84, 101; gaming, p. 95; an oratorio by "Hendel," p. 106; "a young painter," employed by Robinson, p. 173; chess, p. 123; cricket, p. 205.

Between 1758 and 1767 there is a gap in the correspondence. The fourth Earl of Carlisle seems to have maintained very little. In the latter year Selwyn's letters begin, and some attempt will be made to give a general idea of their varied contents. But first of all there are some letters of Sir William Musgrave to the fifth Earl, Frederick Howard, relative to the latter's investiture in Italy with the Order of the Thistle.

At the beginning of 1768 Selwyn remarks on the change of Ministry: "The Duke of Newcastle seems to have gained " strength and life since that manly resolution which he took " last week of being no longer a Minister of this country. . . . " That is undoubtedly the most capital simpleton that ever the " caprice of fortune placed in the high offices which he filled, " and for so long a time."

Soon after a Bill brought by Alderman Beckford into the House of Commons is described as a Bill "for the more effectual " prevention of bribery and keeping out nabobs, commissaries, " and agents" from that House. At the same time the Corporation of Oxford were ordered to appear at the bar of the House " for having offered themselves for sale for 7,500*l.* to their old " members." They were committed to Newgate, where a good dinner had been prepared for them by the jailor, but they narrowly escaped being sent to the King's Bench, where no preparation had been made for them. The King was much diverted on hearing this.

On 7th Feb. 1768 Selwyn writes: "Today has been a delightful " day in the House of Commons to Mr. Greenville, for it was " what they call a Budget day, and a great many facetious " things were said upon the sinking fund, prize money, &c., " that I suppose are as intelligible to nine out of ten as they were " to me. I believe Lord North did well, for he had his hands " full of papers, and a great deal of arithmetic at his command, " with a true Budget face."

Unlike his great grandfather the new King discountenanced "the Masquerade," and "desired that none of his servants" would go to it; hence Selwyn concluded it would "soon be at " an end." But the Opera continued to flourish, and there are some references to private theatricals. Thus, at the end of 1773, Selwyn writes: "They are all in great confusion, I hear, " at Cashiobury, about their Play. Lord Coleraine gives up his " part, and all the actors and actresses are quarrelling from " morning to night. It is not only 'the Provoked Husband' " which they act, but the provoked wife, the provoked brother, " and the provoked everything." At the beginning of the next year there was "a kind of riot at the Opera, and Lord Stanley " exerted his talents of speaking; he apostrophised the " Inglesina from his place in the pit."

Among references to Lotteries is the following:—"If you "intend to buy a ticket in the State Lottery, I should be glad "to have a share of it with Lady Carlisle, Lord Morpeth, and "little Caroline, that is, one ticket between us five. Three "of my tenants joined for one in the Lottery two or three years "since, and they got a 20,000*l.* prize."

On 21st October 1775 Selwyn remarks on the contest with the Americans: "I wish I could stuff my ears with cotton till "the hurly-burly was done, for if I was disposed to be vapourish "I should expect when I went to bed that in the morning I "should not know where to find bread." A week later he makes the following remarkable observation: "America is to "have all our force opposed to it, but I think it is so, by degrees, "that they are continually getting advantages for want of our "sending sufficient force, and our foolish moderation being "imputed to the timidity or fluctuation of our counsels. If I "was to give my sentiments in the House, they would not com- "plain of my prolixity; for all I have to say upon this matter "is, what Queen Elizabeth told her Council in relation to the "Queen of Scots, '*Aut fer, aut feri.*' More cannot be expressed "in so few words. I am confident that every *moyen parti* will "be infructuous."

Storer relates a smart retort by Lord North to Sawbridge on the failure of would-be imitators of Wilkes: "Though he might "believe a Buckingham House Junto might do a great deal, yet "he had so much respect for Mr. Wilkes as not to imagine that "they could easily make another person at all similar to him; "that he had seen the difficulty of such an undertaking by "observing that gentlemen who had made it the whole object "and study of their lives to resemble him had failed in the "attempt. He ended by quoting—*Non cuivis homini contingit,* "&c.; some of the Treasury prompted him—*Ex quovis ligno* "*non fit Mercurius.*"

Several dinners are referred to about this time—the *chère ex- quise et recherchée* at Lord Edward Bentinck's, a comparatively "nasty one" at Bedford House, and "a splendid and wretched dinner" at the French Ambassador's, of which last there are some amusing details.

Before dealing with the fifth Lord Carlisle's mission to America in 1778, we must go back a little and allude to his relations with the Fox family, and in particular with Charles James Fox. In his very first letter, in 1767, Selwyn mentions the serious illness of Lord Holland, and says that his days were numbered, and not long afterwards he writes in a similar manner of Stephen Fox, Lord Holland's eldest son. Yet Lord Holland was anxious in his declining years to obtain an Earldom. His great wealth was, however, considerably drawn upon to pay the enormous gambling debts contracted by his second son Charles, in which Lord Carlisle was involved by becoming a collateral surety. Selwyn was greatly aggrieved on Lord Carlisle's account, and expresses his anger against the Foxes in no measured terms, though he could not entirely conceal his affection and regard for the author of these misfortunes. His letters in 1773 and 1774 are full of schemes and expedients for relieving Lord Carlisle from the heavy pecuniary liabilities which he had incurred.

In referring to the manner in which Fox got Lord Carlisle into the "scrape" of signing "joint bonds," Selwyn says, "I do "assure you, my Lord (Carlisle), that as there is not a corner of "this town in which this proceeding has not been talked of, so "there is not a man of any degree or condition of life who has "not spoken of it with horror." It was generally believed that there was "an old indulgent father to assist with a great estate if his son will reform," and no doubt he did assist to a large extent, but Selwyn accused Lord Holland of "affected "inattention" to the settlement of his son's obligations. He anticipated that the popular judgment on him would be expressed in the lines—

> "Plundering both his country and his *friends*,
> It's thus the lord of useless thousands ends."

Lord Holland's faculties were admittedly impaired, but his imbecility or anility was greatly exaggerated in Selwyn's estimation, and furnished no excuse for his neglect. As to Charles he had not only lost his fortune but his reputation, and in a few years they would be past redemption. His reputed "credit with "Lord North" is made the subject of ridicule.

Although Fox was usually very indifferent to the opinions of others, he was sometimes deeply affected when pressed on the

subject of his liabilities. Selwyn says, if he had been present on one of those occasions, he should have been tempted to quote Mᵉ de Maintenon, "Pleurez, pleurez, Madame, car c'est un grand "malheur que de n'avoir le cœur bon." He did not, however, think Fox's heart was so bad as the rest of the world, judging from his behaviour to his father and his friends, thought it to be. He rather attributed his conduct to "a vanity that "had, by the foolish admiration of his acquaintance, been "worked up into a kind of frenzy."

At the beginning of 1774 occurred the fire at Holland House, which is mentioned in Jesse and by Sir G. O. Trevelyan. Lady Albemarle is said to have "regretted only that Charles "had not been consumed in the fire, instead of the linnets." Selwyn congratulates Lord Carlisle on not having "been drawn "in to insure it," from which he had been dissuaded by Fox himself.

Though most "sober men," according to Selwyn, approved the measures taken by Lord Carlisle for his own relief, some members of Almack's had "imbibed such a belief of the "necessity of Charles's being the first man of this country, and "of the necessity also to the well-being of this country that it "should be so, that they cannot conceive there should be the "least impediment to it, arising either from his own conduct "or that of others." He was "to go into great employments," and to be "the dispenser of them." But people outside Almack's were not so considerate towards him, and his follies formed the subject of a "poem," of which Selwyn quotes a few lines, setting forth how—

> "Crewe, and Foley, and Carlisle are pick'd,
> And as *securities* genteely nick'd."

Lord and Lady Holland now became extremely ill, and it was a question which would survive the other. In the end Lady Holland survived her husband only a few days. The night before her death "Charles sat up at White's," and "planned out a kind of itinerant trade, which was of going "from horse-race to horse-race, and so, by knowing the value "and speed of all the horses in England, to acquire a certain "fortune."

Selwyn writes that the late Lord Holland's servants had appointed a discharged servant of his (Selwyn's) "to sit up " with the corpse," and afterwards promoted him to be outrider to the hearse, and "that they intended to throw him into the " same thing " when Lady Holland died; adding, "How my poor " old friend would have laughed if he could have known to " what hands he was committed before his interment!"

There are other remarks on these curious circumstances, but Selwyn pathetically mourns the loss of his two "very old "friends," especially of Lady Holland, on whose friendship he had particularly counted as "a resource." Later on there are sundry references to the second Lord and Lady Holland, who both died within a few years after.

An abortive proposal was made to Lord North to provide for Charles by replacing him in office. On this Selwyn remarks, " I shall, however, not have any hopes of that till he is less " intoxicated than he is with the all-sufficiency, as he imagines, " of his parts. I think that, and his infinite contempt of the " *qu'en dira-t-on*, upon every point which governs the rest " of mankind, are the two chief sources of all his misfortunes."

Failing other resources, Fox still continued gaming, sometimes losing great sums, at other times being "elbow-deep in gold." Selwyn lost all patience with him, but he himself and his friend Lord March, afterwards Duke of Queensberry, also gambled and lost a great deal. In these transactions Fox entered into a kind of partnership with Colonel the Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, son of the Earl of Ossory, which was utterly incomprehensible to Selwyn, who could seldom "wrench " out of Charles's black hands " any money towards the payment of "the annuitants."

In 1775 Fox began to talk of the necessity of a change in the Ministry "as a preliminary assurance to the insurgents in " America." About his proceedings and opinions during the following two years there is very little in this collection, but in February 1777 Storer says, after a long midnight *tête-à-tête* with him, that "his ideas, if they are his real ones, almost make " me think that he is mad; I must have perfectly lost the " use of my eyes before I could be made to fancy things as he " represents them."

We now come to the time of Lord Carlisle's mission to America. As early as 1768 Selwyn had expressed an ardent wish "to see Ministers want" him, and in 1775 an offer had been made to him of "the Bedchamber," which he declined, for a reason given by Sir G. O. Trevelyan.

Lord Carlisle states that he had proposed "to cross the "Atlantic previously to any intimation he had received that "the appointment of Commissioners for the purpose of treat- "ing with America had ever been in contemplation." He describes the conditions on which he was ready to undertake the task, and which were accepted by the King. The instructions to the Commissioners are very full and precise, but he was "not a little shocked at the slovenly manner with which "an affair so serious in its nature" was discussed by Ministers. While he was in favour of making liberal offers to the Americans, he insisted on the continuance of offensive military operations till those offers were accepted. But he accuses Lord George Germaine of keeping secret from him the orders which had been given before his departure from England for the evacuation of Philadelphia, for the reduction of the strength of the army, and for changing the war from an offensive one to a defensive one, and which he did not hear of till his arrival there, when they were already being put into active execution. "The "alteration of the system of the war was in itself sufficient to "destroy, when known, all hope of success." He at once became "alarmed for the fate of our Commission," and made use of what little time remained before "turning our backs upon "Mr. Washington" to offer more generous terms to Congress than he would at first have done if there had been more leisure for negotiation.

His letters to Lady Carlisle contain some curious details of his experiences during his voyage and after his arrival. He complains greatly of the excessive heat, and says that "the "gnats in this part of the river (Delaware) are as large as "sparrows; I have armed myself against them by wearing "trousers, which is the constant dress of this country. There "is another part of dress which I have not adopted, because I "do not see the immediate use of it, which is, wearing a great "number of feathers in my hat. In Philadelphia I believe the

" Commissioners and the Quakers were the only people who " did not embrace this fashion. 'Tis time enough for the " Commissioners to be feathered when they get a little tar to " make them stick."

His own sentiments are everywhere expressed very clearly. Thus in one place he writes, " When I lay aboard the galley " coming down the river, what do you think my bed was " supported by?—a twelve-pounder on one side, and a box " containing ten thousand guineas on the other. I believe, if " the Commission was suffered to act to the extent that these " two powerful agents could carry them, there would be no " doubt of succeeding; but alas! our hands are tied behind us."

As Lord Carlisle expected, Congress refused to treat " unless " we in the most specific terms acknowledged their independency, " or sent away our armies." Their reply passed " many " fantastical compliments upon the French King." Lord Carlisle at once felt that " no salutary consequence whatever can arise " from our Commission, and that we remain here for no other " purpose but to receive the public wages without benefiting " the public in any manner, a situation to a liberal mind as " painful as it is ignominious." He asked to be recalled at once, and refused to be the intermediary of granting independence to the Americans. " I have not the courage," he writes, " or shall ever be possessed of sufficient resolution, to cut the " last thread of connection that now unites the two countries; " . . . let that person be sent who is convinced of the necessity, " and has nerves equal to the office."

He is very bitter against the unnatural alliance between America and France, which had not been openly avowed till the very moment of his acceptance of this mission. A draft of his letter to Congress contains a striking remark on the French assisting the Americans to " assert a freedom which they dare " not taste of themselves;" so little anticipation was there of the French Revolution.

After Lord Carlisle's return he received a number of interesting newsletters from America, and Selwyn, who had been travelling in France and Italy, resumed his correspondence. We have also some letters of Eden and Storer, who had assisted Lord Carlisle in America.

In 1780 the Parliamentary general election compelled Selwyn "to engage in the bustles and disputes of that abominable town "of Gloucester." He says, "There is a party here called the "True Blues, who lead Sir A. H. and me about, as if they had "purchased us to show in a fair. They cost me, some years "ago, twice two thousand pounds, by opposing me, and now "are doing all they can to make me pay four for befriending "me. . . . I am 'old indeed,' as the papers say, and if not "'trained up in ministerial corruption,' I am used to all other "corruption, and that of manners in particular."

Among some references to the Gordon riots is this: "A "clergyman returned thanks in Audley Chapel the other day "for the acquittal of Lord George Gordon: if he had been "churched for his safe delivery it could not have been more "ridiculous." On the next page is a notice of Tavistock Chapel, where Dr. John Warner, who is often mentioned in these letters,* is said to have had many admirers; but Selwyn says, "I never was one of them. He preached in my chapel "at Matson during his stay there, and the neighbourhood "flocked to hear him, but his style and manner were very "different from my ideas of pulpit eloquence. He intended by "his intimacy with Garrick to improve it, but it has, to my "apprehensions, had a very different effect. I love great "simplicity in everything, but most in reading and preaching."

Referring to a letter of Warner's, Selwyn alleges that "parsons, University men, and Templars *renvoyent bien loin la* "*simplicité*, and when they would talk agreeably, or write to "obtain approbation, give you such a hash of all their reading "and such quaint compliments as make me sick."

In February 1781, Selwyn reverts to public topics: "I am "sorry to hear that after all we shall make no impression on "the rebels in America; . . . I will not trouble my mind with "enquiring why, or who have been to blame, but all this could "not have happened, and those who have conducted our affairs "be innocent." On the Government obtaining a majority against Burke's Bill,† he remarks: "I was not in the House to "hear anybody speak a syllable, nor do I ever wish it. I

* There are many letters of his in Jesse.

† For limiting pensions, and suppressing useless offices. H. C. Journals, vol. 38, p. 230.

" believe there is no actor upon the stage of either theatre who, " repeating what the author has wrote, does not at the same " time recite his own private sentiments oftener than our " pantomimes in Parliament."

It was on this occasion that Pitt made his first speech, which Lord North declared to be the best first speech that he had ever heard made by a young man. Storer says "it was delivered " without any kind of improper assurance, but with the exact " proper self-possession which ought to accompany a speaker; " there was not a word or a look which one would have wished " to correct."

Sheridan also spoke very well on that occasion, "each word " being exactly placed where it ought to be—*quasi tesseratâ* " *emblemate*—as if he had studied them a week beforehand." At the time he was making a rich "harvest at the Opera House," where Selwyn found nothing to admire but "old Vestris's " *menuet de la Cour*," which reminded him of "old Louis, who " piqued himself much upon his *menuet*, and was, as somebody " called him, truly *un Roi de Théatre*."

Selwyn's own first impressions of Pitt's oratory were not so favourable as those above recorded. "To give him credit for " being very extraordinary, upon what I heard yesterday, would " be absurd. If the oration had been pronounced equally well " by a young man whose name was not of the same renown, " . . . all which could have been said was, that he was a " sensible and promising young man. There is no fairer way " of judging."

Lord Carlisle was now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with Eden as Chief Secretary; and after considerable delay Storer was appointed to the Board of Trade. There is much abuse of Lord North for his customary procrastination in carrying out his promises to make these appointments, especially the last. Both Selwyn and Storer speak of Lord Carlisle's "magnificence" in Ireland, and of the unexampled success of his administration. Once Selwyn "was received in the House with a laugh, because " three parts out of four believed" him to have gone to Ireland as "bouffon de la Cour." A visitor to Dublin at this period formed no favourable opinion of it, and the Lord Lieutenant

himself writes, "I am often put in mind of what Jack Mostyn "said of the poor of this country—that till he came here he "never knew what the English beggars did with their old "clothes." In a letter from Ireland, Lord Carlisle admits that he was naturally reserved, but protests to Lord Gower that if that word should be applied to his conduct by any Irishman, it would mean that he had not disclosed some secret of which he would have repented the disclosure all his life. In August 1781 he defends himself with regard to certain appointments, and in September for having accepted the proffered services of the Irish Volunteers for the defence of the country.

Meanwhile Fox had started a faro bank, which "thrived prodigiously," and had out of the profits bought a race-horse named Truth for a sum supposed to be extravagantly large. On 16th May Selwyn writes, "I saw Charles today in a new hat, "frock, waistcoat, shirt, and stockings; he was as clean and "smug as a gentleman; . . . his old clothes, I suppose, have "been burned, like the paupers' at Salt Hill." Yet less than a fortnight after, all passengers in St. James's Street were "much "amused with seeing two carts at Charles's door filling, by the "Jews, with his goods, clothes, books, and pictures; . . . such "furniture," says Selwyn, "I never saw"; "dirty furniture" he calls it elsewhere.

However, the bank continued to flourish, and Lord Robert Spencer, who had adopted Fox's "party principles" and lost his office at the Board of Trade, was "admitted to some small "share" in it. Fox even seems to have been able to repay a portion of his debt to Lord Carlisle, and Selwyn "dunned him" for more. His house was "new painted and new furnished," and, Selwyn says, "is the sprucest to look at from the street I "ever saw; I never knew such a transition from distress to "opulency, or from dirt to cleanliness. . . . If he is at last a "field-preacher, I shall not be surprised."

No secrecy was observed in the operations of the gamesters. "This faro bank is held in a manner which, being so exposed to "public view, bids defiance to all decency and police. The "whole town as it passes views the dealer and the punters, by "means of the candles, and the windows being levelled with the

" ground. The Opposition, who have Charles for their ablest " advocate, is quite ashamed of the proceeding, and hates to hear " it mentioned." The bankers' coaches were sometimes not ordered till six in the morning. Selwyn was himself holding a minor bank at White's Club, but knew "nothing of the game," as Storer asserts.

From this state of things it would hardly be imagined that affairs in America were still causing great anxiety. "I wish," Selwyn writes, "if our Colonies will revolt, that they would " choose some one King, and some another, and that there was " another Heptarchy established in America. We might swallow " these up by degrees, but one obstinate, revolted Republic is the " devil of a morsel, but yet such a one as any policy but that " wretched one which has governed us would have got the better " of." A month later: "People now seem by their discourse to " despair of that cause more than ever. There has been " wretched management, disgraceful politics, I am sure; where " the principal blame lies the Lord only knows; in many places, " I am afraid."

Of Lord North, Selwyn gives a minute description of his impressions. "I see him in no light but that of a Minister, and " in that I see him full of defects, and of all men I ever yet sate " down to dinner with the most disagreeable. But he is so, in " part, from a scholastic, puritanical education, to which has " been superadded the flattery of University parsons, led " captains, and Treasury dependants. Without this he would " have been a pleasant companion. He has parts, information, " and a good share of real wit, and is, I believe, not an ill- " tempered man by any means. But with all this he has *un* " *commerce qui me rebute.* As to what he says, or promises, it is " *sur la foi de Ministre,* and *credat Judæus,* but I never will." Elsewhere he alludes to "the Minister's dilatory, unfeeling, " procrastinating manner;" and to "an indolent, selfish " Minister."

In September 1781 occurred the crowning disaster of Lord Cornwallis's surrender, the news of which was received in England and abroad with varying emotions. "Lord North," says Selwyn, "has shown firmness, in which I have seldom known him fail;" while the Opposition were, "as usual, too

" extravagant to create much effect." Lord Gower writes, " I " found this metropolis in mourning, every face clouded with " sorrow, and the wisest and most intelligent asking each other " what next was to be done, to which the wisest and most " intelligent could give no answer." " Monsieur de Maurepas," Selwyn relates, " heard of our defeat just before he died, and " expired with a line of ' Mithridate ' in his mouth, which " sounded as well I suppose as a *Nunc dimittis*, and was as " sincere :—

" Mes derniers regards ont vu fuir les Romains."

On Parliament assembling Fox made a great speech, abounding with classical passages, according to Storer, who owns that he was convinced by it; while Pitt was said even to have " surpassed Charles." Selwyn declares that Fox was the only debater worth listening to, although he could do nothing but repeat over and over again the same philippics: " I can hear " him—which is a singular thing—with the same pleasure and " attention as if I gave ample credit to what he said, with such " talents, and with such good humour as is at the bottom of all " that pretended acrimony. It is as impossible not to love him " as it is to love his adversary (Lord North). That " unfeelingness which he applied yesterday to our Master " (George III.) characterises much more the Minister. Charles " aims sometimes at humour; he has not an atom of it; or " rather it is wit, which is better; but that is not his talent " neither. . . . Charles's poignancy and misapplication of " truth, making the most known falsehoods serve his purpose " better—in all that, he is admirable. His quotations are " natural and pleasing, and *à propos*, and if he had any judg- " ment, or conduct, or character, he would, and ought to be, the " first man of this country. But that place, I am assured now, " is destined for another."

A little later Hare says of Pitt, " I have heard him speak " three times only, and each speech was much better than the " former. His language is extremely good, and always correct, " and he has a fluency that never fails him. . . . He seems " to hold prudence in much higher esteem than Charles does, " and in this respect, therefore, has an advantage over him; in

" all others he is nearer to an equality with him than anyone I " ever saw."

Of another speech of Fox's Selwyn writes less favourably: " Charles, I take for granted, was well, violent, and repeating the " same complaints, and in the same words; while we know that " his only complaint is not being able to govern the King and " his country in spite of their teeth, and because he cannot do " more without a character than any other man ever did with " one." Selwyn considered that if the King had acted with more firmness from the beginning, it would not " have entered " into the heads of such *farceurs* as are in Opposition, or such a " desperate rantipole vagabond as our Charles, to suppose he " could, if he was not satisfied, by his parts, whatever they may " be, create a *bouleversement de l'Etat.*"

Fox had lately been losing large sums of money on races, at piquet, and at the faro table. Sometimes he was gambling all night, and appeared to be languid in Parliament next day; in fact, he became very ill about this date. Selwyn remarks, " Nothing which can happen to him will surprise me; he seems " a kind of meteor, *fait pour passer bien vite, et avec éclat, et sa " fin, quelque tragique qu'elle puisse être, causera toujours " moins d'étonnement que de pitié.*"

On the resignation of Lord George Germaine, Hare writes as follows: " The universal belief is that the King entirely approved " of his future plans respecting America, and was unwilling to " dismiss him, but that the other Ministers were unanimous in " desiring his removal. I am told that Lord George, hearing " that his colleagues were plotting against him, wrote a letter " to Lord North, desiring to know on what footing he was to " consider himself, and that Lord North returned him no " answer of any sort. . . . Their keeping Lord Sandwich " is madness, but I believe his dismission does not depend on " them; if it did, he would soon be removed."

Belonging to the circle known as "the King's friends," Selwyn could not comprehend how the Government could be changed without the King's consent. " 'Storming a Cabinet' " is a phrase coined in my time, to express what I cannot " pretend to say that I do not understand, but how the fact is

‘ practicable, *invito Rege*, will be for ever a mystery to me, and “ if it happens with his consent I am yet to learn how the “ Cabinet is stormed. . . . . It may be necessary to change “ measures and men, but why it is necessary that particular “ men must be fixed upon you (*i.e.*, the King), whether you will “ or not, I do not conceive, nor will ever admit as a possibility, “ while the Laws and Constitution remain as they are.”

Again he descants on the same subject: “ I hear the Opposi- “ tion forms great hopes at present. I would soon damp them “ if I could advise his Majesty. But he must be like each of “ his subjects in a great measure, *artifex suæ fortunæ;* and if “ he will take into his councils, indiscriminately, those who “ serve him from principle and those who have insulted him, “ he must take the consequences of it. If he had not begun his “ reign with this, Charles would not now be at Brooks’s with a “ mob of boys about him, talking treason and cutting out for “ themselves the best employments of trust and profit.”

“ From a faro-table to the headship of the Exchequer ” was a transition inconceivable to Selwyn. A circumstantial account is given of the King’s reception of the Address from Westminster, and his conduct towards Fox, which inspired Selwyn with the hope that the King would still be master, and the members of Brooks’s “ *anéantis* as politicians.” The “ audiences ” given by Fox during the intervals of “ punting,” apparently to office-seekers, with Hare in attendance as secretary, formed, in Selwyn’s eyes, a scene “ *la plus parfaitement comique que l’on* “ *puisse imaginer*, and to nobody it seemed more risible than to “ Charles himself.”

The King was at length compelled to dismiss Lord North, and accept a new Cabinet, but at first he was “ so determined “ as to Charles that he would not hear his name mentioned in “ any overtures.” Selwyn did not personally deplore the fall of the Ministry: “ Lord North and his Secretary, Robinson, “ have acted such a part by me that I should never have believed “ any but a couple of attorneys of the lowest class to have done; “ but my conduct has been uniform, and not changed towards the “ King, whom I have meant, though unsuccessfully, to support.” Yet he could not bring himself to favour “ the party,” whose

insolence in attempting "to drive the King from every shadow "of power and dignity" he regarded as intolerable.

On the other hand Fox declared "that this Revolution which "he had brought about was the greatest for England that ever "was; that excepting in the mere person of a King it was a "complete change of the Constitution, and an era ever glorious "to England; with," adds Selwyn, "a great deal of such "rhapsody." Perhaps the actual truth lay between these extreme views, and we may regard the year 1782 as the time when the Sovereign finally became elevated above the rivalry of the party in power and the party in opposition for the time being.

The true character of this change was perceived even at the time by the more moderate politicians. "Lady Gower," says Selwyn, "held a language to me yesterday which I suppose "to be that of that house, and we are, therefore, to be satisfied "with this Revolution in some respects. . . . I find that we "are to say that the King will be better used than ever, and that "upon the whole he is satisfied with what has happened." Lord Hertford nearly, but not quite, hit the mark when he said, "the King will have no more personal friends;" if he had used the word "political" instead of "personal," no fault could be found with his view of the situation.

Lord Rockingham now became First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Shelburne and Fox Secretaries of State. There was at first some doubt whether Lord Carlisle would lose his office in Ireland, but long before his positive dismissal the Duke of Portland, "that jolter-headed calf," as Selwyn calls him, was spoken of as his successor, and did eventually succeed him. Selwyn was full of lamentations for the results which he feared would follow the loss of office by Lord Carlisle, by Storer, and by himself, and very bitter against Fitzpatrick and Hare "for their attachment to Charles and his principles," though his own nephew, "Tommy" Townshend, was in the new Ministry. But his alarms were needless. Lord Carlisle soon obtained another appointment as Lord Steward of the Household, and there is a kind letter to him from Fox, expressing "the desire of our living "together as we once used to do in better times." This reconciliation was brought about in spite of the failure of Eden's

negotiations, and of Portland's "persecution" of the late Lord Lieutenant's friends in Ireland.

As Selwyn had foretold, the new Government did not long continue in office. Lord Rockingham died on 1st July, and Fox resigned a few days later. After this the collection becomes fragmentary. Selwyn did not resume his correspondence till 1786, but from that date to 1790 there are numerous letters of his, chiefly to Lady Carlisle, not less interesting, perhaps even more entertaining, than the former, yet without any thread of politics running through them, which makes it difficult to choose illustrations. During his last years he settled at Richmond, occasionally coming to his London house in Cleveland Court. He has a great deal to say about the King's madness, the Royal Princes, his friend the Duke of Queensberry, theatrical entertainments, the French Revolution, and the aristocratic French refugees who made his acquaintance. A few specimens must suffice.

After a visit from the Marquis de Hautefort, he writes: "I "see that I am to have the introduction of him everywhere. "He thinks me a man *d'une grande existence dans ce pais.* "He says that I am *lié avec M. Pitt;* he wants me to present "him to him. He fancies that the Prince (of Wales) has a "*couvert* here whenever he pleases. It is my singular fate for "ever to pass for something which I am not, nor cannot be, nor "desire to be—sometimes indeed for what I should be ashamed "to be. But I am used to this."

He records his impressions of Cabinet Ministers in this way, on receiving an invitation to dine with Sir S. Eardley: "It was "to meet Mr. Pitt, and to eat a turtle: *quelle chère!* The turtle "I should have liked, but how Mr. Pitt is to be dressed I cannot "tell. The temptation is great, I grant it, but I have had so "much self-denial as to send my excuses. You will not believe "it, perhaps, but a Minister of any description, although served "up in his great shell of power, with all his green fat about "him, is to me a dish by no means relishing, and I never knew "but one in my life I could pass an hour with pleasantly, which "was my Lord Holland. I am certain that if Lord Carlisle had "been what he seemed to have had once an ambition for, I

" should not have endured him, although I might perhaps have " supported his measures."

On 27th August 1789 he writes, in reference to affairs in France: "It was very satisfactory to me, what I learned from " M. Saintefoy upon the Revolution and the causes of it; and " now I think the constitution of that country, as it has " happened in others, will be quite new modelled, and that " the new adopted plan, after a time, will be so much established " as that there will be, probably, no return, if ever, for ages, " of the old constitution, unless produced by the chapter of " accidents, to which all human things are liable."

On 19th November following: "When I left St. James's I " went in search of Mme. de. Boufflers, and found her at " Grenier's Hotel, which looks to me more like an hospital " than anything else—such rooms, such a crowd of miserable " wretches, escaped from plunder and massacre, and Mme. de " Boufflers among them, with I do not know how many beggars " in her suite. . . . There are parties among them, I find; " la Duchesse de Biron and Mme. de Cambis for the Etats " Généraux; Mme. de Boufflers and M. de Calonne *pour le parti* " *du Roi*. It was right to apprise me of this, or I should, with " my civilities, have made a thousand *qui-pro-quos*."

In the summer of the following year, at least on one occasion, his garden at Richmond "was as full as it could hold of " foreigners and their children." The Duke of Queensberry stayed there the whole day, and declared that Selwyn's dinner was perfect. "Mme. de Boufflers told me *que je m'étois ménagé un* " *très jolie retraite*, and indeed at this time it is particularly " comfortable to me."

One night Selwyn could not sleep, as he informs Lady Carlisle, till he had heard Lady Caroline Campbell and Mie Mie return to his house in safety. "From what, in the name " of God? you will say. From seeing that *étourdi* Lord " Barrymore play the fool in three or four different characters " upon our Richmond Theatre. Well, but what did that signify? " Nothing to me; let him expose himself on as many stages as " he pleases, and wherever the phaeton can transport him, but " he comes here, and assembles as many people ten miles around

" as can squeeze into the booth;" which was the cause of Selwyn's anxiety.

His letters are full of personal reminiscences and allusions, some of which have already been noticed. At Matson he kept a sash which his father wore at the battle of Blenheim, where the Colonel was aide-de-camp to Marlborough (p. 492). The "old Duke of Newcastle" said one night to his father, at the latter's house, "Dear John, if you will burn tallow, pray snuff " your candles" (p. 568). He makes two allusions to his mother's declining health, but testifies to her unimpaired faculties. He often refers to his old "flame," Madame du Deffands. In 1744 or 1745 he "lodged up two pair of stairs in a room at half a " guinea a week," with Lord Townshend and Lord Buckingham (p. 589). In 1768 the Duke of Grafton promised that he " should have the place of Treasurer to the Queen* added to " that which" he already had; and he adds, "I have reason to " flatter myself that his Majesty (George III.) has not that " reluctance to oblige me which his grandfather had" (p. 247). In 1774 he writes admiringly of Tunbridge (Wells), although his amusements were no longer, as formerly, at the Rooms and upon the Pantiles, which were then to him detestable (p. 270). Some of his earlier letters are dated from his house in Chesterfield Street, but in 1781 or before he removed to Cleveland Court, to the house which had belonged to his father.

As to his own personal characteristics, he says, "I have an *air* " *riant*, that announces all kinds of levity, and I have too much " of it for any age, especially for mine (he was then 62); com- " pany is necessary for me, because I am afraid of my own" (p. 504). "I am but too apt to boil over, which always gives an " advantage against me that otherwise my adversary could never, " perhaps, have" (p. 254). "I believe, as Lord Grantham told " me, few have so little philosophy as I have" (p. 282). Jesse gives several instances of Selwyn's strange fancy for attending penal executions, and he himself refers to a Grub Street poem entitled "The Diaboliad," attacking him upon this and other peculiarities. It likewise satirised Lord Hertford, Fox Fitzpatrick, and others (p. 320).

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* That office had been held by his father.

His extreme fondness for children is shown by his unceasing care for the education of Mie Mie, and by his assiduous attention to George, Lord Morpeth, and his brothers and sisters; instances of which occur so frequently as to preclude mention.

He kept a good establishment, and appears to have brought with him from France a taste for refined cookery. Once he was horrified at the prospect of meeting the Judges at the Gloucester Assizes, "for," he says, "I shall be obliged to dine with them, " and shall be more in danger from their infernal cooks than " any of the criminals who are to be tried" (p. 272). Much later the Duke of Clarence "asked a most tremendous question, which " was, *how I lived*, and the Duke (of Queensberry) was so " imprudent as to say, nobody better" (p. 694).

He was a great admirer of Dr. Atterbury's style, but says: "I " had a Christchurch tutor who gave me the first impression of " him, and of many such showy, superficial scholars, such as " Westminster abounds with. . . . I could never get an " admirer of my erudition but Wraxall; of my wit I have " had indeed plenty, that is, all the fools in town, who never " had any idea of what wit is, and to which I am sure I stand " as clear of making any pretensions as anybody ever did. But " if I had, would it be wonderful? when Lady Tweeddale " protests, I cannot speak but it is a *bon mot*."

His style is frequently epigrammatic, but there are few specimens of the punning for which he was famous. Lord Malden, on returning from a visit to the Emperor in 1781, gave a minute account of his accomplishments, and reported that "he " reads all our papers in English; so I (Selwyn) asked if he " said anything of my jokes, and was mortified to find that " they had escaped his Imperial Majesty's observation; but he " has read some of them, *sans doute*" (p. 502). Play upon the words *diis* and *dice* may be seen at p. 312, *meat* and *meet* at p. 560, *Pharaoh* and *faro* at p. 573, and *conduct* at p. 615.

His frequent losses at gaming-tables are mentioned at pp. 227, 242, 269, 282, 284, 305, 307, 308, 463, 466, 484. Hazard and faro are often referred to; quinze at pp. 285, 486, 511; commerce at pp. 312, 552; whist at p. 335; macao or macaw at pp. 458, 602; piquet at p. 554; and the Duke of Cumberland's faro bank at pp. 575, 582, 583.

Pictures, portraits, and engravings are referred to at pp. 229, 273, 312, 469, 470, 472, 474, 489, 507, 547, 573.

The later correspondence will speak for itself. Earl Fitzwilliam is the principal contributor, and there are some letters from Fox, Pitt, and the Prince of Wales. Fitzwilliam's conduct during his short term of office in Ireland gave rise to a bitter controversy between him and the Cabinet; it was temperately summed up by Lord Carlisle, whose last letter practically remained unanswered. Other letters of the fifth Earl to the Prince and King prove him to have been a wise and faithful councillor. There are two letters of Dr. Johnson on the Earl's Tragedies, allowing them to possess considerable merit.

The foregoing remarks will afford some idea of the value of the collection as a whole. Much trouble has arisen from the circumstance that many of the letters have imperfect dates, but care has been taken to assign them to the proper years, when this could be done without an undue amount of research. It may be added that most of the letters of the 18th century are written on quarto paper, gilt-edged, the size of the leaves being smaller in the first half than in the latter half of the century. In the former period, when there was any departure from the quarto, it was in favour of the folio; while in the latter we begin to come upon the insignificant note-paper of modern times, heralding the decline of letter-writing as an art. Another feature of these letters is that they are nearly all holograph, a secretary being very rarely employed; and, to save the trouble of repeating the fact in each case, it may be assumed throughout that they are wholly written by their authors, except in the few cases where it is otherwise stated. The brackets employed in the headings are intended to mark the omission of the signature or of the address, or of both, as the case may be.

I have to thank Mr. Duthie for lending me every facility that was necessary for the execution of my work, lightened as it was by his previous labours; and Mr. James, of the Estate Office, for sundry useful attentions.

Since this Report was completed, notes have been taken of the following MSS. in the library of Castle Howard :—

1. The Register of the Honor of Richmond, called "the Gilling MS." It contains three coloured pictures, viz., (1) King William I., at York, presenting a charter to Alan, Earl of Britany; (2) Earl Alan and his retainers; (3) Richmond Castle, with the shields and banners of its defenders. There is another copy of this compilation in the Cotton Library, Faustina B. VII., which contains a similar portrait of William I., but the face is different. Among other things, there are extracts from Domesday and Kirby's Quest. The Register was printed by R. Gale in 1722, and this MS. was exhibited at the Domesday celebration in 1886. A note by Canon Raine states that "the internal evidence tends to show that the MS. was written "in the scriptorium of Jorvaulx, as great prominence is given "to all that relates to that abbey. . . . There are several "things here which are not to be found in the Cotton MS., of "which the most interesting is that entitled 'De Racionabili "Auxilio concesso Regi Edwardo 3°.' This Aid was granted "in 1346, the year of Cressy. . . . On fo. 6, there is a "curious genealogy of 'The Counts of Richmondshire after the "Conquest of England,' beginning with Eudes, Duke of "Britany, who died in 1079, and ending with John, who died "in 1341. There is here an account of 'Arthur, whom John, "'King of England, caused to be murdered; and Eleanor he "'imprisoned in Corf, after the death of Arthur, her brother.'" —Small 4to, parchment, in vellum covers, 15th cent.

2. A metrical Life of St. Cuthbert of Durham, in English. This has been printed by the Surtees Society.—8vo, parchment, 15th cent.

3. John Gower's "Confessio Amantis," in English. The commencement is lost. The first two lines are—

In midelerth I sey al so
Pride is þe cause of al woo.

The last two lines are—

Where restelþ loue and al pees,
Oure joie may be endles. Amen.

Towards the end is a reference to Chaucer as a poet. The writer adds some Latin verses in praise of Gower; quotes a

letter of "a certain philosopher" to Gower on the completion of this "work"; and refers to two other "books" by Gower, one in French, being a "tractatus de viciis et virtutibus," the other in Latin, touching the insurrection of the "serviles rustici" in 4 Ric. II. On a fly-leaf: Printed by Tho. Berthelette, MDLIIII.—Folio or large 4to, parchment, 110 leaves, double columns, 15th cent.

4. "Liber Florum." After a prologue the chapters begin, and are headed: De Deo. De ueritate. De redemptore. De corpore Domini. De angelis. De anima. De uoluntate et libero arbitrio. De tribus uisionum generibus; &c. This is a compilation from the Fathers, beautifully written. At the end is a copy of part of a letter from A., "Dapifer" of the Knights Templars, to E., Master of the same Order; incomplete.—Thick 8vo, vellum, 13th cent.

5. Tracts and sermons by Richard the Hermit, or Richard of Hampole, hermit, viz., Libellus de emendacione vite, siue Regula viuendi; Speculum peccatoris; De amore Dei et contemptu mundi; Oleum effusum nomen tuum (sermon on the text); Super Cantica; &c. At the end: Per me, Richardum Hampole, heremitam.—Small 4to, parchment, 14th cent.

R. E. G. Kirk.

CORRIGENDA.

p. 11, l. 25, for *Cumberland* read *Carlisle.*
p. 58, l. 34, for *1729* read *1738.*
p. 59, l. 26, for *1729* read *1738*, and delete note †.
p. 118, l. 17, for *Hopetore* read *Hopetone.*
p. 235, l. 52, } for *Harry* read *Horry.*
p. 236, l. 4, }
p. 243, l. 46, for *Virs* read *Viri.*
p. 258, l. 16, for *Selwyn* read *Townshend.*
p. 284, note } for *Seymour* (*&c.*) read *Spencer.*
p. 316, l. 27, }
p. 334, l. 51, for *clean* read *clear.*
p. 539, note, for *Gower* read *Germaine.*
p. 555, l. 5, for *Goortree's* read *Goostree's.*
p. 600, l. 1, for *va* read *vast.*

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF CARLISLE, AT CASTLE HOWARD, YORKSHIRE.

Life of King Harold.

[c. 1200.]—Life of King Harold, without any general title. It is subdivided under the following heads: Incipit prologus in vita viri venerabilis Haroldi, quondam Anglorum Regis. Incipiunt Capitula. Incipit vita servi Dei Haroldi, quondam Regis Anglorum; cap. 1. Quod Wallia per Haroldum pene deleta sit, &c.; cap. 2. Quomodo ecclesiam apud Waltham construxerit, &c.; cap. 3. Quod divinitus dispositum fuit ut homo iste in Regem erigeretur; cap. 4. Quod inter vulneratos seminecem viventem et Wintoniam perductum, &c.; cap. 5. Quod in se tandem idem reversus, &c.; cap. 6. Quod pro expetendis Sanctorum suffragiis, &c.; cap. 7. Admiratio scriptoris, cum exclamatione brevi super benignitate Dei, &c.; cap. 8. Quod de peccato Haroldi multa dicuntur a multis, &c.; cap. 9. Satisfactio quorundam pro Haroldo, &c.; cap. 10. De cruce sancta admirabilis quorundam relatio, &c.; cap. 11. *Ends, imperfectly:* valefacturus de more.

This is a transcript made about 1600, and described in a recent hand as follows: Fragment of a pious Romance, apparently written by a Saxon in the time of Henry II.; founded on the supposition that Harold recovered from his wounds after the Battle of Hastings, passed into Germany, and became a venerated saint. H. H[oward].

6 *pages, very closely written.*

Homages of Scotland.

1296, 24 Edw. I.—"Homages done to King Edward the First by the nobility and gent' of Scotl[and]."

Under this title there occur, first of all, 32 names, beginning with Dominus Jacobus dictus Senescallus Scotiæ. At the top of p. 2 is written: A submission of John King of Scottes to Edward King of England. Then follow 96 more names, two being the names of corporations, and the last being Marcus de Clapham. "The Homages of all the forenamed were made at several towns in Scotland. The rest following came unto the Parliament at Berwick." After this there are about 370 names, beginning with Robert Evesque de Glasca. This copy (or compilation ?) was made about 1600.

10 *pages.*

Conishead Priory.

[c. 1300.]—One leaf of a chronicle or register, probably of Conishead Priory. *Begins:* Primo fuit Ivo Tayleboyse, qui genuit Eltredum. Then follow 22 lines of a genealogy, mentioning Ketel, Gilbert Fitz-Ketel, William de Lancastria (three of that name), Peter de Brus (two of that name), William de Lyndesaye, Alan de Melton, Robert de Ros,

Lord of Werk (Wark), Walter Faucunberge, Marmaduke de Tweng, Sir John Belewe, and others. Next is a memorandum of the coronation of William I. in 1067, and the foundation of the house of Conyngeshevid in that King's reign.

On the second page is a copy of part of the record of an action by the Prior of St. Mary of Conigsheved against a number of persons for trespass committed in 26 [Edw. I.] in his several fishery at Ulverston, and for taking salmon, bream, lampreys, eels, and flounders. The defendants pleaded that they held certain tenements in the town of Ulverston, and that each of them severally had a common fishery (*communem piscariam*) in the water there, by reason of their tenements; which the Prior denied.

Popes and Emperors.

[c. 1320.]—Fragment of a History of the Popes and the Emperors, on alternate pages. This portion begins in the twelfth century, and originally came down to about 1280, but was continued by another hand to the end of Clement V. [1314]. There is a good deal about the Crusades. At the end is a long list of Bishoprics, headed: Isti sunt Episcopi sub Romano Pontifice, qui non sunt in alterius provincia constituti.

16 *pages.*

Newminster Cartulary.

13th–15th cent.—Cartulary of the Abbey of St. Mary of Newminster; small 8vo., in vellum binding. This MS. was edited by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, in 1878, for the Surtees Society.

Names of Monasteries.

[c. 1550.]—Catalogus Domorum Religiosorum in Anglia. It gives the names of the monasteries, and specifies the Orders to which they belonged.

15 *pages, paper.*

A portion of a parchment lease has been used as a cover. The lease is dated 3 James I., and is a demise of the manors of Axminster, Newham, &c., by Robert Causfield to Lord Petre and Sir William Petre.

Lord Chancellors.

Temp. Eliz.—The names of all the Lord Chancellors of England since the time of Ethelbalde of Mercia. *Begins:* 718. Turketill. *Ends:* 1587. Sir Christofer Hatton, Vic. Chamb., 27 April 29 Eliz.

4 *pages, double columns.*

The King's Revenue and Expenditure.

1604–5.—A brief Declaration of the whole state of the Treasure of our sovereign lord King James within the Receipt of his Highness' Exchequer, made by Chidiocke Wardoure, esquire, and Edward Wardoure, gent., Clerks of the Pelles of Introitus and Exitus within the said Receipt, to the right honourable George Lord Howme of Barweke, Chancellor and Undertreasurer of the Exchequer, as well

of all the receipts and payments made by the four Tellers of the same within their several Remaines, since the feast of St. Michael the Archangel in the second year of his Highness' reign, until the feast of Easter then next following; as also in Assignments by Tallies within the same time, as in the said Pelles more particularly appeareth.

Under the head of *Introitus* are given the sums total received from the Revenue of the Crown, sale of lands, fifteenths and tenths, subsidies, tenths of the clergy, &c.

Under the head of *Exitus* are given the sums total paid to or for the Royal Household, Ambassadors, the Admiralty, Border causes, forces in Ireland and the Low Countries, the Masters of the Revels and Tents, the Ordnance and Armoury, the Star Chamber, works and repairs, fees, &c.

Under the head of *Assignments* are given the sums paid to or for the Cofferer of the Household, the Wardrobe, the Sheriffs, customers, building of ships, wines, &c.

Original; 11 *pages, in vellum covers, gilt.*

[Lord] W[illiam] H[oward] to Lord Dunbar.

1607, June 10.—Since my late return out of Cumberland, it pleased my Lord Chamberlain to understand mine opinion touching a clause contained in the Bill passed by the Lower House to take away hostile laws, viz., that an Englishman offending in Scotland should be tried in England, and at his trial should be allowed witnesses sworn on his behalf to purge him of the crime he is charged with (&c.).

The writer objects to this proposal, as favourable to Border thieves and felons, and gives instances.

Draft. Signed, W. H.

Silver Mines in Scotland.

1608.—The weeklie Accomptis [of t]he haill moneyis depursit in ordinar and extraordinar expenssis vpoun the working off the Kingis most excellent Maiesties Siluer Mynis in Scotland, fra Setterday the aucht day of Maij 1608, that the samyne wes ressaued fra S[r] Thomas Hammiltoun of Bynny, knycht, to Sonday the sevinth day of August thairefter.

These accounts begin as follows:

Wpoun Setterday the aucht day of Maij the zeir of god j M vj C and aucht zeiris, S[r] Beves Bilmer, knycht, gouernour of the werkis of his Ma[teis] Mynis vnder the ground, George Bruce of Carnok, thesaurar of the samyne Mynis, and Archibald Prymrois, clerk of the samyn Mynis, in his Hienes name, Ressauit full possessioun of his Maiesteis siluer Mynis at Hilderstoun, at the handis of S[r] Thomas Hammiltoun, of Bynnie, knycht, his Maiesteis aduocat. And the same day they enterit the . . . . . following to the watter windes for drawing of watter. And vpoun . . . . . thairefter, being the ellevint day of Maij, at tuelf houris in the day, thay enterit the vtheris personis following to the seuerall werkis efterspecefeit, euerie ane of thame having in allowance daylie for thair wages the sowmes of money vnderwrittin, viz.

To Sir Beves Bilmer, knycht, for his wagis fra the said aucht day of Maij inclusive to the xv day of the samyn, at viij li. in the day - - - - - - lvj li.

Then follow payments during the same week to pickmen—draweris vp of mettell— draweris vp of watter—cuttaris of wode—caryaris of

wode—smithis—wrichtis—schoilmen (shovelmen); their wages varying from 20*s.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* a day. Besides these there were expenses for coals, iron, candle, buckets, carriage, &c.

There are similar entries for many subsequent weeks. In most weeks there were additional expenses, placed under the following heading:—Money depursit vpoun the dressing off the Ore quhilk S^r^ Thomas Hammiltoun, of Bynnie, knycht, left aboue the ground quhen he delyuerit possession of the Mynes to his Maiesteis seruandis. Under this heading are entered: wascheris w^t^ the seiff—bukkeraris or brekaris of mettall—schoilmen.

The names of the workmen are specified, and it is stated that some of the materials were brought from Linlithgow, Leith, Edinburgh, Carribber, and Barrestonnes. Quarriouris and maissonis are regularly mentioned in subsequent weeks. The average weekly expenses amounted to about 300*l.* Many implements and contrivances are mentioned among the expenses for materials. Sundry Englishmen were employed.

In the week 29 May–5 June, under the head of Wrichtis: To Williame Coistene, carpentar, brocht out of Lyne in Ingland, for his daylie wages fra the first day of Maij, that he tuke jorney frome Lyn, to the fyft day of Junij, being fyve weekis, and haveand of weeklie wages vij li. iiij s. - - - xxxvj li.

Iu subsequent weeks he appears at the head of eight wrights, he being the only one who received 24*s.* a day, while the wages of the others varied from 16*s.* to 9*s.*

In the week 5–12 June various expenses, amounting to 48*l.* 10*s.* are entered under the following heading: For changeing the forme of the auld meeting hous, and double lofting the same, and placeing of bedis thairin, for ludgeing of the Inglish pickmen that came out of Cornewall.

Their names may be found under the weekly heading of Pickmen. The names of Thomas Pollart and George Cornewall occur among the schoilmen and barrowmen.

For ane windingsheit, ane kist, and vther expenssis maid vpoun the buriall of Emmanuell Thomas, Inglishman, quha depairtit theis lyffe at the Mynis theis week - - v li. xj s.

For twenty turfe of stra to be thak to the melting hous, and to fill beddis for the inglishe workmen to ly vpoun, at xviij s. ye turf - - - - - xviij li.

To Johne Williames, inglishman, lying seik all this weeke, for his support, the half of his daylie wages - - - xxx s.

To John Dunsone, inglishman, lying seik fyve dayis in this week of ane disease in his ee - - - - xx s.

To Henry Ryce, inglishman, lying seik sex dayis, his half wages - - - - - - xxx s.

In later weeks some additional workmen are described thus: Buckeraris and wascharis w^th^ the buddill and canves—buckeraris and dressaris of mettall—castaris of new schaftis—barrowmen and keparis of the water in the somp—barrowmen and servaris of the maissonis and smithis—carpentaris and tymmeraris off the schaftis—sawaris of tymmer for the schaftis—barrowmen for serving at the schaftis, and leavaris of watter out of the sompis—castaris of new schaftis and seikaris of new vaynes.

The following items occur under the head of—For making of assayis be S^r^ Beves Bilmer: for tuelf melting pottis, vjs.; for ane pund wecht of argall, xijs.; for ane pund wecht of salpeter, xijs.; for tua pund half pund of leid, vijs.

The total expenses from 8 May to 7 August, 1608, were 4,607*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*
55 *pages, folio, in vellum covers; title page and heading damaged.*

Archibald Armstrong.

[1612], 9 July, 10 James I.—Letters patent of denization for Archibald Armestrong, a native of Scotland.
Great Seal.

Lord William Howard's Accounts.

1612–1640.—Sundry books of accounts of Lord William Howard of receipts and expenses in connexion with his estates and household.
Selections from these "Household Books" were edited by the Rev. George Ornsby for the Surtees Society, in 1878; with an Appendix containing, among other things, sundry MSS. and documents then preserved in the muniment room at Castle Howard.

Duelling.

[Temp. James I.].—A treatise against Duelling, in draft, with numerous corrections and additions [by Lord William Howard]. *Begins*: It hath been anciently observed by men of great experience in precedent times that every age hath been inclined to excess in some special kind of evil.
78 *pages, folio.*

Ship Money.

[1637.]—A thick volume, small folio, endorsed in a modern hand as follows: Charles I. Pleadings concerning raising Ships for the King's Service. Several leaves at the beginning and end have been torn out. The "pleadings" consist of the arguments of Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Holborne, and others "in the case of Hampden," addressed to "my Lords."

Poetry.

[c. 1640 ?]—A poem of six stanzas on the woes of England, beginning:

England, once Europe's envy,
Now her scorn,
Ambitious to be forlorn,
Self by self torn,
Stand amazed; thy woes are blazed
By silence best,
And wanting words even wonder out (*sic*) the rest.

Then follow appeals for help to the King, the "long wished for Parliament," the lawyers, and the divines.

Sir John Fenwick's Commission.

[1645,] March 26, 20 Charles I.—Commission by Prince Rupert, Captain General of H.M. Forces in certain counties, to Sir John Fenwick as Colonel of a Regiment of foot consisting of twelve companies and 1,200 soldiers, besides officers, and as Captain of one company in that Regiment.
Parchment; signed and sealed.

CHARLES I. to the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF PEERS.

1645, Dec. 26, Oxford.--*Begins:* Notwithstanding the strange and unexpected delays. At the end is a note that the letter is referred to the Committee of both Kingdoms.

Contemp. copy.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1645[-6], Jan. 17, Oxford.—*Begins:* His Majesty thinks not fit now to answer those aspersions.

Contemp. copy.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1645[-6], Jan. 29, Oxford.—*Begins:* His Majesty having received information from the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland.

Contemp. copy.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1645[-6], Feb. 26, Oxford.—*Begins:* His Majesty needs to make no excuse.

Contemp. copy.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1646, June 10, Newcastle.—*Begins:* His Majesty looking with grief of heart upon the sad sufferings of his people.

Contemp. copy.

CHARLES [I.] to his son THE PRINCE ["James 2d." added in another hand]

No date.—*Begins:* This is rather to tell you where I am.—The Prince is commanded to obey his mother in everything except religion.

Contemp. copy.

PRAYER by CHARLES I.

[1646?]—"The King's Majesty's prayer, drawn by his special direction and dictate.—O most merciful father, Lord God of peace and truth, we now, a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural war," &c.

Contemp. copy.

PAPER by CHARLES I.

[1646?]—A paper, signed by Charles [I.], touching differences in religion, about which he had conferred with Mr. Marshall and his fellow minister; and desiring that two of certain Bishops and divines, named, may have liberty to wait on him.

Begins: Since I never dissembled.

Contemp. copy.

Petition of Francis Lord Cottington to Parliament.

[c. 1650?]—He is at Rouen, exiled from his friends, and desires leave to return to England and make his composition.
Contemp. copy.

Sir John Fenwick's Dutch Commission.

1675, Sept. 3, the Hague.—Commission to Sir John Fen[w]ick as Colonel of a Dutch regiment in place of the late Col. Clare.
Dutch, on parchment. Seal (clein segel).

Pope Innocent XI. to the most Christian King.

1676, Sept. 24, Rome.—A long letter in favour of peace.
Contemp. translation.

Denmark and Sweden.

1676, Oct. 31, Copenhagen.—Extract from a letter relating to the war between Denmark and Sweden.
Contemp. copy.

Warrant for Sir John Fenwick.

1677–8, March 9, Court at Whitehall.—Royal warrant to Lemuel Kingdon, esquire, to pay to Sir John Fenwick, knight, 1,000*l.* as levy money, for the raising of ten companies of foot, to consist of 100 soldiers in each, besides officers, in a Regiment of Foot for the King's service, under his (Fenwick's) command.

The King's signature and the first two lines are torn off. Countersigned, Williamson. *Impression of seal.*

Charles II. to Sir John Fenwick.

1677–8, March 9, Court at Whitehall.—Royal letter to Colonel [Sir] John Fenwick, declaring that the levy money abovesaid is paid to him on condition that he shall be answerable to the King for the making and completing of the said levies within six weeks after its receipt.
The King's signature and the seal are torn off. Countersigned, Williamson.

Sir John Fenwick's Regiment.

1677–8, March 14.—Articles indented between Sir John Fenwick, knight, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and Henry Browne, citizen and goldsmith of London. The latter promises to deliver within one month clothing for the said Regiment, that is to say, a hat, coat, breeches, two shirts, two cravatts, a pair of yarn stockings, a pair of shoes, a sword and belt, and a sash, of the goodness of patterns delivered. Sir John promises to give assignments upon Lemuel Kingdon, esquire, or the Paymaster for the time being, at the rate of 53*s.* each man, for the said goods, to be paid out of the first five musters of the Regiment.
Signed and sealed by Browne.

Sir John Fenwick's Commission.

1685, 5 June, 1 James II.—Commission to Sir John Fenwick, Bart., as commander under Henry, Duke of Newcastle, of all the Militia Forces in the county of Northumberland, &c.

Signed, James R. *Countersigned*, Sunderland. *Sealed.*

Sir John Fenwick's Regiment.

1688, Sept. 29, 4 James II.—Indenture between George Lord Dartmouth, Master General of H.M. Ordnance, and the principal officers of the same, on behalf of His Majesty, of the one part, and the Honble. Sir John Fenwick, of the other part. The latter acknowledges having received, by virtue of a Royal warrant dated 25 Sept. 1688, the several sorts of good, well fixed, and serviceable arms and habiliments of war hereunder specified; and he undertakes to be accountable for the same.

Harquebuse Armour, carbine proof	Backs - -	20
	Breasts - - -	20
	Potts - -	20
Carbines of 2 foot 7 inches, with walnut stocks and round locks - - - - - - - -		60
Pistols with holsters - - - - -		60 pair.

A printed form, the blanks being filled up in manuscript.

The Revenue.

1694.—Several printed receipts for moneys paid into the Exchequer, for the Bank of England, to the Commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions towards raising the sum of 1,200,000*l.* pursuant to an Act granting to their Majesties certain rates and duties on the tonnage of ships, and upon beer, ale, and other liquors.

The Duke of Somerset to Lord Carlisle.

1695, Aug. 30, Pettworth.—Touching the selection of candidates for an election. "Just this moment the post have (*sic*) brought the happy news of the Castle of Namure being surrendered; so this fortunate and most glorious campaign will certainly call a new Parliament."*

Declaration by Sir John Fenwick.

[1698?]—A paper [by Sir John Fenwick], stating that he was brought up in the Church of England, and has endeavoured to support the Crown in the true and lineal course of descent. He then proceeds:—

"As for what I am now to die, I call God to witness, I went not to that meeting in Leaden Hall Street with any such intention as to invite King James by force to invade this nation; nor was I myself provided with either horse or arms, or engaged for any number of men, or gave particular consent for any such invitation, as is most falsely sworn against me.

* There is another letter of the same Duke in 1700, and three in 1740 concerning elections in the North.

"I do also declare in the presence of God that I knew nothing of King James his coming to Callis, nor of any invasion intended from thence, till it was publicly known; and the only notion I had that something might be attempted, was from the Thoulon Fleet coming to Brest.

"I also call God to witness that I received the knowledge of what is contained in those papers that I gave to a great man that came to me in the Tower, both from letters and messages that came from France; and he told me, when I read them to him, that the Prince of Orange had been acquaint with most of those things before.

"I might have expected mercy from that Prince because I was instrumental in saving his life, for when about April '95 an attempt formed against him came to my knowledge, I did partly by dissuasions, and partly by delays, prevent that design; which I suppose was the reason that the last villainous project was concealed from me."

He thanks those persons who opposed the Bill of Attainder.

"I pray God to bless my true and lawful sovereign King James, the Queen and Prince of Wales, and restore him and his posterity to his throne again, for the peace and prosperity of the nation, which is impossible to prosper till the government is settled upon a right foot."

Draft in Sir J. F.'s hand.

Sir John Fenwick's Account.

[1698 ?]—Account by Sir J. Fenwick of moneys paid by him in connexion with his estate. It refers to an award made between him and his nephew by the Earl of Carlisle and Sir James Clavering.

In Sir John's hand.

Funeral of Sir John Fenwick.

1698, April 1.—Account of expenses, headed: For the Funeral of Sir John Fennick.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
For a large double coffin covered with velvet and set off with gilt work, the coffin in[d] and the body put up	18	0	0
For a fine suit of crape and sheet	2	0	0
For hanging the room where the body lay in deep mourning	4	0	0
For a hearse and 6 horses	1	10	0
For 3 mourning coaches and 6 horses	3	0	0
For a velvet pall	1	0	0
For 30 men in gowns and caps to carry flamboys	3	0	0
For 30 flamboys	2	0	0
For 150 yd. of bays for the scaffold	15	0	0
For a yard and ½ of velvet	1	10	0
For 2 yards of scarlet silk for the head	1	0	0
For a hearse and 2 horses to carry the coffin to Tower Hill, and to bring the body back	0	15	0
For 6 footmen in mourning to attend the hearse	1	10	0
For a mourning coach to carry Sir John to the Hill	1	0	0
For a mourning coach more to bring his servants	1	0	0
For hatbands for the hearse and coachmen, and for the use of the house, and damage	2	7	0
For tapers and candlesticks and stan[d]s	1	0	0
	£59	12	0

April 1st, 1698. Received then by the hands of Jno. Hurt, for the use and by the order of the Rt. Honble. the Lady Mary Fenwick, the sum of forty pounds, in full of this bill and all debts and demands; I say, received the same.

£40 0*s.* 0*d.* per Will. Jones.

Endorsed: Mr. Russel's acquittance in full.

Sir John Fenwick's Debts.

[After 1698.]—Account [by Lady Fenwick] of the debts of Sir John Fenwick paid by her "since he suffered and died."

1½ *page.*

The Earl of Carlisle.

[1700,] 24 June, 12th year of the King's reign.—Appointment of —— Earl of Carlisle as one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bedchamber, in the room of the Earl of Romney, now Groom of the Stole.

Signed, Jersey. *Seal.*

Ja. Puckle to the Earl of Carlisle, at Henderschelfe, by the Maulton Bag.

1700, Aug. 24, London.—Touching the loss of the Carlisle, and the means of bringing Captain Breholt back to England. The Lords of the Admiralty are full of complaints against him. The writer also refers to the Lowestoff.

The Graham Family.

1702, March 27.—Proceedings before Charles, Earl of Carlisle, Earl Marshal of England, between Thomas Earl of Coventry and Gregory King, Lancaster Herald, the former charging the latter with assigning false arms to Thomas, late Earl of Coventry, at his funeral, and to Elizabeth his relict, to whom he also falsely ascribed descent from a pretended family of Grahams of Yorkshire. (There is no defence or judgment.)

Latin and English, 6¼ *pages.*

The Earl of Nottingham to Lord Carlisle.

1702, Aug. 29, Whitehall.—I did not receive your Lordship's of the 24th soon enough to lay the enclosed list of Deputy Lieutenants before the Queen, for her approbation, her Majesty being gone to Bath before it came to my hands. . . . . (States objections to some of them.)

The same to the same.

1702, Oct. 3, Whitehall.—When I received your Lordship's of Sept. 1, I was in the country, but at my return hither I sent the lists of Deputy Lieutenants to Mr. Secretary Hedges, from whom I have received them with her Majesty's approbation. . . .

"Captain Churchill to his Brother."

1702, Oct. 15. From on board the Northumberland.—Account of the "glorious action we have done upon the French and Spaniards in this harbour" [of Vigo].

Copy.

The Privy Council to Charles, Earl of Carlisle, Custos Rotulorum of the County of Cumberland, and to the Justices of the Peace of that county.

1704[-5], Jan. 2, Council Chamber at St. James's.—After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship. The prosecution of the glorious advantages with which it has pleased God to bless her Majesty's arms in the last campaign, will so entirely depend on the effectual and speedy recruiting of her Majesty's forces to enable them early to enter upon action this spring, that her Majesty has thought fit to command us on this extraordinary occasion most earnestly to recommend to your Lordship and the Justices of the Peace the vigorous execution of an Act entituled, An Act for raising Recruits for the Land Forces and Marines, &c. And in order to so great and necessary a service, we cannot but hope your zeal to her Majesty and her Government will make you resolve to improve the present opportunity of your meeting together by agreeing immediately so to distribute yourselves that no part of your county may want the number of Justices required by the said Law to act. And directions will be given by our very good Lord his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, Captain General of her Majesty's Forces, to the officers to attend at your present Sessions, that, knowing how you distribute yourselves, they may be ready, with the least trouble possible to you, to receive the Recruits that shall be raised. . . . . (The number and names to be sent before 15 Feb.)

Copy.

The Privy Council to Charles, Earl of Cumberland, Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland, and Custos Rotulorum.

1705, April 26, Council Chamber, St. James's.—Her Majesty in Council having received information of an evil practice of bringing tobacco, brandy, and other commodities into this Kingdom out of Scotland by land, without paying the usual duties according to law; and that when her Majesty's officers have discovered the same, and made seizure thereof, the said commodities have been rescued from them by numbers of men assembled together in a tumultuous manner, armed with clubs, plough coulters, and other instruments of iron, whereby one of her Majesty's officers hath been murdered by them, and others have since been beaten in a barbarous and violent manner, to the peril of their lives (&c.).

The Justices of the Peace are to assist the customs-officers, and to put in execution the statutes against idle persons, rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars; and the Deputy Lieutenants are to disarm all persons suspected to be offenders in this matter.

Original, signed.

Question of Precedence.

[1706–9.]—To the Queen's most Sacred Majesty.

The Representation of Robert Marquis of Lindsey, Hereditary Great Chamberlain of England, and of Henry Earl of Bindon, Deputy (with your Majesty's approbation) to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England.

Humbly shewing,—That at the late hearing before your Majesty in Council, relating to the right of supporting the Sword of State within the Household, no other proof was produced on behalf of the Lord

Chamberlain and Vicechamberlain, than a book of his Lordship's containing a Procession of the Garter in 1671, and an order made in their favour ann. 1686. . . .

3 *large pages*; *endorsed*—A Representation on Precedency.

The Privy Council to Charles, Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland.

1707[–8], March 10, Council Chamber at Kensington.—Forasmuch as her Majesty hath been certainly informed that the person who during the life of the late King James the Second pretended to be Prince of Wales . . . (&c.) has undertaken an invasion of this her Kingdom . . . ; cause to be seized and secured all Papists and Non-Jurors . . . and all their arms and horses, and all such other horses which you may suspect are going towards that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and whereof a satisfactory account shall not be given you.

Contemp. copy.

Paper signed by Lord Sunderland.

1708, March 26, Whitehall.—Her Majesty does approve of the following persons to be Deputy Lieutenants for the County of Westmorland, viz.—Daniel Wilson, Richard Fleming, Thomas Heblethwaite and Thomas Pattison, Esqrs.

(Signed) Sunderland.

Lord Sunderland to Lord Carlisle.

1708, March 27th, Whitehall.—I had the honour of your Lordship's by the last post, with the account of what information you have had of one Mr. Moore's treating with the Shoemakers of York, for a great number of shoes which were to be delivered to Mr. Richard Harnage. I find upon enquiry, that they are for the use of the Queen's troops, Mr. Harnage being employed for those contracts; however the persons that gave this information ought to be encouraged for their zeal to the Government, and those that employ Papists upon such service ought very much to be blamed. I have, according to your commands, laid four of the names you propose for Deputy Lieutenants before the Queen, who does approve of them, and accordingly I send your Lordship enclosed the usual form. I did omit Mr. Fisher, because having acquainted Lord Wharton with it, as you directed me, he said he had reason to think he was not a proper man, being very much a friend of Mr. Graham, and therefore desired it might be suspended till either your Lordship or he were further informed.

We have this morning an account from some of our ships that were before Dunkirk, that the enemies returned thither the day before yesterday, so that the storm that threatened us seems blown over for the present.

[Proceedings in the House of Lords.]

1712, May 28, Wednesday.—The Question was put, that an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, that her Majesty will be pleased to send orders to her General [the Duke of Ormond] to act in concert with her Allies offensively against France, in order to obtain a safe and honourable peace.

It was resolved in the Negative.

Dissentient.—First, we conceive such an order as is proposed in the Question to be absolutely necessary, because we are fully convinced that the Duke of Ormond does lie under some order of restraint from acting offensively (&c.).

Names of 25 Peers at the end.

5 *pages.*

The Electress Sophia to [the Earl of Carlisle].

1714, April 3, Hanover.—My Lord,—Je vous assure que my Lord Morpeth vostre fils n'avoit pas besoin d'une lettre de recomendation. Sa naivete (?) et son merite le fait estimer de moy qui connois l'un et l'autre, et qui suis bien aise de voir que vous avez vn fils dont vous avez tant de raison destre for content. Je suis bien aise qu'il l'a este* de moy, et de cette Cour, car les occasions me seront tousiour agreable par lesquelles ie vous pourrai faire voir que ie suis

My Lord

Vostre tres affectione

a vous rendre service

Sophie E^ce^.

Hanouer, le 3 dauril 1714.

Holograph. Endorsed by the third Earl: A letter from y^e^ Electoral Princess Dowager of Hanover.

M. de Bothmar to [Lord Carlisle].

1714, 24 Sept., Friday.—Mylort,—J'apprens vostre indisposition avec beaucoup de regret, vous souhaitant une prompte reconvalescence. Le Roy ne s'est pas determiné encor sur le choix de ses Gentilshommes de la Chambre, mais je feray tout ce que je pourray affin que vous puissiés obtenir ou ce que vous desirés pour vous mésme, ou ce que vous souhaités auprès du Prince pour M^r^ vostre fils.

The Earl of Carlisle.

[1714,] Oct. 15.—Two draft letters from [the Earl of Carlisle to M. de Bothmar and King George I.], relating to the King's refusal to show any mark of favour to the writer or to his son.

1. Monsieur,—Il faut avoüer que le Roy doit estre le seul juge, a qui, et en quelle maniere, il peut le mieux disposer de ses faveurs; et on doit tousjours se soumettre entierement a la distribution que sa Majesté en fait. Permettés moy, neantmoins, de vous representer, que la raison que vous me donnés, pourquoy le Roy ne trouve bas [pas] bon, de donner a present, aucun[e] marque de sa faveur, ny a moy, ny a ma famille, m'inquiette extremement. Vous trouvés bon de me dire, que le Roy pensera a moy, sur quelque autre occasion; mais qu'il ne le peut pas faire a cette heure, a cause du nombre de ceux qui pretendent a l'emplois, pour lequel j'ay pris la liberté d'offrir mes services. Il faut que je vous avoüe, Monsieur, que (si je ne suis pas mal informé, qui sont ces Pretendants) je suis fort senciblement touché qu'on m'ait fait cette responce; j'auray crû, sans vanité, qu'avec plus de justice, on l'auroit pû donner a ces Pretendants; et je ne me seray jamais imaginé, que je

* "Content," struck out.

pourois estre mis en competition, pour la faveur de nostre bon Roy avec le Duc de Richmond, et my Lord Selkirk.

Pour ce qui regarde mon fils, je pris la liberté de vous dire, que pour ne point donner du trouble au Roy, je cederay volontiers (pour cette seule raison) les pretentions que j'avois osé faire pour moy mesme; demandant seulement la grace, qu'il fust receü dans la famille du Prince, a qui il a l'honneur d'estre connu (&c.).

2. Sire,—Deux ou trois jours apres l'arrivée de vostre Majesté a Londres, je fus saissi de la goute, qui m'a empesché jusqu'a cette heure, de rendre mes devoirs a vostre Majesté, et d'avoir tres humblement representé a vostre Majesté quelques petites choses qui me reguardent en particulier. Je me suis pour cette raison addressé a Mons^{r} de Bothmar, luy priant, de remonstrer a vostre Majesté de ma part, qu'ayant eu l'honneur de servir le feu Roy, en qualité de Seigneur de sa Chambre, je m'estimerois fort heureux de servir vostre Majesté, en la mesme qualité. Quelque peu de temps apres, estant informé, que vostre Majesté estoit fort importuné pour ces charges, j'envoyay dire a Mons^{r} de Bothmar que pour ne point donner trop de trouble a vostre Majesté (qui estoit ma seule consideration) je quitteray volontiers toutes sortes de pretentions pour moy mesme, pourveu que mon fils eut l'honneur d'estre dans la famille de son Altesse Royale, le Prince de Galle.

The writer goes on to express surprise at the King's refusal, after he had been made one of the Justices of the Realm in the King's absence. He is the sole member of the Regency who has received no mark of the King's favour, and is mortified at having to give way to such "pretendants."

No dates, signatures, or addresses.

In another case there are other drafts or copies of these letters, in English and French, in the third Earl of Carlisle's hand, the first being dated "Oct. y^{e} 15th."

The Privy Council to the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland.

1715, July 20, Council Chamber, St. James's.—Whereas his Majesty has received certain advices from abroad, that the Pretender is preparing to invade this Kingdom, encouraged thereto by the riotous and tumultuous proceedings set on foot and carried on at home by a restless party in his favour (&c.).

The Justices of the Peace are to put in execution the Acts of 1 William and Mary, 30 Charles II., and 35 Elizabeth, against Papists and Non-Jurors, being dangerous to his Majesty's Government; to tender to them the oaths and declaration prescribed by those Acts; to take from them their horses and arms; and to confine them to their usual habitations, as directed by law.

Original, signed.

The Privy Council to the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland.

1715, Sept. 16, Council Chamber, St. James's.—Whereas there is an open and unnatural Rebellion at this time commenced in that part of his Majesty's dominions called Scotland, and amongst other hostile acts, the Castle of Edenboro' has been attempted to be surprised; and his Majesty having received certain information of an intended Invasion of this

kingdom by the person who during the lifetime of the late King James the 2nd pretended to be Prince of Wales, and since his decease has taken upon himself the style and title of James the 3rd, King of England, and James the 8th, King of Scotland, being bred up in the Popish superstition, and instructed to introduce a tyrannical Government into his Majesty's dominions, encouraged thereto by divers wicked and traitorous persons here at home; we think it necessary that the kingdom be put into the best condition of defence, with as little inconvenience to his Majesty's good subjects as may be; and therefore we do, in his Majesty's name and by his express command, hereby pray and require your Lordship forthwith to cause the whole Militia within your Lieutenancy, both horse and foot, to be put in such a posture as to be in readiness to meet upon the first orders; and also to give the necessary directions to the proper officers of the Militia forthwith to seize, with the assistance of a constable, the persons and arms of all Papists, Non-Jurors, or other persons that you have reason to suspect to be disaffected to his Majesty and his Government, and may probably be aiding to such Insurrection or Invasion.

Original, signed.

A similar letter, addressed to Lord Carlisle as Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland.

LORD TOWNSHEND to the EARL OF CARLISLE, Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmorland.

1715, Sept. 19, Whitehall.—I am commanded to acquaint your Lordship that his Majesty thinks it for his service, that you should repair to the Counties whereof you are Lord Lieutenant, and accordingly it is his Majesty's pleasure that your Lordship should go thither without loss of time to take care of regulating the Militia, and to give the necessary directions for putting the same in due order. And particularly your Lordship is to give notice to such as are to provide horses, that they do get them in such readiness as to be able to march whenever his Majesty's service shall require it.

Original, signed.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1715, Sept. 21, Whitehall.—As your Lordship will receive an order in Council to enforce more strongly the putting in execution the Laws concerning Papists, Non-Jurors, and other disaffected persons, I am directed by the King particularly to recommend the due and punctual execution of that order on your part to your Lordship's more immediate care and application. His Majesty looks upon the seizing and securing in this critical juncture all such persons as are described in the said Order in Council to be a matter of the most important consequence to the peace and welfare of this kingdom; and therefore his Majesty will take your Lordship's exact and faithful discharge of these his commands as a great mark of your true zeal and loyalty towards him.

Original, signed.

LORD LONSDALE to [the DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS OF CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND].

1715, Sept. 25.—Gentlemen,—Mr. Simpson has communicated to me an Order of Council to my Lord Carlisle, and my Lord's letter to the

Deputy Lieutenants, which presses the speedy execution of the Laws against the Roman Catholics. I believe it will be advisable to proceed as soon as possible upon this Order; wherefore I should humbly propose a meeting on Tuesday* the 4th of October next at Henry Hayton's in Penrith.

Copy.

Lord Lonsdale to [Lord Carlisle].

[1715,] Oct. 8, Lowther.—In obedience to your Lordship's letter and the Order of Council, the Deputy Lieutenants of both Counties met last Thuesday (*sic*) at Penrith.

The seizing the persons and arms of those that are disaffected being commanded in the Order, the Deputy Lieutenants gave orders accordingly, but did not meddle with any of the Roman Catholics' horses, because they thought an observance of the Order of Council was all that could be required from them, that it would be doing a great hardship to several Papist gentlemen who keep running-horses for their diversion, which are fit for no other service whatsoever, and that it would be as much security to the country, for when their persons and arms are secured, such horses as they have can be of no danger to the Government.

They also gave orders for the mustering of the Militia by companies, that where there was any man incapacitated since the last muster, the constables are obliged to send three men in his room, out of which the Captain is to choose one to supply his place. Every captain is also to make a report to two Deputy Lieutenants on or before the 19th of October, of the condition of the arms of their respective companies. The Deputy Lieutenants found that there would be so much difficulty in regulating the light horse, that they did not meddle with it that day, neither did they know who (*sic*) to direct any warrant to in relation to it, for Mr. Simpson told us that he was not yet sure whether Sir Charles Dalston would act as Captain, and that he had not appointed either Lieutenant or Cornet.

I think I am obliged to acquaint your Lordship that some gentlemen whose deputations was only for one county, made some scruple of acting, because, as the two counties is but one Lieutenancy, they thought their commissions ought to run throughout the whole jurisdiction, or else they were in themselves void. I don't doubt but your Lordship, who does everything for the good of the country, will consider of this, and, if there be any mistake, set it right.

Since I begun this, I have received a letter from Mr. Stanwix, with an express that he has had from Newcastle, which brings an account of their having received certain information of a design to seize Carlisle for the Pretender. I have writ to him and my Lord Bishop to propose to them that three Deputy Lieutenants in that neighbourhood may give orders for the raising the company of Train-Bands which lies about that place, to be sent immediately into garrison there, which at present has only 65 regular forces. I intend to propose a general meeting of the Deputy Lieutenants as soon as possible for the raising the whole Militia, which I believe your Lordship will think very necessary at this conjuncture.

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* This is substituted for "Thursday."

Lord Lonsdale to [Lord Carlisle].

[1715,] Oct. 22, Lowther.—The last letters we have from Scotland tell us that a party of 1,500 or 1,700 rebels had passed the Forth in boats, and had taken possession of Leith, with full expectation that they should have been joined with the Northumberland men and those that are up in the south of Scotland; but instead of meeting with this assistance, they found a party detached from Stirling, and the Duke of Argyle at the head of them, who intended to have attacked them in Leith Castle, but they got off by favour of the night before that design took effect, and retired to Seaton House, which belongs to my Lord Winton. My Lord Annandale, who gives me this account, says that last Sunday night they were blocked up there, and he did not doubt but before he writ that they were all taken prisoners.

The men-of-war that lie in the Forth had taken 80 men that were passing the river, and had drove 4 or 500 more into the Isle of May, where they were also blocked up, and must either surrender or starve.

I think I told your Lordship in my last that the Roman Catholics were ordered to be seized and sent to Carlisle. I was there this last week about some private business, and before I came away I was desired by some of those gentlemen to move the Deputy Lieutenants that they might have their liberty upon their parole. I told them it was what I could not possibly do; the Northumberland men, who were all their friends, were very near; and that I thought it a matter not at all fit for me to meddle in at this time, that your Lordship was expected in the country very shortly, and then it was solely in your own power, and I did not doubt but you would do whatever was fitting and reasonable. Since I came away I writ to my brother Howard, and told him I would acquaint your Lordship with what they desired, and if you thought it proper to be done, I would move it to the Deputy Lieutenants. Now, my Lord, if you will give me any directions in this matter, I will endeavour to have them executed.

If your Lordship thinks of coming into this country, I hope I shall have the honour of seeing you at Lowther.

Endorsed by the third Earl of Carlisle: Letters from Lord Lonsdale during the time of the Rebellion in the year 1715.

Lord Lonsdale to [Lord Carlisle].

[1715,] Oct. 29, Lowther.—I had the honour of your Lordship's letter this morning. I really had not time when I writ last to your Lordship to thank you for the care you have taken in providing for those persons that I was desired to recommend to your Lordship; they are all placed to their utmost satisfaction, and the obligation shall always be acknowledged by me, as I am confident it will be by them.

I ask your pardon for sending you false news in my last letter, but I told you then my authority, and was really in hopes that all our danger had been over; but we since hear that as soon as the Duke of Argyle had sent off so strong a detachment to attack those that had passed the Forth, my Lord Marr immediately marched towards Stirling, which occasioned the Duke of Argyle to bring back the most of his party to defend that pass. The Rebels came to Duns, near Berwick, where they were joined by the Lords Widdrington and Darwenwater and Mr. Foster out of Northumberland, and by another party com-

manded by the Lords Nithesdale, Carnwarth, and Kenmoor, from the low parts of Scotland; they make in all about a thousand or twelve-hundred foot and six hundred horse.

I had an express yesterday morning from my Lord Lumley out of Northumberland, who says that General Carpenter went last Thursday from Newcastle with one regiment of foot and four of dragoons to attack these Rebels, but it was believed there they would not stay for his coming, but get off as fast as they could for Lancashire. If that be their intent, as we generally apprehend here, we shall have them with us very soon, unless G. Carpenter can fall in with them on the road.

I think I acquainted your Lordship in my last that we ordered a general muster of the Militia with three days' pay, which was last Wednesday, but upon these accounts we ordered them 14 days' pay more, and have distributed the companies into several towns, as we thought would be most for the advantage of the country. We also ordered three years' arrears to the Muster-master, which was what he demanded when it was proposed to him; we had before given him 30*l.* for distributing the Orders of Council. We also ordered the raising of 100*l.* in Cumberland, and about 60*l.* in Westmorland, for trophy-money. The Sheriff of Cumberland then agreed to raise the posse of his county, which is to meet on Penrith Fell next Wednesday, and we writ to the Deputy Sheriff of Westmorland to desire he would do the same thing, which he readily consented to, and they will meet at Appleby next Thursday.

The Militia is almost throughout ill armed, but I don't know how that can be remedied at present, for they can't be provided with better in this country, and it will be a long time before new ones can be had from London. We have ordered them to throw away their pikes and get firelocks in their place, and also to put the arms they have into the best condition that is possible.

I will write to Mr. Simpson (who serves us for a clerk at our meetings) to send your Lordship an account of what the Deputy Lieutenants have done. By this last Act of Parliament, I see a Register is ordered to be kept of the Proceedings of the Lieutenancy, which is extremely necessary, for we find ourselves often much at a loss for want of such a one here; in that case a particular clerk must be appointed. I don't know who (*sic*) your Lordship will think of for that office.

I hope the Rebels will defer their visit to us till next Thursday, and then I think we shall be in as good a condition to receive them as this country of itself is capable of; but I am much afraid we shall have them sooner.*

Lord Essex to Lord Carlisle.

1715, Nov. 1, London.—(Reply to remonstrances on the writer's marriage, he having been under Lord Carlisle's tuition during his minority.)

Next I must return you a great many thanks for minding me of my duty to the King, which I never was conscious to have been wanting of; but when I write (*sic*) to your Lordship word I had been at Richmond, I meant Newpark, but I had then been to pay my duty to both King and Prince. But as I thought myself now at liberty to go where I pleased, I did not think it worth while to trouble your Lordship with

* There is another letter of Lord Lonsdale, March 2, [1721,] referring to "the Report of the Secret Committee," the acquittal of Charles Stanhope, &c.

an account of that, but since you seem now to have a mind to know my inclinations upon this, I will tell them you to the best of my poor capacity. At present my whole study is to follow my late dear Father's steps, as near as I can, and be that honest man that he was, and never to go prepossessed into the House to vote with this side, or t'other, to pay my duty to the King, and if there's occasion serve him with my life and fortune, but never be a slave to any Ministry, and especially this, and vote with the side I think least violent, which if I told your Lordships (*sic*) I did not think the Princess was less so than the Ministry I should tell you a lie, though I own you have put the greatest forfeiture you can upon my going to the other Court, which is your friendship, and what I should most desire to maintain, could I obey you in not going to the Princess. . . . .

The Privy Council to the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland.

1715, Nov. 8, Council Chamber, St. James's.—Having received no return to their letter of 16 Sept., they request an account of his proceedings, which is to distinguish between Papists seized who are Nonjurors and persons taken up only on suspicion.

Original, signed.

The Duke of Marlborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1715, Dec. 6, London.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's of the 29th of the last month, and I do with all my heart congratulate your good success in Lancashire. I hope when the Parliament meets, they will take such measures as may secure the nation's quiet. You will have heard that Lord Marr has shown some inclinations to be treating; this matter is of so great consequence, that I hope it will be very well considered before any resolution be taken. By Lord Staires' last letter he seems to be of opinion that the Pretender is as yet in France; he says his next letters will inform us of the truth of it. As to the meeting of the Parliament, people are very much divided in their opinions. I think it is most likely that they will not set [sit] to do business till January. I have been very much out of order, but I thank God I am now pretty well again, and if I can get leave I shall be desirous of going into the country for ten days. Wherever I am, your Lordship has a very faithful humble servant,—Marlborough.

Nonjurors.

1715, Dec. 6.—Cumbr. § The Information of John Parker, constable of Penreth, in the said county, taken upon oath before Thomas Brougham, Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, and Andrew Whelpdale, esquires, Justices of the Peace for the said county.

Informeth and saith that by virtue of a warrant from the said Justices of the Peace to him directed for the summoning in of such persons as they had reason to suspect to be Papists, Nonjurors, or disaffected persons to the present Government, bearing date the 2nd day of November last, pursuant to which warrant he this deponent left summons in manner following: (that is to say) that on the 28th day of November last he this deponent left summons in writing at the usual place of abode for John Mounsey of Stainton [and] Edward Sisson of the same, to appear before the said Justices at Widow Sanderson's in Penreth on Tuesday the sixth day of this instant December, to have the oaths

tendered and administered to them pursuant to the Act of Parliament made in the first year of King George for the better preservation of his said Majesty's person and his Government; and that on the said 28th day of November he this deponent gave personal summons to John Grave of Penreth in the said county, Lancelot Grave and Thomas Grave, both of Penreth aforesaid, to appear as aforesaid; and that on the 1st of this instant December this deponent left summons in writing for Mr. William Dalston at the usual place of his abode at Great Salkeld, to appear at the time and place as aforesaid.

Lancelot Garth appeared, and refused.

Christopher Hornsby, junior. Notice in writing left at his usual place of abode.

Thomas Errington
Charles Errington
Edmond Errington
} Notice in writing left at the place of their abode.

Thomas Bateman. Notice left with his wife.

Richard Glenton had personal summons.

Richard Harrison had personal summons.

Henry Browne had personal summons.

The Duke of Kingston to [Lord Carlisle].

1715, Dec. 10, London.—I was sorry yesterday when I opened your letter to find a proxy in it. The honour you do me I shall acquit myself of to the best of my understanding, but I had much rather, for my pleasure and satisfaction, and for the good you can and will do the public, that at this time you would come to London. A man who with a disinterested mind will search the good of his country, and is capable of judging what is so, is always wanted. I take the future happiness of ourselves and families to depend upon the steps that this Session of Parliament shall take, and if they sit [set] out wrong at first, 'twill be hard to get right again; 'tis a miserable condition to be always in a state of war with our fellow subjects, to have nothing but fear keep them from joining with the common enemy to their religion and liberty. Indeed, my Lord, your advice will be wanted, and what you say will be minded: your country requires you to go on to do it good. . . .

I deferred concluding my letter till evening to try if I could hear any news, but to no purpose. The Pretender 'tis said, set sail the 2nd, new style. The Preston prisoners came to town last night. Our Ministers are busy today examining of them.

The Marquis of Huntly to [Lord Carlisle].

1716, Feb. 29, Inverness.—My Lord,—The former proofs I have had of your Lordship's friendship not only in my greatest necessities but ever since gives me reason to believe your Lordship will still be so good as to use your interest at Court for my being allowed pardon, life, and fortune, for myself and friends. The bearer will inform your Lordship of my circumstances, which are so different from several others' that I am hopeful of the King's mercy, which I have some reason to believe I have already got by a letter Sir Peeter Fraser has lately received from Mr. Roberton (*sic*), Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I have surrendered myself now in person, and did some time ago by a letter to E. Sutherland for myself and friends, which his Lordship sent to the King, and a letter from himself in my favours (*sic*). I doubt not of being again happy by the King's

pardon, providing your Lordship and my other friend (*sic*) join in my behalf, which I beg of your Lordship when occasion offers. If ever I have it in my power to serve your Lordship, or show my gratitude for your Lordship's former goodness to me, I will with much pleasure and with all application and forwardness imaginable prove,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and most obedient humble servant,

HUNTLY.

SIR JOHN RUSHOUT to [LORD CARLISLE].

1715[-6], March 20.—I was in great expectation to have heard that your Lordship had fixed a time for your journey to this place, but your mentioning nothing of it, makes me fear that you are not yet come to any resolution. You are pleased to observe that there are misunderstandings and differences amongst the King's friends; I hope they are not great, nor can I ascribe the cause for any; but I really think that if your Lordship was in town, you would be able to preserve an unanimity, and prevent the ill consequences that must attend a rupture at this time. Yesterday sentence was passed against Lord Winton. I can't learn what trial comes on next, or whether they will proceed to any other.*

The DUKE OF KINGSTON to LORD CARLISLE.

1717, Sept. 23, Thorsby.—I remember one time at London, when I had the honour of talking with your Lordship about the situation of our public business, you were so generous as to say, if the King's service did require your assistance, rather than his and your country's affairs should suffer, you would accept of a place. I have thought of it several times, and that you spoke like an honest man and a good Patriot, and hope you continue of the same mind; 'tis my opinion your country requires it of you. You are perhaps the only man in whose power it is to create a good understanding between the King and the Prince; you have talked with them both, and they have both a good opinion of you. You have spoke of all matters so plain to the King, that if you are in his councils and near his person, he must think of what you have said, and nothing can happen better for Britain than his being of your opinion.

My Lord, though interest is what, I and everybody know, never guides you, yet I would not make the proposal I am going to make, if I thought 'twould be prejudicial to your Lordship's private affairs, or take you entirely from what you are fond of, which is, being sometime in the country. I am sensible nothing can [make] amends for the loss of the liberty of living after a man's own particular inclination, nor can a good man answer doing it always when his country requires other of him. Now, my Lord, what I have to propose is this; 'tis desired that you would accept of being President of the Council in the same manner Lord Nottingham and the Duke of Devonshire were. I know, my Lord, you was offered it before, but I flatter myself, upon reconsideration, the good of your country will prevail over your inclination. I have heard it said none are so fit for a place as those who don't desire one, but 'tis certain none serve their country so well as those who take a place with no other view; and there is not a man who knows Lord Carlisle but knows that to be his case.

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* There are other letters from the same writer on private matters.

'Tis proposed, if your Lordship doth accept the offer, that Lord Bridgwater be Constable of the Tower, and Lord Rockingham Warden of the Cinque Ports, which will certainly be of great service to the Whig interest in Kent. I have not anything to add, but what you may easily think, that this is not the scheme of my head only; it came last night to me by an express, with desire to communicate it to your Lordship as soon as possible. You may depend upon it as a thing done, if you approve. Whatever answer your Lordship is pleased to send to me, I will convey the contents to Lord Sunderland, and in what manner you please.

LORD SUNDERLAND to [LORD CARLISLE].

1717, Nov. 13, London.—I was in hopes we should have seen your Lordship by this time in town, but upon our return from Hampton Court, was very much concerned to hear you had a beginning of a fit of the gout. As this may possibly keep you in the country longer than you designed, I take the liberty of troubling you, by this messenger, to put you in mind of some conversations I have had the honour of with you in relation to your Lordship's coming into the King's business, and particularly into the post of President of the Council.

Without troubling your Lordship with repeating what we have so often talked over in those conversations, I will beg leave to mention two or three things for your consideration: that it is absolutely necessary to quiet the groundless jealousies raised by factious people, that that post should be filled; that it is as necessary for the King's service that it should be filled by some man of the first distinction, in every respect, among those who have been known always to have acted upon the steady Wig (*sic*) principle; that there is no man so qualified in the kingdom, in whom both the King and the Wig party can have an entire confidence, but yourself. There is one thing more I will say, that your Lordship knows too much the world, and in particular our world here, in England, not to see that nobody out of the Administration, whatever good intentions he may have, can do the hundredth part the service to the Government and his country which one in can.

I will not enlarge upon these considerations; they are so very plain, I need but lay them before you, and beg of you to consider of them. I hope you will pardon the liberty I take, since it proceeds from my wishes for the public service, and my sincere respect for your Lordship, who have it in your power to contribute so much to it.

The writings in relation to Lord Morpeth's and my daughter's marriage, I am told, are finished; they have been seen, and approved, by Mr. Walters, and will (apprehending you may not be able to come up) be sent down to you, by a messenger, on purpose, tomorrow morning, so that you will please to give them what dispatch you can. I will yet hope that your fit of the gout will not last long enough to prevent our seeing you soon in town.

W. LECHMERE to [LORD CARLISLE].

1718, Sept. 15, Bath.—Gives some account of the rupture with Spain.

W. LECHMERE to [LORD CARLISLE].

1718, Nov. 23.—I received your letter of the 16th, and am obliged for the concern you so kindly express for my illness. I had the King's

leave to be absent the first day of the Session, but finding myself pretty well, I went to the House, where we found the difficulties much less than was apprehended they would be; I think, from the disconcertedness of those who opposed the King's measures. . . .

Lord Sunderland to [Lord Carlisle].

1719, Aug. 14, London.—I am very much ashamed that I have not sooner answered your Lordship's letter in relation to Mr. Tate, but when I mentioned it at the Treasury, I found they thought his case pretty hard, so that I ordered the state of it to be drawn up, which I send here enclosed; however, if you would have him put out, it shall be done, for I assure you no regard of favour shall be had to Stanwix, his behaviour of late having not deserved much of that. As for the Customer's place at Hull, it was promised before I had the honour of your letter, but since you concern yourself for Sir Robert Constable, you may depend upon it, we will find out very soon something for him.

I beg leave to congratulate with your Lordship upon the conclusion of our Treaties with Prussia and Sweden. The King by this becomes master of the affairs of the North, and will doubtless bring with him a settled peace in those parts, the consequence of which will very soon be one in the South. I have received the King's orders, to make what haste I can to Hanover, so that I shall embark on Thursday next. The King intends to be back very early, so that I hope it will not be long before I shall have the honour of kissing your hands again here.

Lord Sunderland to [Lord Carlisle].

1719, Nov. 18, London.—I was in hopes upon our arrival in England we should have had the honour of seeing your Lordship here, but I am sorry to hear you are going a further northern journey; however I hope it will not be a long one, and that after it we may have the satisfaction of seeing you in Town. I beg leave to congratulate with you upon the good situation of the King's affairs in all parts, which gives a reasonable and near prospect of a Peace, both in North and South; I must also congratulate you upon another thing, which I know you have long had at heart, and which will contribute more to the King's and the public service than any other thing; that is, the resolution the King has taken, not to suffer his Germans to meddle in English affairs, he having forbid them to presume so much as to speak to him about them; and this he has ordered all his servants to declare to everybody to be his resolution, and tells it himself to as many as come to him. He is determined to recommend the Peerage Bill in his Speech, and to have it brought in the first week of the Sessions; and if the Wigs will be reasonable in that, he intends his servants shall push the Bill for the effectual reforming the Universities, and every other Wig point.

This is the situation we are in, and since we can't yet have your presence here, I hope you will be so good as excuse my sending enclosed a blank proxy, which if you please to sign, and seal, and let me know with whose name you would have it filled, I will obey your commands.

Ja. Macburney to [Lord Carlisle].

1719–[20], March 19.—Relating to the Royal Fishery Company, its charter and funds, Lord Carlisle's subscription, proceedings in Parliament, &c.

Dominica* Osinda to [Lord Carlisle].

1720, June 9, London.—This is to acquaint your Lordship that there was a subscription taken in the City, for importing of naval stores into England from his Majesty's Dominions in Germany; so I made bold to subscribe three thousand pound for your Lordship; because everyone says it will be a very advantageous thing to the subscribers and to the nation in general. I would have subscribed myself, but could not; for only Peers and Commoners was admitted to subscribe; so I took the liberty to subscribe for your Lordship; but if your Lordship does not like it, I should be glad to pay the money and have it myself; but I must beg of your Lordship to write to Sir Justus Beck that you'll have it; and your Lordship would please to send me the letter to deliver to him, that I may pay the money when they make their calls; but if your Lordship pleases to stand it all or any part, I should be glad to stand the remainder. I humbly beg your Lordship's pardon for making use of your name.

Henry Curwen to [Lord Carlisle].

1720.—Two letters, one dated Work [Wark?], July 16, 1720, the other, Work, Oct. 18,——, complaining of his letters being stopped by the postmaster of Cockermouth, and of being persecuted by certain persons for being a Papist; also that he will be compelled to sell a great many handsome horses, lest they should be seized.

Lord Carlisle to Lord [Sunderland].

1720, Sept. 28, London.—On "the unhappy turn that the S. S. [South Sea] affairs have taken," and the clamours against the Government. As the person addressed has "the principal direction of public affairs," the writer gives him advice how to meet the occasion.

Lord Morpeth to the Earl of Carlisle.

[1720,] Oct. 18.—The weather has been so favourable that I hope you have had a good journey, and are got well to Castle Howard. I believe, if you had stayed a few days longer, you would have put off your journey till the King's coming, to have seen how affairs would go then. There came letters on Sunday last which gave an account that the King was coming away immediately. My Lord Sunderland is expected tonight, and if the wind is fair, it is thought the King will be here the end of this week. The Parliament is to sit the 8th of next month. This news has given some satisfaction, though I can't say so much as if it had been the King's first resolution.†

Lord Sunderland to [Lord Carlisle].

1720, Oct. 19, at the Gohr.—I had yesterday the honour of your Lordship's letter, for which I return you my very sincere thanks, being truly sensible of your goodness and friendship to me, of which I take this to be a very particular mark. Upon the first news we had of the

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* (*Sic.*) A letter of Thomas Serjeant, 31 March 1722, mentions that Mr. Osinda had bequeathed any one of his best pictures to Lord Carlisle, excepting the one he bought at Stafford House.

† There are many other letters of Lord Morpeth in the same case, mostly private.

unhappy turn the Stocks and public Credit begun to take, we got the King to fix the meeting of the Parliament to the 25th of November. Since that, within these three or four days, that we have had the news of the Credit's being lower and lower, and of things being every day in a worse condition, the King has taken the resolution of going over, so as to hold the Parliament on the 8th of November, which is as soon as it is possible for him to be there, and orders are sent for the necessary notice. I myself should have set out as soon as we had the news of this melancholy state of things, which was but three or four days ago, but that I thought the first necessary step was to fix the King's going as soon as possible, and now that is done, I shall set out from this place tomorrow, so that I hope in a very few days to have the honour of kissing your hands, in England; till when I will defer troubling your Lordship with a great many things, which I will beg leave to talk over with you when I see you there; all I will say now is, that I know very well, that when misfortunes happen in most countries, and particularly in England, it's the way to lay it at the door of those who have a share in the administration; that therefore, ever since I meddled in public business, I never thought of anything but of doing the best I could for the public, with honest intentions, and with as much prudence as my poor understanding is capable of, and for the consequences afterwards, one must sit easy under them. That never was more the case than in this affair of the South Sea, which had almost the unanimous approbation and applause of all parties in the nation, in Parliament and out of it, and which of a sudden, in the compass of a very few, not months, not weeks, but days, has taken so strange and so surprising a turn. As for my having been absent, I am also very sensible, and hear it from many quarters, that that is complained of, but it does not give me much uneasiness, because I am confident nobody in England does imagine I ever came into these parts of the world for my pleasure. I should not have come either last year or this, but that all our friends thought it might be of use to the public service, and particularly in contributing to the King's early return and an early Session, which is brought about, and I will venture to say, would not have been so, without me. I will trouble you with no more at present, but thank you again for this mark of your friendship, and beg you to believe that nobody living is with greater truth and respect than I (&c.).

Lady E. Lechmere to her father [Lord Carlisle].

1720, Nov. 14.—I am glad to hear your fit of the gout went easily off, and that you have been well enough to have been at York, where I hope you were well entertained. Everything here continues in a dismal way; the Stock is fallen since the King came; when, or whether, ever it is to rise, I have not heard.

Lady A. Irwin to her father [Lord Carlisle].

[1720,] Nov. 17.—I must again repeat my thanks to my dear father for the obliging letter you writ to my Lord Sunderland in behalf of my Lord [Irwin]; the success of his solicitation I believe has been owing to your request. The King has given my Lord the Government of Barbadoas, and done it in a very kind manner, since without any application from us the King has desired my Lord to keep his Regiment, which will be a great advantage to him in paying off his debts.

I believe it was rightly judged in my Lord to put in so soon as he has done for this Government, since I believe there will be every day more

and more people of quality reduced to the necessity of leaving England, the Stock still keeping falling, and 'tis now said the Prince and his party are for entirely destroying the whole Scheme, and either supporting the Bank or erecting some other bank of credit. This report has put most people in despair. Till today there has been a report that the Bank and South Sea would agree, and things would be put upon so good a foot the Stock would rise to 400. . . .

Endorsed by the third Earl: Letters from Lord and Lady Irwin, commencing Mich. 1720.

Arth. Moore to [Lord Carlisle].

1720, Nov. 25, London.—About obtaining the consent of the South Sea Company "that the Royal Fishery Company may proceed on their trade." This will afford an opportunity to repair losses by the former scheme. Parliament was prorogued this day.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1720,] Dec. 24.—Yesterday there was a general Court at the South Sea House, where 'twas thought if they durst they had a design to give out the receipts of the third subscription at a 1000, but the town was so alarmed with the report, and the clamour in the City so great, that the Ministry (who are properly the Directors) durst not go through with their design.

My brother Morpeth spoke first in the General Court, and proposed a question, which was agreed to by a vast majority, and was much to the service of all who are concerned in the third subscription. He spoke with great applause, and I believe did considerable service.

There was papers dropt about the Court to desire every honest gentleman not to sit near the Directors for fear of accidents, and I believe, had they proposed giving out the receipts at a 1000, there had been a great deal of mischief done, for there was several people went with pocket pistols and resolved to use them, if the proposition I mentioned before had been named. . . . .

Sir James Lowther to [Lord Carlisle].

1720, Dec. 29, London.—The House is preparing to examine into the ill practices of the South Sea Directors, and have for that purpose ordered them to lay before the House their reasons for resolving to make dividends of fifty per cent., and for promoting subscriptions at 1000, it being evident that those proceedings have brought on (*sic*) this calamity and misery upon the nation.*

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

1720[-1], Jan. 10.—I suppose you will have the list of the Committee sent you by several people, but 'tis now eight at night, and the House of Commons is yet sitting, and for fear none of your friends should have time to write, I enclose it. If you saw the Court List, you'll find Sir Joseph Jekell and Mr. Wortley are the only two men that were in that, that are chose, [so] that I believe there is some disappointment, in some places. Sir William Tomson was one of the Court List; but I did not

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* There are other letters of the same writer, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and others, on Parliamentary elections in Cumberland.

hear of anybody besides themselves, that thought he was a fit man to enquire into what related to corruption.

Mr. Lechmere has been this two or three days out of order with his rheumatism in his knee, but though he was fitter to be in his bed, than go out today, yet he got to the House, but could not bear the shaking of a coach upon the stones. I am afraid he will suffer by his venturing out; but it was a day of great consequence, Mr. Walpole's scheme being to be considered, which made him desirous to do more than he ought to have done, if he had considered himself alone, but this is not a time for people to do that.

Mr. Lechmere is this minute come from the House; says Mr. Walpole's scheme is carried by a great majority, and all things are in a deplorable way. I have time for no more.

Sir William Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

[1720–1], Jan. 12, London.—I wish the Parliament is able to afford suitable remedies to the present malady; the calamity is so universal that infinite numbers must suffer, if we were unanimous in applying proper plaisters to the hurts done to all degrees of people by the vile practices of the Directors. There seems a spirit in both Houses to pursue them to condign punishment. Though Mr. Walpole's scheme was carried in our House by a great majority, yet I find the City does not relish the project of ingrafting nine millions to the Bank and India Companies, believing the Stock cannot rise above 200, which will not answer the expectations of the poor annuitants, nor the subscription people; but if some further aid of Parliament could be had, to raise the Stock to 300, most people would sit down tolerably easy under their respective losses. . . .*

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1720[–1], Jan. 21.—Mr. Lechmere has never been out of his room, since I writ to you; kept his bed for a week, and has been very ill; is now I hope recovering, but is very lame still; it has been very unlucky at this time to be confined, but he hopes to get out a Monday.

As to what you say of the Secret Committee, I believe 'tis generally thought to have been a good deal laboured by the Court to carry their List, and for their interest so to do; and those who are of their side, say it appeared to be their intention to baffle the enquiry, and carrying their List would have done it, in the most effectual manner. I don't send you my own thoughts, which perhaps you may imagine is (*sic*) prejudiced, but what I have heard from several people.

The House of Lords have had the Directors before them two or three times, and the Duke of Wharton I hear has spoke extremely well upon this occasion. I wish you had any thoughts of coming up, and contributing your part, in this disordered state of affairs; all people know your disinterestedness, which must give a greater weight to whatever you did, at this and all other times; but what I say is of no moment, for you know the situation of things, and are certainly a much better judge of what is proper for you to do, than I am.

Lady Jane Wharton shewed me a letter from you; the want of you is a great disadvantage to them, for there has been nothing done, since you went away; nor as I find, is likely to be, unless you were here. . . .

* There is another letter (no year given) from Sir W. Robinson, asking countenance for his son, one of the competitors at an election for York. He says, "I am just wore out in the City's service, so decline the fatigue of Parliament."

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

1720[-1], Jan. 24.—Since my last to you, I have been told you are coming to town, but not finding by yours to me you have any inclination to it, I dare not give credit to what would be so great a pleasure to me, as the seeing you.

Mr. Lechmere has not yet been out, and mends so very slowly, and the humour still hangs about him, that I am afraid it will be two or three days longer, before he will be able to be abroad.

You will by this post have an account, that your acquaintance Mr. Knight is gone off; he went as 'tis supposed last Saturday night or Sunday morning. I have not heard what resolutions the Commons came to yesterday, but 'twas thought, upon this, all the Directors would be taken into custody. I believe Mr. Knight's being gone will be a loss to the Secret Committee, for he knew as much of the secret as anybody. 'Tis said that some of the principal brokers will make discoveries; to be sure 'tis in their power, who have transacted so much, to give a good deal of light. I believe those people are not very easy at present, who know themselves to be deep in the knavish part which was last summer carried on with so much success.

[Postscript.]—Since I writ this I hear, upon Mr. Knight's going off, Sir John Blunt, Sir John Fellows, Sir John Lambert, Sir Theodore Jansen, and Mr. Sawbridge are taken into custody; the Proclamation is out, [£]2,000 reward for the taking Mr. Knight. I am really sorry for him, for in all appearance he was a fair obliging man. Mr. Aselby is out, Mr. Poltney in his room.

Robert Knight.

[1720-1, Jan.]—"A copy of Mr. [Robert] Knight's letter to the Directors of the S. S. [South Sea] Company, he being their cashier, upon his withdrawing himself out of England."

Sir J. Vanbrugh to Lord Carlisle.

1720-1, Feb. 2, London.—I have just now been to wish Mr. Walpole joy of the King's promising him to be first Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer at the end of the Sessions (*sic*). Lord Sund[erland] will then be Secretary of State, and Lord Stanhope Captain General. That is, I take it for granted it will be so, since the King has written a letter with his own hand to the Duke of Marlborough with the greatest expressions of kindness and esteem, to let him know it will be much for his service in this juncture if he gives up that station. The King's writing this letter I have only known as a secret, not yet to be spoken of; but that 'tis intended Lord Stanhope should be Captain General is talked on everywhere. This point of Lord Marlborough's quitting has hung these two days, upon her Grace's opposing it, purely I believe for the money; and so I suppose she will haggle for a pension to support the poor old officer and his wife.*

Sir Harcourt Masters to Lord Carlisle.

1720[-1], Feb. 4, Tower Hill.—Has delivered up his Commissions as Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower Hamlets and Colonel of the second

* This and many other letters of Sir John Vanbrugh contain references to his disputes with the Duchess of Marlborough touching the building of Blenheim, and make bitter complaints against her. Other letters treat of architectural matters in relation to Castle Howard and other edifices.

Regiment thereof. Is not conscious of having done anything to incur the displeasure of Parliament, otherwise than being in bad company. Was far from being a manager, having been totally ignorant of many things that were done, and never had it in his power to prevent things being done which he disapproved.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Sir Harcourt Masters' letter—one of the Directors of the S. S. Company—in answer to mine, wherein I required him to deliver up the Commissions he held under me in the Tower Hamlets.

[Sir J. Vanbrugh] to Lord Carlisle.

1721, Feb. 7.—Your Lordship will hear by this post, that my Lord Stanhope died suddenly on Sunday. I believe, in the present distracted juncture, the whole Cabinet Council would have been a less loss both to the King and nation, not only for his quite superior knowledge in all foreign affairs, but from the great credit he had at present at home, when few others have any at all. He stood quite clear in the eyes of all parties in regard to this devilish South Sea affair, that is like to taint the greatest part of those who were otherwise fit to do business; and has behaved himself with great applause in the House of Lords, and with great temper, now that people's passions who may mean well, and the artifice of others who mean the worst of mischiefs, seem every day to bring things to the brink of the utmost confusion, particularly that of a difference between the two Houses, which at this time would blow all up. . . .

I much fear the Report of the Secret Committee won't mend things. I wish something don't then appear against people one would rather it did not—not so much for their own sakes (though I wish them well) as from the service they have done, and can still do, the King and his best friends, if they are not disabled from it; which I have some particular reason to fear, more than yet appears abroad. And I believe the P—— [Prince] knows enough to please him mightily, though 'twill gratify his passions much more than conduce to his interest.

Mr. Walpole inspects all the Treasury business, though he does not take the direction of it in form till the end of the Sessions.

Secretary Craggs is very ill. His father is to be examined before the Secret Committee.

Not in Vanbrugh's hand.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1720–1], Feb. 11.—As for the report of my Lord's [Irwin] not going to Barbadoas, 'tis entirely groundless, since there is no great prospect of the Stock ever rising so as to make that voyage unnecessary. I writ your Lordship word some time ago my Lord had made up his bargain with Charters, I think upon reasonable terms; as for his other contracts they are none of them compounded, and upon the whole he must be a great sufferer, but I really can't tell exactly how much. He designs very soon to be in Yorkshire, and will then give your Lordship an account of his affairs; he only stays here till his patent and instructions are passed before he goes down. We begin now to prepare for our long voyage. . . . .

The affairs of the South Sea I think are in a worse condition than when your Lordship left them. People has (*sic*) been alarmed for this great while every now and then that the receipts of the third subscrip-

tion would be given out at a 1000; my brother Morpeth never believed it till now, and, by what Mr. Walpole said the other day in the House, he thinks it is designed. Those unhappy people that have bought them have had one meeting, and are to have another on Tuesday, to consider if possible to prevent their coming out; but since 'tis very much suspected the Court are for their being given out at a 1000, 'twill I'm afraid be impossible to prevent it. I believe there is to be a push made to fling out Mr. Walpole's scheme, since in it there is no care took of any of the subscriptions; and if they can carry that point, 'tis thought they won't venture to give out the receipts at a 1000.

Your Lordship I conclude must hear how very odious the Ministry are to everybody; the King and his interest have suffered extremely by this affair; and really 'tis no wonder, since people are undone, and there is yet no prospect of redress. 'Tis thought my Lord Sunderland can't long be in power, my Lord Stanhope's death weakening his interest extremely. As for Mr. Lechmere, the town will have it his illness is political; he has very seldom attended the Secret Committee, and spoke very seldom in the House, but talks very high out of it. You know he is so little beloved that I believe he has many undeserved reflections cast upon him. 'Tis said Mr. Knight's going off is very serviceable to him, since there would have been some discoveries made not much to his honour had Knight stayed. Mr. Lechmere seems to be very well pleased with what the Committee has discovered; the town is very impatient to be informed, but they have not yet made their report.

The weather is very cold, and seems to be set in for a frost; 'tis very sickly, particularly the smallpox is very much about. Mr. Craggs they say is likely to do well. I wish my Lord [Irwin] every day in Yorkshire, for fear of his catching that distemper. . . . .

[P.S.] Next Monday there sets out a box of Barbadoas water for your Lordship; 'tis the first fruits we have had of our Government. At the bottom there is some tunes for the French horn.

Colonel J. Raymond to [Lord Carlisle].

1720–1, Feb. 15, Marine Square, London.—A similar letter to that of Masters on 4th Feb., surrendering his Commission and Deputation He says he was a South Sea Director, of the Committee of Shipping only.

Endorsement similar to that on the letter of 4th Feb.

[Sir J. Vanbrugh] to Lord Carlisle.

1721, Feb. 18.—The King was extremely shocked with the news of Lord Stanhope's death: he was at supper with his usual company when it was brought him; he rose immediately, and retired to his closet. He has ordered Lord Sunderland and Mr. Walpole to let Lady Stanhope know, he will make her what amends he can for her loss, and desires she will let them know what and in what manner she would have done, and it shall be complied with.

Mr. Craggs is another sensible loss to him, though not to the same degree. He holds well however, though no doubt some folks are in expectation these strokes and the disorders of the times may affect him.

By all I can learn, I incline to think Lord Sunderland will not be dropt. I believe he still has the King, which, with the consideration of his great ability in Parliament, may probably induce Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole to think it for their own service to draw with him; especially since the public cause so much requires a union. Besides, 'tis

not sure but they may have some kind of hold upon him, in these South Sea transactions, by which they may the less apprehend him, though he remains in credit with the King, especially if they themselves do him service in this juncture, which some think may be the case.

Lord Carleton, however, is lookt on as his man, if he is made President, and 'tis plain many others cast their eye towards him; so that I don't at all see him down if he gets clear of the South Sea.

At the same time, whatever the King's sentiments may be of the late comers in, in regard of the P. I do verily believe he's safe enough with them as to that point, for I believe they are far from having either opinion or affection that way, from anything they have found in the time of their being his counsellors.

The Duke of Rutland has the smallpox.

Lord Anglesey made a flaming speech today against the whole Ministry.

Not in Vanbrugh's hand.

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1720–1, Feb. 28.—The storm about the South Sea is now near an end, and we are to expect next what good will happen to it from the enquiries that have been made. I think all are safe at Court, and my Lord Carteret's being (as 'tis taken for granted) to be Secretary, and Lord Lincoln's having the Duke of Rutland's Garter, shows my Lord Sunderland stands on firmer ground than people in general fancied. Those who are esteemed the Duke of Grafton's chief friends I believe were not a little disturbed he had not that Garter, but the Duke of Buckingham dying, that matter is pretty well made up, he being to succeed him. Upon the whole, I hope they will agree enough to act pretty well together for the public service, and that the Sessions will end better than most folks thought very lately. . . .

S. Duchess of Marlborough to [Lord Carlisle].

[1720–1,]——, Sunday.—(A long letter relating to the lawsuit brought against her by Sir John Vanbrugh and others.) . . . The counsel on Sir John's side laid great weight upon my Lord Treasurer Godolphin's warrant to Sir John Vanbrugh, and the Judges ran into that very willingly, for to my certain knowledge two of them were gained by old Craggs' interest and artifices. I thank God he is now no more able to do any mischief, and the Parliament seem to be dissatisfied with his ill-gotten estate, and have a mind to recover what they can of it for the use of the unfortunate S. Sea people. I know it was very difficult to get the better of Mr. Craggs when he was living, but perhaps his ghost may not have so much influence upon the members of Parliament. . . .

The chief argument I hear he [Sir John] makes use of to gain those who were the late Lord Godolphin's friends are (*sic*) as follows: that to set aside his warrant is to cast a blot on his memory, and the like; whereas I think it is more natural to argue the other way, and to say that so good a man, and so sincere a friend as he was to the Duke of Marlborough, could not possibly design to frustrate the Queen's intentions and the Parliament's by making him liable to the expense of such a building [Blenheim], and in the midst of all those declarations to imagine that my Lord Go. meant anything by the words in the warrant

more than that he made Sir John Surveyor at my Lord Marlborough's recommendation, and that the building was on the Duke of Marl.'s behalf as the Queen gave it him, and made him the sole judge of it. . . . .*

LADY E. LECHMERE to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1720–1,] March 2.—I dined with the Duchess of Marlborough yesterday, who is mighty desirous of your coming to town. I told her, her writing to you I knew would be more effectual than anything I could say, and I was sure the doing the Duke of Marlborough justice would have great weight with you. I believe I spoke your sentiment. She has just sent me a letter to enclose to you, by which you will see something of the case. I was at the hearing of the cause with her, where the Duke was cast. I was sorry to find Sir John make so wretched a figure, and indeed could not have believed it, without his letters, papers, and oaths, which spoke very contrary. The appeal to the House of Lords will be brought to hearing in about three weeks or a month. I wish it may determine you to take a journey into this confused part of the world.

LADY E. LECHMERE to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1720–1,] March 7.—The Duchess of Marlborough is impatient to near from you, and has a great deal of troublesome business with this cause; she says, though she extremely wishes to see you, yet 'tis unreasonable to expect your coming except other business brings you.

Your prisoner, my Lord Coningsby, I believe is not very easy with his confinement; they say he talks as much there as in the House of Lords, and I believe to as much purpose.

I hope the country is not so sickly as London. The smallpox has made great slaughter in this place; 'tis happy my Lord Irwin keeps from it, for I should fear he would be in a good deal of danger if he had it.

LADY E. LECHMERE to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1720–1,] March 14.—I hope you are well of the gout, since you don't mention it in your last. I sent your letter to the Duchess of Marlborough; she has been ill of the gout, [so] that I have not seen her since, but she writ me word she had answered it.

[P.S.] Mr. Lechmere is now come, and confined to his bed; otherwise he would have attended the service of the Lord Sunderland, upon whom the House of Commons is now in debate.

SIR J. VANBRUGH to [LORD CARLISLE].

1721, March 25, Green[wic]h.—The South Sea is so hateful a subject one does not love to name it, and yet it does so interfere with almost everybody's affairs more or less, that all they have to do is in some degree governed by it. Even I, who have not gamed at all, shall probably be a loser near 2,000*l.* I would, however, fain see an end on't before I come away if I could; for when I know the worst of anything, I can

* There are three other long letters of the Duchess on this subject, dated in March and April 1721. There is also a letter of 1 July 1725, denouncing Sir John Vanbrugh, whom she had forbidden to enter her house or park, he having, in the life of the late Duke, printed a libel on the Duke and herself. A long undated letter of Lord Carlisle gives advice to the second Duke on "the situation of his affairs."

make myself tolerably easy. But I'm afraid the Parliament will be forced to sit on a great while before they can agree to settle anything. And what new work this Knight may start, if they get him to them, God knows. But I take it for granted, if he is like to tell them half so much as they have a mind he should do, they'll never have his company.

As to Lord Sunderland's case t'other day, 'tis certain there was no sort of proof upon him worth naming, scarce enough even to leave a suspicion, so that the attack has done him service. And yet the clamour runs so high against almost any Minister in power while this vile mistake was made, that many think a change would be (or perhaps will be) quite necessary; but where to change is the great difficulty. . . .

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

[1721,] April 1.—Mr. Lechmere was surprised at your Lordship's postscript about my Lord Sunderland, because, when I mentioned him to you, I said Mr. Lechmere was sick in his bed, and he was not out of it that day for half an hour, nor for three or four days after; therefore it was impossible for him to be at the House, and I am concerned you should wonder at his not being there, when this was the truth of the case.

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

1721, April 18.—The birth of this young Prince has been the only thing that has happened this good while, to please people. I wish it may be a good omen, and others may follow, for we want a great many sugar plumbs, after all that has been swallowed this winter.

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1721, April 22, London.—Mr. Aislaby is now in a bad way, the Commons having thrown him into the Directors Bill; which is looked upon as a sort of tack, lest the Lords should not have passed it, had it come single. Mr. Walpole took a good deal of pains to prevent this junction, but to no purpose, what he said seeming to influence very few. If your Lordship has the Weekly London Journal, you see with what a bitterness the Ministers are followed. And few people seem much disturbed at that paper, though I believe it would be hard for them to say where they could change to any purpose. My Lord Molesworth is reckoned the chief author of the Journal. . . .

Mr. R. Walpole to Lord Carlisle.

1721, April 29th.—I this morning received your Lordship's commands relating to the small office at Carlisle, and have obeyed them according to your desire, and the warrant is accordingly signed.

I am obliged to your Lordship for your kind congratulation; I wish it were possible to do the good that is expected, and the necessities of mankind demand. I am sure I want no inclinations, but for more I dare not answer.

I hope your Lordship will believe that with pleasure I receive and shall with readiness obey all your Lordship's commands.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Mr. Walpole's obliging answer to the first request I made to him.

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1721, May 9.—I was yesterday at the House of Lords with the Duchess of Marlborough; the cause is put off for a fortnight; she tells me she sent you down one of her written cases, and the opinions of the Judges in the Court of Exchequer. Sir John Vanbrugh was here this morning, and says he has sent you a printed paper (which I fancy you would not approve); he is now frighted about it, for he has made himself liable to severe punishment, by being guilty of a breach of the House of Lords, in printing a libel upon a peer, while a cause is depending before them in judgment, in which Sir John himself is a witness; how he'll come off, I can't tell, but he has given the Duke of Marlborough the advantage of having a full blow at him if he pleases. . . .

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1721, June 6.—I don't hear anybody guess, when the Sessions will be at an end, for though the House of Commons sits late every day, I think nothing has yet been agreed upon, to the relief of any of the sufferers. People are very angry so much has been given to the Directors, and that they should be first considered, who have so effectually ruined so many. I am glad Mr. Ingram has come off so well, because I believe he had no share in the criminal part of it; nothing could alter his humour, for he laughed and was as merry, when he did not know whether he should have a farthing, as ever he was.

The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough are gone to Windsor; the Duchess seems very easy at the losing her cause, and has not a worse opinion of the justice of it than she had before. . . .

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

1721, July 29, Windsor Lodge.—This is a very agreeable place, and the gentle exercise the Duke of Marlborough uses, I believe does him a great deal of good; he looks very well, and certainly is considerably better, both as to his speech and limbs, than he was two or three year ago.

The advice you give me, as to my sister Irwin, I think is right; relations ought to live well together if 'tis possible, and I hope my temper does not incline me to be more unreasonable than the rest of the world.

The Parliament now seems to be drawing toward a conclusion; 'tis high time it should; I believe most of the gentlemen are tired.

'Tis well if there be such a produce out of the estates of the Directors, Mr. Aiselby's and Craggs's, as may relieve the sufferers, but the public is generally the louder spoke of, and the least regarded; but surely there must arise a good deal from hence, without there be extravagant abuses. I hope you are well entertained at the races; I believe this is the time. .

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

1721, Aug. 19.—I think it is a great while since I had the pleasure of hearing from you; but I believe you have had a good deal of company lately, and the diversions of York has (*sic*) employed you. I believe the Duke of Wharton added to the life of the place, for he has a great dea of gaiety, and everybody allows him wit, and those are two things that do mighty well upon such occasions.

The Court is now in our neighbourhood; they say the King is extremely pleased with his apartment, and won't remove to Hampton Court this summer. When I was with the Duchess of Marlborough, I went once or twice to Windsor Castle, and could not help wondering the King should not choose to be there sometimes; it has so much more the air of a palace than his house here; and the park's so beautiful there, and Hide Park here, at his garden gate, so shamefully kept.

My Lord Warwick is gone off very young; I hear he made no will, and there is but 300 a year goes with the title, which will make a very poor Earl.

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

1721, Sept. 5.—I return you many thanks for your last, as Mr. Lechmere does, for your invitation. If he went to Preston, he would certainly pay his duty to you, but he has no thoughts of going thither; and if business will permit him to leave this place, his affairs require his being in Worcestershire.

I don't know how your Lordship will approve of his being made a Lord, but I believe he thinks he has had his share in the House of Commons, and was weary of it. I hope my brothers will get safe to you. I hear you think of being in town early in the winter, which I am very glad of, thinking it a great while since I had the satisfaction of your conversation. I am glad my sisters are both better in their healths than when they came down to you. . . .

The Duke of Wharton to [Lord Carlisle].

1721, Sept. 9, Wharton.—I am extremely obliged to your Lordship for your very kind letter, and assure ye that my only concern as to my public behaviour is that I am so unfortunate as to differ with you. I own Popery is a dismal and terrible thing, but a man who throws himself into certain slavery out of an apprehension that Popery may be the event of resistance, cannot, in my opinion, be compared better than to one who hangs himself, rather than venture to sea, because there is a possibility of being drowned.

I have so much business to do and so short a space to transact it in (for Newmarket meeting approaches) that I can't well spare Smales, but he shall attend me to York. . . .

There is a report, and I believe very well grounded, that the Hell-Fire Club have determined in a body, to return his Majesty thanks for his most gracious Act of Grace, which by the vast number of exceptions seems to pardon none but that wicked society and another of equal guilt, though more in fashion.

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

1721, Sept. 19.—I return you many thanks for your letter. Mr. Lechmere is always glad when you approve of any step he takes, but I believe thinks it hard this should, at this time of day, be thought upon as a proof to convince the world of his innocency, as to what he was charged with in Parliament. He imagined everybody satisfied as to that, after the inquisition he went through; and I am very certain, your Lordship is sensible the disposition at that time was not to favour him, and if anything could have been found against him, it would have been carried as far as possible. I am sure you are so just, that this must

be your sentiment from what you knew of that affair, though you were not present. As to what you mention of Mr. Lechmere's being solicitous to be made a Lord, give me leave to assure you you have been misinformed in that, for it came unsought for. I hope, though you don't say anything of coming up, yet what I have heard is true, of your designing it soon in the winter. . . .

The Duke of Wharton to [Lord Carlisle].

1721, Sept. 25.—The wickedness of the public and the necessity of my private affairs oblige me to retire into the North with my family. It is impossible for me at once to quit a life of pleasure for a perfect solitude, and therefore I would be glad to pass this winter at York. There is no house in the town large enough to receive me with satisfaction, but that which was Lady Mary Fenwyck's, and which is now Lord Widdrington's. I am told his Lordship does very seldom live there, and should take it as a particular favour if he would let me have it for this winter on his own terms. . . .*

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

1721, Oct. 17.—I was very glad to hear by my brother, you were well, and design being in town next month. The Parliament will have so short a time to sit that I conclude you won't put off your journey longer, if you intend to take any share in the Sessions.

The King is this day gone to London; he walks so much in his gardens here that they say he leaves this place with regret. He considers the Ministers more than himself, and won't give them the trouble of coming to him, or he would have stayed a week or ten days longer here.

The plague is at present the topic of most conversations, and the doctors have made a world of simple propositions to the Council, in case it should come. Your Lordship I reckon is very much out of danger, [and ?] so much within yourself, that you need converse with nobody for provisions, which, next to the infection in the air, is certainly the chief danger. I hope if this misfortune comes upon us you will escape well. I have not heard whether my sister Mary is gone to the Bath; if she is, I hope 'tis a journey of pleasure, and that she does not want it for her health. . . .

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1721, Nov. 16, Whitehall.—We are a little crippled in our Opera, by a letter from Durstanta, that she is not well, and can't be here this winter; they go on however, and two new operas are preparing, but Heydegger is much in fear the Bishops won't let his masquerades appear till the plague's over. I'm told however the King thinks that no very staunch reason.

I have seen some of the physicians, and asked them how inoculating has really succeeded, and they assure me not one single person has miscarried, nor that they find any sort of ground to fear that those who go

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* There is another letter of the Duke, undated, stating that the Duke of Bourbon is in perfect health, and that the meeting of Parliament is fixed for 9th January; referring to fox-hunting on Bramman Moor; and asking the Earl to send him a terrier. There are also several letters from his sister, Lady Jane Wharton, in a very neat hand.

through the small pox that way will have them again; and one pretty strong proof they have, by a young woman, who ever since she has had them given her, is employed to look after people who get them by the the natural course, and yet is not hurt by them. . . .

The Tories yesterday attempted, in the House of Lords, to have the instructions for treating the Northern Peace laid before them. There was a pretty long debate upon it, but the worst supported (as I am told) that has been known, though the Duke of Wharton took much pains in it. His chief (Lord Cowper) voted with the Tories, but did not speak. The pupil, they say, made quite a poor figure, never yet having spoke so ill. They were but 20 on the division, and a great majority on the other side. . . .

William Pulteney to [Lord Carlisle].

1722, March 27, Heddon.—Our election is appointed for Thursday next; I think we are very safe, for since our antagonist came down he has lost ground daily; he very imprudently raised the expectations of the Burgesses so high, that what he now offers is looked upon as nothing, and by this means he has destroyed himself. . . . .

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1722, April 6, London.—Here has been a great deal of riotous doings in several elections, even of petty officers, as well as members for Parliament. But it must be a great mortification to the Tories to find, that even in this juncture, when so great discontents are stirring, a Whig Parliament of no small majority can be got. My Lord Townshend and his near friends seem to think it chiefly owing to the firm declaration in the King's speech who[m] he would trust to and stand by. And I believe they would have thought that declaration was very much owing to them, as very possibly it might [be]. . . .

The public diversions here have flourished as if nobody had left the town; the Opera in particular, which confirms me still more that music has taken deep root with us. We don't know yet when the King will go, nor do I hear whether a Speaker will be chosen first. . . .

The Duke of Kingston to [Lord Carlisle].

1722, April 14, London.—There is no doubt but a majority of Whigs will be chose for the House of Commons, and, I hope, be a Parliament that will act for the true interest of their country. . . .

Sir J. Vanbrugh to Lord Carlisle.

1722, April 24, London.—I don't find the loss of my Lord Sund[erlan]d is likely to be much felt in our home affairs; on the contrary, those who were esteemed (amongst the Whigs) his particular friends, shew plainly already they don't think of listing under any New General on the foot they fought under him, but declare for peace and unanimity; and in that strain talk to the King, saying all they can to incline him to think he is safe and well with Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole; and though he seemed extremely disturbed and disconcerted for a day or two, he now grows much easier; and the great men are very well pleased with the disposition they find him every hour more and more in, to think the Whigs will draw together, and that the present

Ministry (whatever has formerly past) will make themselves agreeable to him. What I find of this is what I thought would be, from the moment I heard my Lord Sund[erlan]d was dead; for certainly he was in a way of embroiling things much. I fancy the Whigs will now incline to try what they can do, without any aid from the Tories, which will recommend the Ministers more than anything to the King, as I am well informed; it being with much uneasiness he gave way to some things my Lord Sund[erlan]d worked him to of that kind, which my Lord might have felt had he lived longer. . . .

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1722, April 26.—I believe my Lord Sunderland's death surprised you; he seemed to be a strong man, and very likely to have lived a great many years. I suppose my brother has given you an account of the proceedings of the M[iniste]rs since. I believe never anything was equal to it; I am glad my brother resents it with such a spirit, as everybody ought, when their property is so openly invaded. . . .

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1722, May 5, London.—I am entirely of your Lordship's opinion that my Lord Sund[erland]'s death will prove no loss to the public, nor do I find him at all lamented. On the contrary, people now speak freely against the sort of Tory schemes he was endeavouring to work the King to; though he found mighty difficulty in it, and lost ground by it; which, by what I now hear, might very probably have enabled Mr. Walpole in little time to have blown him quite up; for he took the other point, of standing and falling with the Whigs, which was not only the King's own entire opinion, but had been much confirmed in times past by my Lord Sunderland himself. So that to work him off of it now, and to bring him to think the Tories could be faithful to him, was what he could not relish, though he had been brought a little into it much against his will, but remained very uneasy under it; so that he with pleasure came into that part of his Speech (advised to it chiefly by Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole, as I hear) which declared who[m] he would rely upon.

It therefore seems now upon the whole as if the Whigs in the main points would go pretty well together, and to the King's liking. Whether the President [Lord Carleton] and Lord Carteret will hold their stations one knows nothing yet of; only I find it the opinion of many that it will be hard for the Whigs to act in confidence with them.

But in the midst of these home affairs, people begin to be much alarmed from abroad; there has been a good deal of whispering some time, and now the sending away Horace Walpole, Col. Churchill, &c., and the King's deferring his voyage till after the Birthday, with several other circumstances, increase the talk and fear very much, that there is an alliance formed or forming between Spain, France, and the Czar, which may regard us. Those that must know most of this at Court are very silent, but I think don't seem easy. I should not at all wonder (nor be much alarmed) at the Spaniards hearkening a little to the account no doubt the Jacobites here have given them, of the hopes they had of a Tory Parliament, and the people of that stamp shewing themselves much disposed on the new Election to the Pretender's interest. And if some scheme was formed to have laid hold of a fair opportunity, 'twas no more

than one might well expect, and that the Spaniards might probably put a helping hand to it. But in that case, one would think, the neck of it must now be broken. I therefore don't like these symptoms of something yet to be apprehended, because I have no notion of anything now being practicable but by a strong alliance and an open war, which can't be without France is of the party, and that (in our present want, both of money and credit) might set us cruel hard. People grow into eager expectation of what will come out, and will probably talk one another into greater apprehensions in a few days, if something don't appear to make them easy. I shall acquaint your Lordship with what I hear. . . .

Sir J. Vanbrugh to Lord Carlisle.

1722, May 10, London.—Your Lordship will see by the Gazette and other papers the main that is known of the present affair. All I can tell you farther of it is, that although the Ministers had some intimation of a scheme on foot, they neither knew it certain, nor anything material of it, till within this week. Nor do they yet know, as I am (I think) well informed, that the thoughts of attempting the design is yet over; only they are easy as to France and Spain taking any part in it, having the most direct and positive assurances from the Regent that he can express in words. But they know of more money remitted from hence than one would imagine, to carry on this design; and they say they have already sufficient matter to lay before the Parliament, to obviate anything that may be surmised against the reality of a deep design to overset the present Government.

Lord Townshend to Lord Carlisle.

1722, May 19, Whitehall.—I have laid before the King the letter with which your Lordship favoured me about your coming up to town. His Majesty takes very kindly this mark of your zeal for his service, but as he hopes that the precautions which have been taken will remove the danger, at least from these parts, especially since I can assure you that there is no apprehension that the conspirators should be assisted either by France or Spain, his Majesty therefore thinks there is no necessity of your Lordship being at the trouble of such a journey at this time, and believes that your presence in the country will rather be of greater use to him and to the public.

Original, signed. Endorsed: Lord Townshend's letter in answer to a letter I writ to him to know the King's pleasure, whether his Majesty would have me come to town or go into Cumberland upon the discovery of a plot against the Government.

Lord Lonsdale to [the Deputy Lieutenants of Cumberland].

1722, May 20, Lowther.—Gentlemen,—There came to my hands this morning a letter directed to Charles Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland, and in his Lordship's absence to the Deputy Lieutenants of the said county, which letter imports that his Majesty hath received repeated and unquestionable advices that several of his subjects, forgetting the allegiance they owe to his Majesty, as well as the natural love they ought to bear to their country, have entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a Rebellion in this Kingdom in favour of a Popish Pretender, with a traitorous design to overthrow our

excellent Constitution in Church and State; and for the prevention of this wicked conspiracy taking effect, the above mentioned letter further directs that the laws be put in execution against such persons as shall be judged dangerous to the peace of the Kingdom, pursuant to the tenour of Acts of Parliament therein mentioned.

As I believe you will judge it necessary to have as speedy a meeting as possible in order to consider of such steps as are necessary to be taken in obedience to this Letter of Council, I would humbly propose the meeting may be at Penreth on Friday next, where I propose to wait upon you, and make you any assistance that lies in my power.

Copy.

[Lady] Mary Howard of Worksop to [Lord Carlisle].

1722, May 23, [London].—The many obligations I have formerly received from your Lordship gives (*sic*) me the hopes of your favour in this, which is in behalf of a relation of your Lordship's as well as mine, Mr. Barnard Howard['s] son, who came here with his family some months ago. He is a stranger in these parts, and came here only for his conveniency for some time; so is only a lodger. The noise of a plot has obliged the Lord Mayor to summon all gentlemen to the Hall to take the oaths, or find bail. The first your Lordship knows is never done amongst us; the latter is what he cannot pretend to get by his small acquaintance here. The favour that is desired from your Lordship is one line to my Lord Mayor, [which] would make him not require that of him which he does to [of] those that are housekeepers here. He is to appear on Saturday next by nine of the clock in the morning; and if it were not improper for your Lordship to send one to the Court, it would give a countenance to the distressed relation, whose wife is more likely to die than live. I am sure, whatever you will think fit to do in this affair, my son Norfolk will have the same regard as if it was done to himself. Give me leave to beg one line in answer to this.

Tho. Serjeant to [Lord Carlisle].

1722, June 2, Tower.—The commissions for the officers of the Militia which your Lordship was pleased to sign, I received and delivered to 'em on his Majesty's birthday, the Regiment being drawn out upon that occasion.

It was also thought proper to show more than ordinary marks of our joy here upon the same occasion; besides the guns on the Wharf, those on the Ramparts were fired all round; all the warders attended in their new clothes; and at night we had a bonefire on the Hill, and the whole Garrison gave three volleys of shot.

The warders had wine allowed 'em to drink the King's health, and the soldiers two barrels of beer; the charge of which and the bonefire I undertook your Lordship would be content withal; and Mr. D'Oyly gave all the officers a very handsome entertainment at his house in the evening.

Sir J. Vanbrugh to Lord Carlisle.

1722, June 19, London.—I have only time tonight to acquaint your Lordship with a few particulars I have learnt of what my Lord Marlborough has left, which is more than the most extravagant believers ever named. The Treasury, a little before he died, found he

had a full million rolling in the Government, on loans, &c., besides his Stocks, his 99 years' annuities, not subscribed in, his land, his Posthouse 5,000*l.* a year, his mortgages, and God knows what he may have besides in foreign banks.

He has left his widow (I wish some ensign had her) 10,000*l.* a year, to spoil Blenheim her own way; 12,000*l.* a year more to keep herself clean, and plague folks at law with; 2,000*l.* a year to Lord Sund[erland] for ever, and as much to the Duchess of Montague for life; 8,000*l.* a year to Lord Ryalton for present maintenance; and the gross of his wealth (for these are but snippings) to Lady Godolphin and her successors, according to the grand settlement. I forgot one article (a sad one): he has only given Lord Godolphin a jointure of 3,000*l.* a year if he outlives my Lady. This I fancy was her Grace's doings for not voting for her [on her appeal to the House of Lords in her action against Sir J. V.].

It having been referred to my Lord Godolphin with the other executors, Clayton and Guidet, to consider about the Duke's funeral and place of burying, I have taken the liberty to mention to my Lord what your Lordship designs at Castle Howard, and has been practised by the most polite people before priestcraft got poor carcasses into their keeping, to make a little money of.

Sure, if ever any such thing as erecting monuments in open places was right, it would be so in this case. But I fancy the Duchess will prevent his lying near her, though 'twould not make her very melancholy neither.

The place I propose is in Blenheim Park, with some plain but magnificent and durable monument over him.

South Sea Company.

1722, June 25.—Printed receipt by Row. Rogers, cashier for the South Sea Company, under the Act of last Session, for the payment of the second five per cent. on a sum borrowed from the Company, in full discharge of that sum.

[Sir J. Vanbrugh to Lord Carlisle.]

1722, July 19, London.—I believe my Lord Godolphin would have liked very well to have had the Duke of Marlborough buried in the Park, with a very good monument over him; but the Duke directs in his Will that they should bury him in the chapel at Blenheim. Here is a pompous funeral preparing, but curbed and crippled by her Grace, who will govern it by her fancies, amongst which there is but one good one, and that is, that she'll pay for it. I don't know whether it won't cost her ten thousand pounds. What a noble monument would that have made, whereas this idle show will be gone in half an hour, and forgot in two days. The other would have been a show, and a noble one, to many future ages.

I shewed the young Duchess what your Lordship writ, about so great a fortune falling into such generous hands, which she took mighty well. She says, covetousness has happened to appear to her so very odious in some other people, that she is sometimes frightened lest she should have seeds in her blood that may spring up one time or other. I tell her, now is the time if ever, since it generally goes along with great riches.

This Will was made but in March last, and hurts nobody but her. I don't find however that either she or my Lord Godolphin have the least disposition to dispute it, and I hope nobody else will; though there's a great temptation to the Duke of Montague, who would come in for three or four hundred thousand pounds if this Will were set aside, and that the old one be cancelled, and 'tis said it certainly is, though I can't believe so great a mistake could be made.

I don't think, however, it would be possible to set this Will aside, since besides so much as may be pleaded in support of the Duke's capacity to make a will, it recites the former almost throughout, and gives the bulk of the estate where it ought to go, and where all the world knows the Duke ever intended it.

Her Grace has by this Will (for to be sure that was her doings) made my Lord Blandford independent of his father and mother, deprived her daughter of the jewels, and catered bravely for herself, I being told yesterday by a good hand that one of the executors has said, they knew of six hundred thousand pounds she had of her own, besides what the Duke has disposed of, which I have seen valued by way of money, and amounts to almost 1,400,000*l*., besides jewels, plate, pictures, houses, and furniture. So that, at this reckoning, the whole amounts to a great deal above two millions. What my Lord Godolphin at present enters into is not so much as at first was thought; my Lady Duchess tells me she finds it to be full 30,000*l*. a year however, with which they seem well content.

The Duke has expressed an earnest desire that an Act of Parliament may be obtained to continue this great estate in his family, but I find nobody disposed to come into it, as indeed I should wonder if they were.

'Tis great pity, as your Lordship observes, that the Duke made no disposition to public uses, the want of which reflects cruelly upon him. But that which wounds his character much more, and will to all ages blast it in a great degree, is what now is freely said, and generally allowed for truth, that had the Queen lived a month longer, he had been seen to act a sad part, having made his peace on the worst terms. His Lady is now looked upon as a thorough perfect Jacobite, and her having furnished money to the Pretender not denied by her family. These are strange things.

The King is much pleased with Kensington, and the easy way of living he is fallen into there. He goes however to Hampton Court the beginning of next month, and 'tis thought will make some little tour toward Salisbury, and back by Winchester and Portsmouth. He is not a bit content with Sir Tho. Hewet in finishing the rooms at Kensington. I have hopes of his doing something of advantage to me, though not as an architect; which is not a trade, I believe, for anybody to recommend themselves by at Court. I fancy your Lordship's godson will be a professor that way, for he knows pillars and arches and round windows and square windows already, whether he finds them in a book or in the streets, and is much pleased with a house I am building him in the field at Greenwich, it being a tower of white bricks, only one room and a closet on a floor. He talks everything, is much given to rhyming, and has a great turn to dry joking. What these seeds may grow to, God knows, they being of a kind that may do his business, up hill or down hill, or perhaps upon the whole he were as well without them. They serve however to make himself and other people sport at present.

. . .

Holograph, not signed.

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

1722, Aug. 18.—I writ to you sometime ago, and can't forbear again enquiring how you do, after your return from York, which is a week of hurry, but I hope you are perfectly well after it, and have been agreeably entertained.

The King and Prince's journey to Salisbury is now resolved on; they design reviewing the troops there, and 'tis said will be out about a fortnight. I wish my brother Howard was in the country with you, for Hide Park is a very expensive place to all the officers, and I believe very unpleasant.

I have been lately with the Duchess of Marlborough at Windsor Lodge; she spoke of you with great respect, as she always does upon all occasions.

Tho. Serjeant to [Lord Carlisle].

[1722,] Aug. 25, Tower.—Yesterday the Bishop of Rochester was committed here a prisoner for high treason; the copy of his commitment, Major Whyte tells me, he sends your Lordship this post. He is kept close, and lodged at Mr. Brooks'.*

The Earl of Orrery.

1722, Sept. 28, 9 [Geo. I.], Whitehall.—Warrant by John Lord Carteret, principal Secretary of State, to the Lieutenant of the Tower of London [Lord Carlisle], to receive into his custody the body of Charles Earl of Orrery, herewith sent to him "for high treason."

Copy.

Lord North and Grey.

1722, Oct. 27, Whitehall.—Warrant by Lord Townshend, principal Secretary of State, to the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, or his deputy, to receive into his custody the body of William, Lord North and Grey, herewith sent to him "for high treason."

Copy.

The Duke of Norfolk.

1722, Oct. 29.—Similar warrant for the custody of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, "for suspicion of high treason."

Copy.

Lord Townshend to Lord Carlisle.

1722, Nov. 6, Whitehall.—I intended to have waited upon your Lordship this afternoon, but was prevented by business that I could not put off. I have laid before the King the applications made in behalf of the Duchess of Norfolk and of Mr. George Kelly, and I am commanded to acquaint you that his Majesty does not think fit for the public service that her Grace should be permitted to visit the Duke her husband. And as to Mr. Kelly, though there is good reason to believe that, far

* There is a large number of letters from T. Serjeant to the Earl [as Constable of the Tower], dated in the Tower from 1720 to 1726, relating to the prisoners confined there, the fees payable by them, houses and lodgings, the appointments of warders, &c. Serjeant was the Earl's deputy, and remained at the Tower after the Earl's dismissal.

from wanting money, he was a distributor of it among those who were retained to serve the Pretender's cause, yet since his circumstances are represented to be necessitous, his Majesty is willing he should have the allowance that has usually been made to prisoners in his condition.

Original, signed.

The Duke of Norfolk to [Lord Carlisle].

[1722, Nov.]—I return your Lordship my thanks for all your favours, and particularly for your applying for leave to have my wife admitted to see me; though it is not proper as yet, I don't doubt your Lordship will continue your kindnesses to me, and apply again when your Lordship judges proper. I send here enclosed a letter for my brother Phil., which your Lordship will be so good as to seal, and send it as directed.*

M. Duchess of Norfolk to [Lord Carlisle].

[1722,] Nov. 7.—Many thanks to your Lordship for the favour of yours; I am much surprised that the Court should deny the small favour I asked; and I hope your Lordship will continue to do me all the service which lies in your power. If anything occurs to your Lordship which is to be done in these circumstances, I beg your kind advice.

The Same to the Same.

[1722,] Nov. 8.—If I seem importune, I hope my concern will make some atonement for my importunity; I was resolved, in compliance with your Lordship's advice, to wait with patience; yet I cannot but think it very hard that the Court should refuse me so small a favour, as to see my Lord Duke, and to be with him now and then for an hour or two; I am more surprised at this, because we have seen in my Lord Oxford's case much greater liberty granted from the very beginning, though the cause of his confinement was more than the suspicion of treason: this makes me beg of your Lordship that you would consider whether there be any other way to be tried, and whether it would not be convenient to make application to somebody else, since my Lord Townsend has denied me: I rely on your Lordship, and should be unwilling to try anything without your advice, and this makes me confide that your Lordship will leave nothing undone. I shall be glad to hear what your Lordship thinks of what I propose, and am at the same time extreme sorry I am obliged to be so troublesome, and at a time in which your Lordship's ill state of health makes business so heavy a burthen.

The Same to the Same.

[1722,] Nov. 12, London.—I am afraid on the one side of importuning your Lordship, on the other side I cannot satisfy myself; I must own I think the time seems very long; and I must again beg your Lordship would be pleased to let no occasion slip of representing to the Ministry the great hardship which I think they put me to; I hope your Lordship will be upon the watch, to take the most favourable opportunity of applying again to them, and let none be lost.

* Another letter of the same Duke, relating to Arundel Buildings in St. Clement Danes, is dated Jan. 28, 1720–1.

Lord Townshend to [Lord Carlisle].

[1722,] Dec. 28, Whitehall.—His Majesty has commanded me to acquaint your Lordship that he has no farther occasion for your Lordship['s] service as Constable of the Tower. I am with the greatest respect, (&c.).

The Earl of Carlisle to King George I.

1722[-3], Jan. 2.—Sir,—Being confined by the gout, I hope your Majesty will excuse the liberty I take in addressing myself to you after this manner.

On Friday my Lord Townshend signified to me that it was your Majesty's pleasure to remove me from the command of the Tower; and he has been pleased since to tell me that your Majesty has been for some time dissatisfied with my behaviour and conduct, which I humbly presume was the reason and occasion of drawing this mark of your displeasure upon me.

The loss of my employment gives me little concern; it is most just and fit that your Majesty should place and bestow your favours in the manner you judge most proper; but being told that I have incurred your Majesty's displeasure, that (as it ought) gives me a very sensible disquiet.

Having always steadfastly adhered to your Majesty's interest before your accession to the Throne, and not being conscious of having done one single act against it since, but on the contrary having served you (as I dare boldly affirm) faithfully and honestly to the best of my power and judgment, your Majesty will allow me to say that I have been injuriously treated in the representation that has been made to you of my actions and conduct. They tell me that I have offended your Majesty: when I asked and insisted to know in what, I was answered, that it was not proper to give me an account. Your Majesty's known goodness, and justice to all your subjects, emboldens me to beg and beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to let me know what is alleged against me. . . . . .

Copy in the Earl's own hand. Endorsed: A copy of my letter to the King upon my being turned out from being Constable of the Tower.

Lord Townshend to [Lord Carlisle].

[1723, Jan. ——], Sunday evening.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter, and do very well remember that when I waited upon your Lordship, upon your pressing me very earnestly to let you know the reasons that induced the King to remove you from your employment, I did then tell you that I had for some time perceived in general that his Majesty was not entirely satisfied with your Lordship's conduct, but that as to particulars your Lordship would agree with me that in my station, did I know them, I could not be at liberty to mention them to you. I can only repeat the same thing to you now. . . .

M. Duchess of Norfolk to [Lord Carlisle].

[1723,] May 25.—These are in my Lord Duke's name to thank your Lordship for your kind offer; his Grace desires your Lordship

would be pleased to stand bail, and he will acquaint you when he is called upon, which we suppose will be upon Monday.

[P.S.] I understand just now that the bail must be given in tonight.

The Duke of Grafton to [Lord Carlisle].

[1723,] June 10, London.—In a month I am to go to my Kingdom,* who are not in better temper in money or mind than we [;] pray God we don't lose our credit and say the sentt (*sic*) did not lie, which will not bring us off as it had done before; but with the satisfaction of, my dear Lord, your good wishes, I hope to get well over, and to return here in order to pay you my respects next winter. . . .

Endorsed by the Earl: 1725 (*sic*).

[Sir J. Vanbrugh to Lord Carlisle.]

1723, Nov. 26, London.—The Regent's sudden death is a great surprise, and (by the help of some knaves in Exchange Alley) has frightened some people to dispose of part of their Stocks, which has sunk the value of them pretty much today, but 'tis thought [they] will begin to rise again very soon. The Duke of Bourbon was designed by the late Duke of Orleans to be prime minister in his room very soon, the fatigue being too much for him; so he was immediately declared upon this account. I don't find he is esteemed a man of much parts or business; a little fickle, and much interested. But at the same time I find all here agree there is not now one man left in France in any degree fit to take the helm into his hand, so low the great men run there at present. So that there seems little danger at present of any great designs being probable relating to foreign affairs; nor have they any tolerable hopes of their young King proving anything that either the good or the bad men of a nation would wish for, all accounts, both of his parts or (*sic*) dispositions, being [as] bad as may be.

Holograph, not signed.

Lord Carlisle to Lord [Halifax].

[1723 ?] Dec. 29, Castle Howard.—As to the subject of your Lordship's letter (the grant Mr. Cosby expects of some ground out of Windsor Forest, adjoining to his house), I can say little to it as yet, having had no representation made to me by any of the officers of the forest, in what manner it may affect the deer either as to their harbour or support, or whether it may any way render the hunting less commodious or agreeable. What I have to observe in general upon this occasion is that in my opinion the parks, chaces, and forests belonging to the Crown should be well preserved and kept entire, that they may answer the intent for which they were first erected (the credit and honour of the Crown), and contribute to the entertainment of such of our Princes as do or may hereafter delight in field sports.

Copy, in the Earl's own hand.

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* He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Lord Townshend to [Lord Carlisle].

1723-4, Jan. 30, Whitehall.—Your Lordship's letter . . . . I received not long after my return from Hanover. The hurry of business has been indeed great upon me; however, I did not neglect obeying your Lordship's commands, as Mr. Idle* can be my witness. . . . The King commanded me to let you know that he had granted your request, and that your Lordship's son [Charles Howard] shall have the place of a Groom of the Bedchamber. . . .

The Duke of Grafton to Lord Carlisle.

[1724,] Feb. 4, Dublin.—I have waited some time, without doing myself the honour of writing to you, being in hopes every day to have been able to have done something for Sir Warren Crosbie. . . . . Our climate is so good and the Government so mild that it is impossible to be sick, except of the distempers that attend great towns; pray God I come off well. I do assure your Lordship if you was at this place, and that vigour that I have been witness to had not abated a little, you certainly would be in trouble. This is an ill subject, and it ought to be left.

I hope in about three weeks to kiss your hands at London.†

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1724, Feb. 11, Whitehall.—I am glad I can acquaint your Lordship that we have prevailed with my Lord Morpeth to take under his conduct the Bill for Reforming the Streets. I, finding at last that Mr. Walpole was come to think a little seriously of the matter, as a thing quite fit for the Government to take some care of, concluded, if he engaged anybody of note to take the Chair, he would certainly take care he should be supported in it. So my Lord Morpeth being named by Mr. Frankland and others, and Mr. Walpole saying nobody would be better, I asked him whether he would be so good to speak to him himself; he said, with all his heart. This I immediately acquainted my Lord with, who seemed a little unwilling, on a diffidence he had of himself, where he should be obliged to hold the chair at a Committee of the whole House, which he had never yet done. But Mr. Walpole having since spoke to him, and everybody else pressing him to it, he has at last resolved to take all the pains he can to carry so good a public work through, and has been with me this morning in order to set the thing in motion immediately; which I hope and believe he won't fail of being successful in, for I take it for granted they will support him. . . .

Lord Halifax to [Lord Carlisle].

1723[-4], Feb. 12, Horton.—I have got Mr. Walpole's promise that when his Majesty comes over, he will get a grant for a piece of ground round my brother Cosby's house in Windsor Forest that will be very

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* An attorney of Lincoln's Inn. There are many letters of his on business matters.

† There is another letter from the Duke on a proposed visit to Castle Howard, year not stated.

convenient for him, and no damage to the deer or wood. It being under your Lordship's care, I trouble you with this, to beg your consent. . . .

Endorsed: Col. Cosby's intended inclosure (&c.)

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1724, Feb. 18.—There has [have] died of the small-pox in Paris this last year 14,000 people, whereas there never died in London in the worst years above 3,000. This has occasioned the physicians at court there writing over hither, to Sir Hans Sloan and Mr. Amyand, the King's surgeon (who inoculated the young Princesses), to know what success that practice has really had here. This enquiry has been in regard to the King of France. But the priesthood presently stept in, and had the matter sent to the Sorbonne, whose wisdom and piety do not think fit to allow of it. I don't hear of any of our clergy but High Church who are of opinion with them.

When the King was at Hanover, Prince Frederick hinted something to him as if he should not be unwilling to be inoculated if the King thought it right. The King told him he should not care to direct it, but that he himself had a good opinion of it, and the Prince knew how it had succeeded with his brother and sisters; but that he looked upon him to be now of an age proper to determine such things himself, and so left it to him to think farther of it. The result of which at last is, that here is a person just arrived from the Prince to the King, to desire his leave that he may be inoculated, which I suppose will be agreed to.

The masquerade flourishes more than ever. Some of the Bishops (from the true spirit of the clergy to meddle in everything) had a mind to attack the King about them, which I believe he did not like, for he took occasion to declare aloud in the Drawing-room that whilst there were masquerades he would go to them. This, with what the Bishops understood from some Ministers they applied to, made them think it might be as well to be quiet. The Bishop of London however, during this (*sic*—Lent?), preached one very spiritless sermon on the subject, which I believe has not lost Heydegger one single ticket. . . .

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1724, March 26, London.—I don't know what the King will do this summer; some fancy, go abroad again; but if one may regard some of the small German officers about him, it will be quite otherways. Lockman has told me he thinks he will make a considerable Progress at home this year; which, if he does, is most likely to be northward. . . .

My Lord Morpeth is often low spirited about this Paving Bill, and often much inclined to give it up till another Sessions, thinking the great men don't appear in it, as he expected they would. But for my part, I see no rubs or delays more than what I reckoned upon, from the natural course of everything moving in Parliament that's worth having; nor do I think Mr. Walpole is backward in the thing, though he yet has taken little part in it, more than on proper occasions declaring himself for it. But I think he designs to take a part to purpose when the Bill is brought in, and comes to be read a second time. I may be mistaken in this, but I can't help reckoning upon it, and therefore have joined with Mr. Strickland, Frankland, and others in persuading my Lord Morpeth to go on, which he does, but I think chiefly in complaisance to us. But I think nothing is to be carried of this kind, but by resolution,

and pushing on with vigour. Mr. Walpole has now gone so far as to look the Bill over and approve of it; so I hope it will be brought into the House on Saturday. And though there should not be time to get it through this Sessions, I shall be glad to have it lodged in the House, that people may know what it is; and by consequence that it is not liable to the reflections a pack of rogues without doors cast upon it, in order to stir up the people to come with clamorous petitions against it. For the Bill is quite a fair thing, without the least face of a bubble or job of any kind, and so may bear the light. . . .

My Lord Walpole is to be married tonight, or is married already; I don't know which.

Sir J. Vanbrugh to Lord Carlisle.

1724, April 11, London.—I was to wait on Lord Morpeth this morning, but did not find him. I am glad to find my opinion confirmed by that of your Lordship, that it was right for him to bring in the Bill, let its fate be what it would. I hope he will move on Monday for a second reading, that we may see what kind of objections will rise against it, whether there be time to pass it or no. What I most apprehend is that some simple, insignificant proposal, that will do no manner of good, may be accepted in its room. For something I verily think they will do, but ten to one a foolish one.

I have met with no curious diver into state matters today, to furnish me with anything worth writing to your Lordship on these changes. . . .

Lord Townshend to [Lord Carlisle].

1724, Oct. 20, London.—Having had his Majesty's permission to take a trip into the country, from whence I did not return till lately, I have had no opportunity hitherto, of returning your Lordship my thanks for the convenience I found at Windsor, in the use of your Lordship's lodgings. It is with great pleasure that I assure your Lordship that the King was perfectly well pleased with that place, and I believe likes it beyond any other palace he has. If anything could make it more agreeable to him, it would be a greater plenty of game, which indeed is pretty much wanting in the country thereabout. His Majesty is very glad to hear that your Lordship has given such orders as may prevent a scarcity for the future, and takes it as a mark of your disposition to promote, upon every occasion, his satisfaction and service.

As the meeting of the Parliament draws near, we hope to have the honour of seeing your Lordship in Town soon; though I do not apprehend we shall have much disturbance this Session, everything being very quiet at home, and our foreign affairs upon a better foot than I could have expected or even hoped. For I can tell your Lordship in confidence that his Majesty's reconciliation with the Czar is as good as concluded, so that we are not like to have any disturbance from the North.

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1724, Dec. 10, London.—Here is so much peace and quietness, both at home and abroad, that I know nothing to entertain your Lordship with, but that Mr. Johnston told me he supped t'other night with the King, and told him your Lordship thought you could answer the

furnishing him with game enough when he should think fit to honour Windsor again. He said he should be very glad to find you coul d be as good as your word. . . .

This girl at Leicester House is a great disappointment. She had very near killed her mother. Dr. Cham[n] laid her, and they all agreed she could not have lived three minutes longer.

N. Hawksmoor.

1724–1734.—A large number of letters and papers of Mr. N. Hawksmoor, relating to architecture, sculpture, and painting, chiefly at Castle Howard.

The Duke of Newcastle (Holles-Newcastle) to [Lord Carlisle].

1725, Aug. 6, Whitehall.—I had the honour of your Lordship's letter, and have obeyed your commands in relation to the person condemned for horse-stealing. The Lords Justices have reprieved him for a month, and referred his case to Judge Reynolds, and if he reports in his favour we will get him transported. I have in my letter of this day put my Lord Townshend in mind of his promise to your Lordship's chaplain, Mr. Lewis, and will endeavour to procure him a promise of a prebend, as you propose.*

I wish it was in my power to obey your commands for the Poor Knight. They are generally nominated beforehand, and there are at present three upon the list. The Duchess of St. Alban's has solicited me ever since I came into the office for one. . . .

We are here pretty much taken up with the disturbances in Scotland, which indeed are of a very extraordinary nature, and I believe the first of the kind that ever happened; however, I am sure your Lordship will be of opinion, that we have done right in taking all imaginary care to procure a due obedience to the laws. Such a spirit as now appears in that Kingdom, if not got the better of, may, in conjunction with the ill humour that has of late been seen in Ireland, be of fatal consequence to England. It seems to me very hard, that those who are in the Administration were two years ago loudly cried out against for their partiality to Scotland in not insisting upon the Malt Tax, and are now represented as occasioning a Rebellion by laying upon Scotland not half what by the Union they are obliged to pay.

Your Lordship I am sure will be glad to learn that we are under no apprehension from the North, the Czarina having laid aside all thoughts of attempting anything with her fleet, and has accordingly disembarked her troops that were on board.

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord Carlisle.

1725, Aug. 12, Lewes.—We are here at our horse races, in humble imitation of what you are doing at York, but not so vain as to imagine we can ever come near the perfection you are at.

Lady E. Lechmere to [Lord Carlisle].

1725, Aug. 28, Bath.—I return thanks for your letter, which I received the day before I set out for this place. We have been here a week today.

* There is a letter from the Bishop of Peterborough on this matter, 12 Dec. 1727.

My Lord had had the gout six weeks before he begun his journey, and hoped it would have done him good, but it brought his pain upon him again, and he has been very ill since he came hither, not able to begin the waters yet, but I hope he will soon, being a good deal better now. I am glad your diversions at York were so agreeable, and that you did not suffer by the fatigue which attends those places.

There is a great deal of company expected here, but very little at present; the Duke of St. Alban's came so ill, that he could not bear the smell of meat, and is so much recovered that he can now eat boiled beef heartily. I wish you had any thoughts of passing any time here this season; but I can't please myself with an expectation that would give me so much satisfaction. We hear the Duke of Roxborough is out, but I think it is not in the papers this post, which makes me mention it, because perhaps you may not hear it.

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1725, Sept. 4, Greenwich.—We have had a week or ten days of tolerable harvest weather; now it rains again. But I hope, in spite of all this horrible season, England will fare better than her neighbours; at least I hear of very little corn hurt yet. Mr. Hawksmoor is here, and was caught by the gout a week ago pretty badly. . . . I am afraid a distemper has got hold of me, even worse than the gout, which is an asthma; at least I have strong symptoms of one, and know well how hard it is to deal with. But if I can't cure that, I will however try once more to cure London streets; the Speaker seeming now quite in earnest about it, and desires we will have the Bill ready to bring in, at the opening of the Sessions; so I am preparing everything I can think of, that may be of service to support it.

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1725, Sept. 11, Greenwich.—In favour of Mr. Hawksmoor's being restored to the office of Clerk of the Works of (*sic*) Whitehall, on the death of Sir Thomas Hewet.

Sir J. Vanbrugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1725, Dec. 16, London.—The Regents had letters from Hanover last night that the King will set out on Saturday. I wish he don't meet with a piece of ill news on the way that will trouble him much, Prince William being most dangerously ill. He has had a flux upon him this month or more, voiding a great deal of blood; Sir Hans Sloan much in pain about him from the beginning; but other advice was hearkened to, that would not allow him to be in any danger. He was for some days past thought so much better that yesterday the Princess talked of him without any concern, and asked my wife a great many question[s] how Charles fared with something he had of the kind half a year ago. She went afterwards to the play, the Prince with her; but when they came home, they found a sad alarm from a sudden change to what I think they call a guile, which people without doors say is certain destruction.

Here is much talk about town of changes amongst the great; squabbles at least, and attempts in the way my Lord Letchmere talked

in the summer; but I have not yet met with any of those I can hope to know a little truth from. . . .

[P.S.] My Lord Palmston's house, which joined to the Duke of Kent's, did not receive one shilling damage, nor was it found necessary so much as to remove any goods. This is owing to the advice Mr. Hawksmoor and I gave my Lord Ashburnham at the building it.

H. Pelham to [Lord Carlisle].

1725, Dec. 21, Whitehall.—I had the honour of your Lordship's letter, and as our estimates are now preparing for the Parliament, I acquainted Sir Robert Walpole with your request in relation to the Deputy Governor of Carlisle. Accordingly I have his leave to lay it before the King, and I doubt not but his Majesty will think it very reasonable that Colonel Howard's pay should be made equal to other deputy governors'. I am very glad it is in my way to be serviceable to any of your Lordship's family. Sir Robert, I conclude, will let your Lordship know his thoughts in regard to your own governments.

Endorsed: Mr. Pelham.

[Lord Carlisle] to King George II.

[1727.]—Sir,—It is with no little concern that I take the liberty to give your Majesty this trouble. I have had a long and a severe fit of the gout, which has left so great a weakness in my limbs that I am not able to walk without the help of two servants, my health requiring that I should go into the country, and the Elections drawing nigh, upon which occasion I shall contribute what lies in my power towards the choice of such Members of Parliament as I know will be for the support of your Majesty's Government. I hope, Sir, for these reasons you will have the goodness to excuse my not waiting upon you, and that you will be pleased to give me leave to go into the country.

Inclosed I have taken liberty to send your Majesty a state of Windsor Forest. One paper contains an account of the government of the forest, the other an account of the officers' names and salaries belonging thereunto. I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Majesty that the forest is in a much better condition now than when I entered upon it. I placed Col. Negus at Swinley Lodge, by whose care and the late King's directions the game of all kinds is very much increased, as I hope your Majesty will find whenever you please to take the diversion of hunting or shooting there.

I was made Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland and Governor of Carlisle by King William, and have held them ever since I was made Constable of Windsor Castle by the late King your father; and if your Majesty thinks me worthy to hold these employments, I will use my best endeavours to serve your Majesty honestly and faithfully.

In Lord Carlisle's hand. Endorsed by him: A copy of my letter to King George the 2^{d} upon my coming out of town.

The Duke of Newcastle to [Lord Carlisle].

1727, Nov. 7, Newcastle House.—(A long account of the state of foreign affairs.) . . . . Things at home go extremely well; the King is in mighty good humour, very gracious to us all, and, I hope and believe, perfectly well satisfied with the management of his affairs.

[Lady E. Lechmere] to Lord Carlisle.

1727, Dec. 30, Twitneham.—I wish you many a good year, and so does all the company here, which are this family, Mr. Baillie's and Mr. Mitchell's families, my Lord Marchmont, and my Lord Hadinton, some others, and the intended Speaker, Mr. Arthur Onslow, fifteen in all at dinner. The landlord wishes he had your table. I have pressed him to write you some news, but he says he wearied you long ago with his news, and you have cured him of being officious, for he offered you his services upon many occasions at London, none of which were accepted of.

However, he tells me to write that the Peace, when it comes, will be good, for it's like God's peace; it's both long coming and passes all understanding; in a word, there's a downright right (*sic*) treachery in the matter, but where to fix that, is very hard. The King is forced to trust foreigners, having no ministers at Madrid. Count Rottenburgh is the man trusted both by France and us, to settle matters. His instructions (at least all those we know of) were approved of by us, but so it is in fact, that he has acted downright against them; but whether the Emperor and the Queen of Spain have gained him, or that the Court of France, in order to renew with Spain at our cost, had given him underhand instructions, contrary to those we approved of, does not yet appear. However, we have disagreed to what has been done, and have pressed to have him recalled, which the Cardinal [Fleury] seems to be for, but both the Court and country of France are against, possibly because, by what is done, the French merchants are getting into possession of their share of the effects of the Flotilla, which are more considerable than that of the shares of any other nation.

This, after all, may be the reason that has warped the French Court and Rottenburgh, and if so, when they have got their effects, they will come right again; or when they find that artifice won't do, they'll come to fair dealing; and therefore my informer still believes that we shall have a peace, which the Ministers are eager for, for they know they may lose, but can get nothing, by a war.

Our Premier, who is now hunting a hind in the neighbourhood, is in as great favour with the King as with the Queen, and in all appearance will continue so. He recommends to you the Universal Dictionary, Dr. Whitby's Last Thoughts, [and] the Inquiry into the Evidence of the Christian Religion, written, he is told, by a woman, which, if true, he thinks as great a miracle as any of those she pretends to prove; for though the sex excel men in wit, spirit, and humour, they rarely do it in what shines in the author of that treatise. Mr. Johnson has been a long progress in the country, and has mentioned these books (not but that there are many others) as the last he has happened to see. So far he has dictated to me. . . .

Mr. Johnson has more good humour, life, and wit than is scarcely ever met with at any age; and though he is not a youth, 'tis very well supplied by what goes before. . . .

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1727-8, Jan. 27.—I enclose the King's Speech,* which I fancy you will like. I think it is with the dignity of a King and the concern and love of a father for his country and people, which there is some difficulty in joining.

* Not here.

The Duke of Newcastle to [Lord Carlisle].

1727[–8], Feb. 10.—(Announcing that the foreign negotiations are brought very near a happy conclusion.)

The King was very glad to hear your Lordship had thoughts of coming soon to town, where your presence must always be of service to his Majesty's affairs, though things are at present so quiet in our House and so little appearance of any disturbance there, that I am persuaded you need not give yourself the trouble of coming sooner than you intend at present, though we are all extremely obliged to your Lordship for your goodness in offering to do it.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1728,] Feb. 11.—The Duke of Kent, I writ my sister word, was to be married to Lady S. Bentinck, who is daily expected over for that purpose. The joke about town is that the Duke's marriage is the only foreign treaty that has took effect of some years. Pursuant to what I writ your Lordship word of, my Lord Essex, the other day, coming down from the House, Sir Robert and he met. Sir Robert called for his servants; upon which my Lord Essex replied, "Sir, you have left 'em all in that house." . . .

The Village Opera is at present the fashionable diversion; I go this week, and will send it my sister; 'tis an imitation of the Beggar's Opera. The town does not seem quite so mad of it as they was of the other performance. The very name of it will secure it from too great a party, the country being thought incapable of entertaining, and beggars of some kind or other being the only proper inhabitants of this place. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to his father [Lord Carlisle].

[1728,] May 30.—Yesterday, my Lord, there was a meeting of twenty of the gentlemen of the county at the King's Arms, to agree who was the most proper to be recommended in the room of Sir Thomas Wentworth. . . . Sir Thomas Wentworth said, if Sir George Savile was willing to undertake it, he knew nobody more proper; . . . upon which it was offered to Sir George. . . . Sir George at present has the gout in his hand, and says himself he shall be very little able to go through the drinking or the fatigues of an opposition [*i.e.*, a disputed candidature]. . . .

I went to a party last Tuesday to Greenwich, and after dinner I called to see my sister Lechmere, who has been there these five or six days. She is mighty fond of that place, and told me she should pass most of her time there till she came northwards; she is much better of her fever, and says the air has done her a great deal of good. . . . (Death of Mr. [Thomas] Robinson's wife.)

The King and the Queen and the young Princesses went this morning to Richmond. The young Princesses are in a house at Kew, over against where Mr. Molineux lived. The King and Queen comes to town the 10th, to keep their Ascension Day, and then goes back to Richmond, where it's thought they will be most of the summer, coming over two days in the week, as public days, to Hampton Court.

[P.S.] I suppose your Lordship has heard of Mr. Pulteney's being out of Lord Lieutenancy, and I am told they have sent to offer it to Lord Irwin.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1728,] June 13.—I had made a party to have come down to the Races, which I am very sorry will in all likelihood not be in my power to be of; for the King yesterday, before he went to Richmond, ordered a Battalion of the Guards to encamp on the Green at Hampton Court, to do duty on him when he came there. I being the first of our Regiment for that command, it will fall out so as to prevent, I fear, my getting down by the Races. The King yesterday sent for Major-General Honeywood, and gave him a government that fell vacant in Ireland of thirty shillings a day, without his asking or knowing anything of it, and told him it was to make amends for the loss he had at his [the King's ?] father's death. . . . . (Lady Lechmere at Greenwich, &c.)

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1729,] Jan. 7, London.—I was in hopes to have dated a letter to your Lordship from this place last post, but not getting to town till yesterday morning, it was not in my power to write, for we were out of the post road before Saturday. Your Lordship may conclude we had a very bad journey by the length of time we were performing it, though thank God no real ill accident; numberless frights, breaking our axle-tree, horses plunging into holes, and sticking fast, was our daily exercise. I never saw the roads so bad in my life, and I believe I may compare notes with my sister Mary and Mrs. Talbot upon their expedition two years ago. I am resolved never to be engaged in the like difficulties, and would rather never see London again than pay so dear for the sight of it. I have got a great cold by being obliged to get so often out of the coach, and getting wet of my feet; otherwise am very well. The rest of my fellow travellers have escaped better. . . .

There was deep play at Court last night, but I have not heard who was successful. The Dowager Duchess of Marlborough and the Duke of Norfolk were two who entertained the King. Prince Frederick and the Princess Royal also played. They say the King is personally fond of Prince Frederick, but resolves, out of regard to the expense, not to allow his birthday to be kept. Last night, I heard there was an express come that the galleons was safely arrived in Spain. I hear the Deanery of Windsor is to be disposed of either to Mr. Finch or Mr. Dawney, and that the King has declared he will prefer all men of quality of that profession.

Endorsed by the Earl: Letters from Lady Irwin, commencing Jan. the 7th, 1728.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1729,] Jan. 18, London.—I have been twice at Court; the King and Queen both made particular enquiry after your Lordship. I believe you would like the Prince; there's a frankness and affability in his way very different from his rank, and very engaging. Tonight I am going to Sir John's Provoked Husband, where I am sure I shall be well entertained. . . . (Col. Lucas's death is mentioned.)

Endorsed by the Earl: Letters from Lady Irwin, commencing Jan. the 18th, 1728.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1729,] Jan. 23, London.—The day the Parliament met there was a long debate upon the word *restore* and [or] *secure*, in regard to our trade; the Minority was for *restore*, the other side for *secure;* the Majority

carried it by a great many votes. Mr. Tompson that day attacked the Craftsman in an abrupt manner, for while the House was debating upon the King's Speech, he rose up and read a paragraph out of a book printed seventy year ago, which the Craftsman had inserted without quoting in his paper. Mr. Poultney answered him, and said he had often heard that gentleman speak well, but he must own he had never heard him speak so well as he had done that day by the help of his book. This turned the laugh upon our Yorkshire member, and he was forced to sit down.

The Prince's family are still in suspense; my brother Howard has had great assurances from my Lord Townsend of serving him, which I suppose he has acquainted your Lordship with; he builds no otherwise upon it than to think my Lord is sincere in his professions. He has the satisfaction of knowing the King is acquainted with his doing his duty as an officer very well; the King has the returns constantly made to htm every week, and my brother's company is now reckoned the best in the whole Guards; 'tis not only complete, but three over, all handsome well bodied men fit for service. . . .

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1729,] Feb. 1, London.—The House sat yesterday till eight a clock; there was a long debate, but no division, upon the number of forces which should be kept this year; they voted 30,000 English and 12,000 Hessians, which is the same number I think we had last year. There were a great many warm speeches. Sir Robert Walpole, Horace, Mr. Poultney, and the Janissaries of each side closed the debate, after the Militia had skirmished with one another. Sir Charles Wager spoke of the Court side, and I hear well, to that point of the Spaniards taking so many of our ships; he closed his speech with a sort of joke, that a dead man, being nobody, if he was summoned, could not answer for himself; so it was impossible we could retaliate upon the Spaniards the injuries we had received, for, excepting the galleons and flotilla, they had no ships. This is a good reason why we could not take their ships, but no reason why we should allow 'em to take ours, and in my humble opinion a stronger reason why we should have secured the galleons, since 'twas the only way we could pay ourselves.

The King, 'tis said, certainly goes to Hanover this year, and the Sessions will be short. My Lord Essex entertained the Prince much to his satisfaction last Tuesday. The bouquet is now with the Duke of Queensberry, who gives a Ball next week. I hear my Lord Essex is more in favour with the Prince than any other person, and as if whoever was so with the Prince must of consequence be out with the King, my Lord is now ill [ill-received ?] at Court; he is always with Mr. Poultney, talks openly against Sir Robert, and says he expects to lose his place, which I fancy will inconvenience his affairs more than at present he thinks of. I writ my sister Mary word the reply the Prince made to my Lord Essex when he asked if he should invite Lord Malpas; however, he was there, Sir Robert sending Lord Essex word it was always usual to invite the Master of the Horse to whatever entertainment the Prince honoured.

The old Duchess of Marlborough is very ill, and likely soon to make her heirs happy. The young Duchess has made herself very particular upon Mr. Congreve's death: he left her executrix, by which she gets 7,000 pounds, in wrong, I think one may say, to a great many poor relations he had, and some say a son by Mrs. Bracegirdle. The Duchess

buried him very handsomely, and showed so great an affection for his dead body that she quitted her house and sat by his corpse till he was interred. . . .

[P.S.] Sin[ce I wrote] this, I find I've been misinformed as to the number of forces voted this year, which I thought I might have depended on, having it from a member; but there are only 23,000 English voted —the Hessians not yet voted, but 'tis thought they certainly will [be]. Mr. Poultney said yesterday in the House that we had been threatened with Don Carlos, and with the Emperor's establishing a trade to the Indies; but if the Ministers had comprehended as much as they apprehended they'd have saved the nation a great deal of money. Sir Robert replied, "I comprehend that gentleman, though I don't apprehend him." I believe this piece of wit certainly passed.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1729,] Feb. 6.—Yesterday the House sat late; my brother Morpeth moved that an Address might be made to the King, to know whether any demand had been made upon France or our other Allies for troops, ships, or succours, according to our treaties. He spoke a good while and, I hear, well; Sir John Rushout seconded him. Sir Wm. Young then moved an amendment, in order to fling out the question, that we (*sic*) should address the King to know what measures had been taken with France in case of a war; the whole was thrown out, 235 to 80. The majority is so considerable that I hear the considerable Tories are gone out of town; Sir Wm. Windham and Sir J. Cotton are gone, and 'tis thought the Sessions will be short, since all opposition is ineffectual.

In general there is a prodigious clamour against Sir Robert, particularly in the City. Trade, they say, was never known at so low an ebb; the exchange against us everywhere 6 or 7 per cent., except to Portugal; and 'tis computed by some eminent merchants that we every week send fifty thousand pounds in specie out of the kingdom. As a proof of this, the payment of the Hessian troops comes to £11,000 more this year than it did the last by the difference of the exchange; and if something is not done in a very short time our credit, they say, will be gone, and the nation drained of money. Your Lordship may think I hear this from disaffected people, but 'tis really the universal conversation of all sorts of people who are not tied by interest to be silent.

However, this unhappy situation of our affairs does not hinder the generality of the world from fulfilling the Scripture of letting the morrow take care for itself; they eat, drink, make balls, and run in debt, and do everything but pay for their extravagances. This is, I believe, the general situation of the people here, and upon the whole I can but think London is a kind of mistress, dissolute in principle, loose in practice, and extravagant in pleasure; and if a man long keeps such a lady, he will surely be undone. . . . .

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1729,] Feb. 22, London.—There are three, some say six, regiments ordered from Ireland in order to be put aboard the Fleet, but 'tis not yet said for what occasion. They say the Spaniards have made a descent upon Jam[a]ica, and made terrible havoc among the sugar plantations. The Duke of Richmond, who is just arrived from Spain, declares publicly the Spaniards are unanimous for a war unless Gibraltar is given up, and resolve they will accept of no peace but on those terms.

'Twill be but a bad story if we must at last part with what we have spent so much money to preserve; but gold may be bought too dear, and possibly Gibraltar may be like the guineas in King William's time, which for a while passed for a third part more than their worth, but at last fell to their intrinsical value. . . . (Mr. Robinson is mentioned.)

There was yesterday a division in the House, in which the minority gained an addition of 38; Sir G. Saville and several other unsuspected persons went with 'em. The division was upon a complaint the merchants have made to the House upon account of the loss of their ships; and the question was whether it should be heard by a Committee of the whole House or a private Committee. It was carried for a Committee of the whole House, in order, as 'tis said, to be flung out. . . .

[P.S.] I have sent your Lordship the new play, which may possibly divert you for an idle hour. I have just heard the regiments from Ireland are to be sent to Jam[a]ica.

Lord Grantham to [Lord Carlisle].

[1729 ?] Feb. 26, London.—I had the honour of your Lordship's letter, and have obeyed your commands to the Queen, who ordered me to assure you of the sense she has of your civilities upon all occasions, but says she shall not have occasion for your lodgings at Windsor. Will your Lordship allow me to renew my request for the use of them, and to beg your pardon for not thanking you sooner for the obliging letter you sent me? . . . .

Lord Grantham to [Lord Carlisle].

[1729 ?]—I have obeyed your commands, and the King desires you will not give yourself the trouble of coming to Windsor. I shall therefore, according to the liberty your Lordship gave me, send my furniture into the lodgings. I forebore answering your Lordship's letter till the Duke of Grafton came from Newmarket. He desires you would not take the trouble of writing to him . . . [in behalf of Mr. Tompson being one of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber].*

[Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.]

[1729,] March 7.—I thank your Lordship for the offer of assistance you make me in case the scheme of Groom of the Bedchamber was likely to take place, and my seat in Parliament vacated. . . . . I must lay aside the thoughts of that employment, and I wish I am not dropt as to the other; I own, if Col. Onslow succeeds and I miscarry, which I have some apprehension of, I shall think my case hard, and my interest small, I being a Lieut. Col. in the Guards above thirteen years when he was a Captain. But the end of the Sessions will clear up these things; which is not so near now, as at first it was imagined.

Alderman Perry presented the Petition from the Merchants last Friday, which was received without the least opposition, and referred to a Committee of the whole House, and appointed for next Thursday sennit, when the Merchants are to be heard, and to have the liberty of counsel.†

He afterwards made a motion for an Address to the King for copies and extracts of letters and memorials presented to the Court of Spain,

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* There are several other letters of Lord Grantham.

† *See* H. C. Journals, xxi, 246, 255.

and their answers, from such a time, but I don't remember how far back; the Votes possibly inform you.*

This met with an opposition and a debate. Sir Robert desired gentlemen would not press for the last answer which came from Spain about five or six days ago, and which then was under consideration; that he would go so far to inform the House to say it was not satisfactory, but very unsatisfactory.

Upon his acquainting them with this, they the more insisted upon it being brought. They said they could suppose it to be nothing less than menacing and insulting. He assured them it was not, but thought it very improper at that time to be laid before the House, and believed that a great many facts contained in the Petition was very well founded; that the merchants had met with frequent insults and depredations; and he hoped the House would coolly consider the best method to be taken for the redress of them. And it is my opinion, if the Spaniards don't give some satisfactory answer now, we shall send a squadron. The merchants have been offered letters of reprisals, which they have not accepted.

Sir Robert's Lady was yesterday presented at Court. Lord Archibald Hamilton is out of the Admiralty; made Cofferer and Surveyor to the Prince.

[P.S.] I have applied for Mr. Eaglesfield for the vacant Company at Carlisle in the strongest manner I am able, but fear I shall not have success.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1729,] March 14.—Next Thursday is appointed for the hearing the Merchants, and I believe we shall have some long days. I think I mentioned letters of reprisals were offered to those merchants that had been sufferers, but that they did not choose to accept them.

The election at Windsor has been strongly contested, the Duke of Marlborough espousing Mr. Olfield against Lord Vere. The Mayor has made a double return, and it's appointed [to be] heard at the Bar of the House next Thursday sennit.†

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1729,] March 22.—Yesterday was a very warm day in the House of Commons; the subject they were upon was the late‡ King's letter to the King of Spain about the giving up Gibraltar and Port Mahone; my brother Morpeth proposed as an addition to the Lords' resolution, which they had taken the day before, that the King of Spain should renounce in the most express terms all manner of right or title to Gibraltar and Port Mahone. The debate was warm; 21 spoke, the great ones of each side, my brother Morpeth exceedingly well, and several times; in one of his replies he said he remembered one of the articles of impeachment against my Lord Oxford was, that he he had procured the Royal hand to what he durst not sign himself. . . .

[P.S.] My brother Morpeth is come in, and tells me I have not been quite right in my account of the debate. The enclosed§ is the question, and the addition he made to it begins at the word "insisting."

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* *See* H. C. Journals, xxi., 261, 265.

† The return for this election does not appear to be extant; but this letter is clearly of the same year as that of March 7.

‡ "Late" is interlined.

§ Not found.

Sir Robert is so pressed I hear he has begged the Queen to make him a Peer, but the King and Queen both tell him they an't spare him out of the House of Commons.

LAN: EBOR. (ARCHBISHOP OF YORK) to [LORD CARLISLE].

1729, July 9, Tunbridge.—In the hurry of moving from place to place, I mislaid your Lordship's letter of the 22nd of June, and now being at Tunbridge for the benefit of the waters, and forbid by my physician to write during my stay there (*sic*), am under a necessity of answering it by another hand.

With regard to Mr. Rooksby, upon my return from Castle Howard I sent for Dr. Ward, and let him know that, as your Lordship had interposed in favour of Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Rooksby, upon their appearing they should be admonished, and all further proceedings against them should be stopt. The Doctor informed me that Roman Catholics were never presented, but when they were active in making converts; that Mr. Rooksby was greatly complained of by several of the neighbouring clergy for having been very assiduous in gaining proselytes, and was for that reason presented.

I was unapprised of this when I talked over this matter with your Lordship, and found myself under some difficulty what to do upon hearing the Doctor's representation of the case; but, however, as I had given your Lordship my word, the Doctor pursuant to my direction, by his Surrogate, admonished Mr. Fairfax upon his appearing, and excommunicated Mr. Rooksby for not appearing. And the only consequence that usually attends such excommunications is that the persons so excommunicated, while they are under the lash, are prevented from the like misbehaviour for the future.

And since Mr. Rooksby has by his conduct given such great offence, it would not only be of ill fame with regard to the clergy, but would likewise be a discouragement to all persons from informing against Romish priests for the like practices, should I in any degree signify my approbation of Mr. Rooksby's return, as I cannot take upon me to say that he will not subject himself to any danger by returning. And if Mr. Fairfax must have a priest, 'tis hoped he will choose one who will not give occasion to the same complaint.

As for Mr. Croft, whenever the vacancy of the Vicarage of Stainton happens, if Mr. Turner, who, as tenant of the Sheaf under me has a particular interest to have one fixed there that shall be agreeable to him, does not recommend any other person, I shall remember your Lordship's command with the respect that is due.

Original, signed.

LORD SUNDERLAND to [LORD CARLISLE].

[c. 1729,] Aug. 28, Altrope.—Soon after you went from hence the gentleman you spoke to returned hither to tell me that he having acquainted Sir John Briscoe that he came from me, he said he would give me an answer himself, which he did two or three days after. And it was, that he had no intentions to sell Boughton; upon which I told him he was master, and that I had no more to say to him. For all this it is certain he desires to part with it, but out of a foolish cunning he thinks this is a good way. If I hear any more from him, as I believe I shall, I will give your Lordship an account of it.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1729,] Sept. 24, Bath.—The company increases daily, but everybody complains they are people that nobody knows; for my own part I think it is no great difference whether 'tis a crowd of quality or plebeians. Harrison's rooms are so full every night 'tis to me very disagreeable; if one had an inclination 'tis next to impossible to get a table to play, which I have only done once since I came. My sister Mary seems to relish the place as little as I do, and proposes staying only six weeks from the day we got here; and indeed I believe it will be absolutely necessary for us to leave this place then upon the account of the roads. We have had almost continued rains ever since we came, that I really dread the roads cross the country, but much more staying here, and would venture twenty overturns to get to your Lordship. . . . At present this country is all in a sea, and every little brook hardly passable. . . . (Mentions Dr. Cheney as attending her sister.)

Seal of arms. Endorsed: 1729.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1729,] Oct. 27, Bath.—I design leaving Bath tomorrow, and propose getting to Altrop on Friday the last of October. The road between Altrop and this place is so extremely bad that the coachman won't undertake it under four days, though it is but 64 miles. Everybody here tells me I shall run great hazards in going that road, but the coachman that drives me has provided me a very good set of horses, and will engage to carry me safe, allowing four days to do it in. . . . My sister Mary goes into the house to [of] my Lady Grissel Baillie after I leave Bath; she will find 'em all at present very melancholy upon the account of Mr. Burnet's death, who, 'tis said, was poisoned at N. England.

Lady E. Lechmere to the Earl of Carlisle.

1729, Oct. 28, n.s., Turin.—Thank God we are come safe hither, and Mr. Robinson is much stronger and better than when he left England. I think the most troublesome and difficult part of our journey is now performed, having passed the Alps, which from Lyons to Turin were eight fatiguing days, with the addition of frightful roads; I think whoever has been them can't lose the memory of them; therefore you must know what they are. The King of Sardinia is mighty civil to all strangers, and particularly so to the English. Mr. Robinson was introduced to him yesterday, and he talked an hour to him, with great freedom. Mr. Allen, who is the Minister here in Mr. Hedge's absence, has showed us great civility. We have dined and supped with him several times, and he has entertained us at his house with a concert of music, and one of the finest voices I ever heard. Music is so much the taste in this part of the world, that without creating acquaintance (with preserving my hearing) I don't doubt passing my time very agreeably. . . .

When we return back, we shall take more time at Paris, but when we were there, it was very sickly, and so many of the English had fevers, that we were glad to get away.

Endorsed: Post payé à Paris.

THOMAS ROBINSON to [his father-in-law] LORD CARLISLE.

1729, Dec. 3, n.s., Milan.—Gives a lengthy account of a robbery of several sums of money from himself and other members of his family, while asleep, at an inn in Milan. The Governor, Count Tuan, promised to do all in his power to find out the robbers, but the writer has "no great opinion of the justice of this country."

LADY M[ARY] HOWARD to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1729,] Dec. 27, Bath.—I can't omit the first opportunity of returning my dear father my thanks for his kind letter I received today. I rejoice to find you are almost free from pain; I hope every day will give you more strength, [so] that in a little time I shall have the comfort of hearing you are able to walk.

I now flatter myself you will come here in spring, since you mention it yourself; I hope nothing will happen to make you change your mind, for I steadfastly think it would do your Lordship a great deal of good. The doctor has been with me this morning, and says he is mighty glad you have thoughts of coming; that he is confident you'll find these waters strengthen your blood and your limbs. I hope in God you will try, and that you'll receive so much benefit here [as] to make you enjoy the pleasures of Castle Howard with good health and free from pain, as many years as life can last, with comfort, which I take to be very many, when the body is healthful and the mind sound.

Mr. Mitchell came from London yesterday; he says the talk of that place is, that my Lord Townsend will resign his employments, whether they will or no; that the King and Sir Robert are disturbed at it, though Sir Robert and he have quarrelled;* that they can't persuade him to go on with business. They name Mr. Pelham for Secretary of State, and 'tis thought by some people some Tories will be taken in. They say the Ministers are made heartily uneasy, are pinched extremely, and are upon such an uncertain foot that they are in fear of acting, for the instructions they have given them one day are contradicted another. If this be true, John Malcoat's place in my opinion is a much happier situation in life than a first Minister's. Your Lordship will forgive my writing this if it should be false, for I tell you how I learnt it.

Here's fine weather for the sportsmen at Malton. I never remember so warm and mild a Xmas, which is lucky for us in these thin houses. Mr. Baillie has been better these three or four days; they all beg their best respects, and are very glad to hear you think of coming here.

I have not had any money from Mr. Idle; if I can't soon find a way of getting it here and having it paid at London, I shall write to him to desire him to find a way to send it me. I beg my kind service to my brother and sister and Mrs. Howard. I would write to my sister this post, but I have the headache with writing too soon after drinking the waters. I hope Sunday the 28th she received my letter and my brother's ruffles, enclosed to your Lordship.†

LADY E. LECHMERE to LORD CARLISLE.

1729, Dec. 28, n.s., Florence.—You say I give you a short account of what I saw, from Paris to Turin; there is [are] not many things to

* The quarrel is said to have taken place in the house of Colonel Selwyn, father of George Selwyn.

† There are other letters from Lady Mary relating to private matters.

take notice of in that journey. We went the Dijon Road. Dijon and Lyons are the only two towns one can mention. I saw nothing fine at Dijon, and think it a disagreeable place. At Lyons I had a swelled face the whole time I was there, and could never venture out of the house, but I believe there are some things worth seeing; the situation of the town is romantic, and 'tis large and populous. From thence you have eight days upon the Alps before you reach Turin, which indeed is a very fatiguing and terrible journey in all respects, for the frightfulness of the roads—I believe none that are passable can equal them—and the indifferent houses one is obliged to lie at. You may imagine being eight days upon the brink of shocking precipices (where if the least accident happens you are inevitably lost) makes one rejoice to see Turin, and is no disadvantage to it.

Though, setting this aside, the town itself is agreeable, yet the prospect of the mountains round, notwithstanding they are some distance, I think appear[s] to the view too near; at least, having so lately come over them I had no pleasure in looking at them. We had the happiness of the finest day I ever saw when we passed Mont Cennis, and without good weather it must be terrible, for you are entirely exposed, being carried in low chairs, the seat made of hurdles, a bit of board at the bottom fastened with a rope, to rest your feet upon, and no defence from the weather on any side. We lay at the foot of the mountain, and when we went out at seven in the morning, 'twas the sharpest air I ever felt. When we came upon the plain, which is three mile ascent to it, and six mile over, we had a warm sun; and when we descended the mountain, which is six mile more, we could scarce bear the heat. 'Tis wonderful to see the perpendicular places you are carried down, and every step upon loose stones. This fifteen mile they perform in five hours, which would not be slow walking for chairmen were it all on even ground; indeed, these poor creatures have a laborious life, and the King of Sardinia allows them to demand no more than about two shillings English a man, which is small pay; but everybody I believe is so well pleased to get safe down this mountain that they always give them considerably more, which they well deserve.

I writ to your Lordship from Turin, so shall not mention that place again. From thence we went to Genoa, which we made four days' journey, though 'tis but 84 mile, but we went voiturine, which is the safest though a slow manner of travelling, for part of that road is very stony, with precipices, not unlike the Alps. . . .

(Gives a long description of Genoa, and makes sympathetic remarks on the galley slaves there. She and Mr. Robinson set out thence for Milan.)

We crossed the Po, and were above an hour ferrying over, which when we had done, 'twas quite dark, and four mile further to go, when we came to our inn, the miserablest place that ever was seen. . . .

(At Milan the writer had a fever, which confined her to her bed twelve days, during which she gained a very poor opinion of foreign physicians.)

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] Jan. 13, London.—The House is debating upon the Address moved for by Lord Fitzwilliams in answer to the King's Speech, and they are likely to sit till twelve, if not later; for just as I come (*sic*) out, seven or eight got up to speak, after Lord Fitzwilliams had moved the Address, and was seconded by Mr. Andrews; which was a very long

one, to thank his Majesty for a safe and honourable peace and the ease of trade, and many other particulars my memory won't serve me. Mr. Pulteney got up and made a long speech, and ended with making a motion to leave out all the later (*sic*) part of the Question, only to address the King to thank him for his Speech, and to assure him of their assistance, but that he thought before the House had considered the treaty, it was too soon to thank his Majesty for a safe and honourable peace.

I can't say the debate has been good, for though Mr. Pulteney said, before the treaty* was known, it was too soon to come to any resolution of thanks, yet he entered and debated the treaty, and found great faults with it, which was not very consistent with the reason for his motion, and I think he shone less than in any speech I have heard of his.

I have not had an opportunity of delivering your letter to Lord Townshend yet. I have had many inquiries after your Lordship's health since I came to town ; Sir Robert [Walpole] yesterday asked me after you. . . .

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Letters from Colonel Howard, my son, com[mencing] Jan. the 13, 1729.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] Jan. 15, London.—I writ to your Lordship on Tuesday [the 13th], but the House sat so late I could not acquaint you with the Division time enough to save the post. . . . The House sat till betwixt eleven and twelve, a very long but I thought but a heavy debate. Horace, Mr. Pelham, Sir Robert Walpoole, Mr. Bladden spoke for the Address as moved by Lord Fitzwilliams; the two Mr. Pulteneys, Sir Will. Windham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Bootle, Capt. Vernon, Mr. Viner spoke for the amendment proposed by Mr. Pulteney. The Minority I thought did not debate it so well as I expected, and they all acknowledged they were very glad we had got the treaty, even as it was, which in my opinion did not do them much service. Upon the division the majority for the Address proposed were two hundred and sixty-two ; the minority for the Amendment, one hundred and twenty-nine ; which was the fullest House has been this Parliament. Sir Will. Lowther was with us. . . . Lord Stairs is come to town, and I hear is to have the Duke of Queenborough's place.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1730,] Jan. 22.—I delivered your Lordship's letter to Lord Townshend ; he told me he would acquaint the King with the state of your health, as the reason of your not coming up this Sessions, which he believed his Majesty would be satisfied with. As to my affair, he said, in general terms, he would do me all the service [that] lay in his power, but I don't hear any mention made of any addition to the [Prince's] family ; we were led into an error by the news in the country telling us Lord Townshend was made President of the Council, and Mr. Walpoole Secretary. Lord Townshend I find, as eldest Secretary, acts as President without the salary, till the employment is filled up; so that there is no discourse here of his being to go out of his own office.

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* Treaty of Seville, 28 Oct. 1729.

I hope your Lordship is now free from the gout. The weather has been frosty and peevish since I left the country. I shall go out with the Duke of Grafton's hounds on Saturday, if we are not hindered by frost. I find neither his nor the Duke of Bolton's, Lord Cardigan's, Lord Howe's, nor Lord Gainsborough's hounds have killed many foxes, and they all complain of having had bad sport this season.

Yesterday the Prince's birthday was kept, but no new clothes; he danced country dances at night with Miss Boscawen. We have had no debate since the first day.

[Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.]

[1730,] Jan. 27.—I writ to you immediately after having been with Lord Townshend (&c., as in letter of 22nd Jan.). I hear nothing of any augmentation to the Prince's family. We have had two or three debates since I writ; last Wednesday Captain Vernon moved for the Address to be presented to his Majesty, desiring a copy of the orders that were given to Lord Torrington in the year eighteen, when the Spanish fleet was destroyed, for he thought, as we were to make them good by this Treaty, it was right the House should be informed what the orders were. The Ministry said it affected none of them, for they were none of them at that time in the King's service, but that it might put the King upon difficulties, and be of no use. They came to a Division, and it was thrown out.

A Friday last Mr. Sands moved for the Estimates for the Navy this year should (*sic*) be referred to a private Committee, and not go to a Committee of Supply of the whole House, as is the usual practice. They said this would occasion great savings, and might be the means of rectifying great mistakes, but I believe the true meaning was distressing. The debate lasted about three hours, and was very sharp, occasioned by some sparring blows that were thrown out, foreign to the question. Mr. Shippen, at the close of his speech in answer to Sir Robert, said that now the more Ministers were rubbed, he thought the brighter they were.

Sir Robert got up, and said he believed, if rubbing would make a Minister bright, he might venture to say without vanity he was the brightest that had been of some ages. He spoke a long time upon the detraction and scurrility that was levelled at him, which he despised; said that gentlemen that were such patriots, and had very little tenderness or regard for him, why did they not charge him with something that was criminal? and though they were baffled, which they often were, yet, if they had any colour or pretence, they might in some degree in the eye of the world hurt or weaken him; and that he did not only speak that language now, but that he had spoke it when he had been of minorities, after having been in profitable employments, and they would have been glad to have shewed him no favour, had it been in their power to have hurt him; that as to his overgrown fortune, which was another subject of envy, he was born to a good gentleman's estate, he had for many years had his Prince's favour and been in profitable employments; had he increased his fortune with the same number of years service, and the same application in any profession of the other side of Temple Barr, nobody would have thought it unreasonable. Sir Robert spoke very well, and so did Mr. Pulteney. Upon the Division, two hundred and thirty odd, to a hundred and twenty odd.

Yesterday my brother [Lord Morpeth] made a motion for an Address to be presented to the King to desire his Majesty would communicate

to the House what further engagements he had entered into, or what further subsidies, more than was brought in, in the Estimates before the House. This was debated for about three hours; carried for the previous question.

Afterwards Sir Robert made a motion for a Bill to be brought in, making it penal for any of his Majesty's subjects to lend any foreign Prince money without leave of a Privy Seal, or a higher authority.

They talk of a loan being carried on for the Emperor, which I hope is without any certainty. There was no opposition to the bringing in the Bill, but I suppose [it] will be debated when that comes. The Estimates for the twelve thousand Hessians are brought in. . . . .

I was out with the Duke of Grafton last Saturday, had good sport, killed a fox; I had a very good post all day; I will give your Lordship the particulars in the next.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1730,] Jan. 31.—I had not an opportunity of acquainting you the last post, that on Wednesday, when the number of troops were (*sic*) moved, the question that was moved by the gentlemen who did not approve was referring the estimates to a private committee, and not to the committee of the whole House, both for the number of men at sea and land. This was debated for about three hours, and after a division of two hundred and fifty-six against the question, to a hundred and fifty-one for it, the number of men were moved, which I think amounts to seventeen thousand six hundred, including invalids and independent Highland companies. There was Shippen, Watkin Williams, and Mr. Berkeley spoke against them, but no division.

Thursday, Lord Cornbury moved an Address to the King, which your Lordship will read in the Votes, to thank him for the speedy reduction he had made, not doubting he would make a further when affairs abroad were settled. The Address is very long and popular. This was treated by those in the King's service as taking the merit from the King, and making it your (*sic*) own act and not his Majesty['s], whereas the King, they all allowed, had showed the earliest disposition, and made a greater reduction than they expected; that this Address implied a diffidence in case the posture of affairs allowed a further reduction next year.

The gentlemen that were advocates for it argued the weight of taxes and the little ability the people had to pay them; that the Army is a heavy charge, and now there seemed to be an opportunity of lowering their numbers, as the affairs abroad have turned out; and that this Address might give their constituents reason to hope for a further reduction. . . .

[P.S.] Upon the division, for the Address, one hundred [and] thirty-three; against it, two hundred and one.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1730,] Feb. 3.—Since my last to your Lordship, which I hope you received, we had a debate about the seventeen thousand odd hundred men of our own troops. Mr. Shippen, in his speech, made use of some expressions so very flagrant and undecent, that I took the words down; he said he hoped he should never see these kingdoms so Germanised as to become military; he went on with giving reasons that such a number of troops were inconsistent with our constitution; then, says he, force

and violence are the resort of usurpers and tyrants, whose only security is in a standing army.

The House was pretty much surprised, but they did not call him to order. He concluded with telling us that was not our case now, for we had a King that reigned in the hearts of his subjects, and a great deal of that sort of cant. Had a journey to the Tower been any punishment to him, he should have freely have *(sic)* had my consent. Sir William Younge answered him, and very handsomely, with a great deal of spirit. I can but say his own friends were ashamed of him, and it shortened the debate, for we came to a division after that, which was two hundred and forty odd to a hundred and twenty odd; we were up by four a clock, and everybody expected to sit till nine or ten.

The Hessians are to come on tomorrow, and the state of the nation next day. They had three questions moved by the Minority in the House of Lords last Tuesday, which three questions I think were—one, that Gibraltar and Port Mahon were not secured to us by treaty; that the Peace was not safe nor honourable, but contrary to the fifth article of the Quadruple Alliance; and the other, that our merchants had not had care taken of them for their losses. These were the substance of them as I heard, but I was not in the House. Lord Bingley spoke for the Court, but did not divide; the divisions eighty odd to thirty-one; then the Duke of Devonshire moved the Address of thanks to the King. . . .

I was out with the Duke of Grafton's hounds, as I mentioned in my last; they have more bone than they had when I saw them before; I think them in size full low. We went out about seven a clock from Epsom, and tried till near three without finding [&c.; long description].

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[c. 1730?] Feb. 13, London.—I am a-going today to dine at the Duchess of Bedford's, who now I believe is to place herself at the head of the Jacobite party, as one of the conditions of living with her Lord; she does not go to the Birthday, nor have I seen her at Court. The Duke has won vast sums this winter at play; he carried off one night from the Groom Porters, as it is positively reported, 14,000*l*. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1730,] Feb. 25, London.—(A long account of fox-hunting, &c.) As to Parliamentary affairs, the day before I left London, Sir Will. Windham, in a Committee of the whole House on the State of the Nation, opened several grievances, but particularly about Dunkirk; called five or six witnesses to the Bar, captains of merchantmen that traded there, to prove that they [the French] had driven down piles, and cleared the old harbour, and that ships of considerable tonn[age] had and could sail in there. This was a surprise to the whole House, nobody seeming to be in the least apprised of it. Col. Armstrong is come over, and your Lordship sees by the news that the French King is ready to give us any satisfaction in the affair. Tomorrow it comes on, and you shall have an account of it by Saturday's post.

The Place Bill, to disqualify anybody that had pension, or place held in trust for them, sitting in the House of Commons, was carried by ten, for leave that such a Bill should be brought in; and yesterday it was read the first time without any opposition, and I believe will meet with no more in the House of Commons.

The House yesterday, in a Committee of Supply, took into consideration the part of the King's Speech to take off some of the taxes that were the most burthensome; sat till six o'clock, but came to no resolution; but by what one could guess of the disposition of the House, I believe it will be Salt, and not Soap and Candles, that will be taken off.

I shall take an opportunity of speaking to Sir William. . . . . Sir Charles Hotham is going to Berlin, and the town says to transact a double marriage.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] Feb. 27, London.—I hope your Lordship got my letter last post, in which I gave you a long account of what we did in Sussex, and my opinion of the hounds. I sent you word in that letter the affair of Dunkirk would come on as yesterday,* which accordingly did. They read the Order of the Day about one a clock, in a Committee of the whole House, and Mr. Edgecumbe in the Chair.

The first thing that was done was the reading a good many letters of the Duke of Newcastle's to Mr. Walpoole, and Lord Townshend's to Mr. Walpoole, and of his to them, concerning this affair of Dunkirk, for this last two years past; all which letters shewed a jealousy there was something carrying on at Dunkirk which they did not approve.

Then Sir Will. Windham called three witnesses to the Bar, who all deposed that this last summer there had been sometimes near two hundred hands employed, great numbers of them soldiers, towards clearing the harbour. One of them shewed the model of the engine in wood of that, that they made use of at Dunkirk towards clearing the harbour, and in what manner they worked it; that the harbour and key was in so good a situation, that great numbers of ships could lie there; and one of the witnesses said the King of France allowed fifty thousand livres a year towards carrying it on.

Sir Will. Windham, upon the witnesses withdrawing, got up, and concluded his speech with a motion to this purpose: That it appeared plainly to this Committee, that the works which had been carried on towards clearing and repairing the harbour at Dunkirk was a manifest violation of the Treaty.

A Question of this nature, carried in the House of Commons, must of course broke (*sic*) the Treaty, and all terms of friendship with France, and that, upon the evidence of five or six masters of ships; though I do believe myself, and so I imagine every gentleman in the House did, that they have repaired their harbour and their works, though not near so much as was urged by the witnesses of (*sic*) the Bar. Yet my way of thinking, and what I do suppose weighed with a great number of gentlemen, was—Shall we go and quarrel with France, when that Court has sent us an order signed by their King, that if there is any works, or the harbour is put into any better condition, our officer shall go, and they shall be demolisht according to treaty, for that they were not done by his authority? After this answer, after the concluding the Treaty of Seville, and the suspense the Emperor is in, I own, in my poor opinion, a Question so strongly worded as this, had it passed, might have been attended with bad consequences.

Dr. Sayer then moved an Address to the King, to thank his Majesty for his early care and diligence in representing any new works that have been carried on contrary to treaty, and to congratulate his Majesty

* This really took place on 27 Feb. *See* H. C. Journals, xxi, 469.

on the order obtained from the King of France, and the good harmony between the Crowns. This was the purport, as near as I can remember, but long questions of this kind, without taking them down, one is apt to mistake; if I do, the Votes will set you right.

The debate run much upon what I have mentioned; it was the best worth hearing of any since I came into Parliament, though it kept us very late. It was three o'clock in the morning before the Division was over. Sir Will. Windham, two Mr. Pulteneys, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Bernard, Sir Wilfred Lawson, Mr. Sands, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Plummer, Mr. Bromley, Sir John Norris seconded Dr. Sayer. Mr. Horace Walpoole, Sir Will. Strickland, Secretary at War, Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Heathcoate, Sir Robert Walpoole spoke for the Address. The Division: for it, two hundred and seventy; against it, a hundred and forty-nine; which was a full House of Members, besides half the House of Lords to hear the debate, [so] that I never felt anything equal to the heat.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] March 10, London.—(On horses and hounds, in connexion with which Lord Hallifax, Sir Robert Walpole, and Lord Tankerville are mentioned.)

I hope your Lordship got my letter about the Dunkirk debate, which I sent the post after it was over. Today we were in the Committee of the State of the Nation again, and great expectations of a great battle, and great grievances being laid open; but the attack was very faint and weak.

Mr. Chetwynd moved that the Island of Selusia*—I am not sure whether I spell the name right; it was what was granted to the Duke of Montague—Mr. Chetwynd moved that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty th[at he] would order his Minister to remonstrate to the [King] of France our right and former possession in that, and two more Islands not far from Barbadoes, which were of such consequence to our trade, and that all the French might quit them.

These Islands have been in dispute for numbers of years, so that with some reason I believe it was not thought proper at this time this Address should go; upon which they moved to leave the Chair. The debate did not last above an hour, and very languid. Upon the Division, above two to one.

The Committee for the State of the Nation is now closed, and very likely most of our long days over. Tomorrow we are upon the part of the King's Speech for easing the Artificers, and it seems to be pretty universally the opinion of gentlemen to take off the duty upon Salt, which I believe will be done tomorrow, the East India and South Sea Companies having given their consents to it.

I had a letter from Sir Warren last post about his petition; I spoke to Sir William today in the House about it, who went up to Sir Robert, and he told him in my hearing the thing was done, which I have writ Sir Warren word of this post. Sir William told me he had a letter from you last night about Mr. Elstob. . . .

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* Saint Lucia.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.*

[1730,] March 21, London.—Last Thursday the Lords were upon the State of the Nation, which debate lasted not long, and was concluded by Lord Strafford with a Motion for an humble Address to be presented to the King that he would be please[d] to order the Convention signed at London between the Landgrave of Hesse Castle (*sic*) and his [late] Majesty, in the year 1726, to be laid before the House, and what farther engagements were entered into between us. This Motion was introduced by complaining of the unnecessary expense we have been at in keeping the [Hess]ians in our pay, and what a sum they had cost us. The day for this Treaty to be laid before the House is put off till after the Holidays.

This day the Lords threw out the Pension Bill; they debated it about four hours. Lord Trevor begun, and said he thought it was taking away great power from the Crown, and clipping their prerogative; that there were great numbers of oaths already, and he thought there was no occasion for oaths to renounce all rewards from the Crown; and intimated as much as if the King's affairs could not be carried on otherwise.

Lord Bathurst answered him, and spoke very well; said he hoped that rewards were not so necessary as to distress so much, and that there were many places and public rewards for merit which this Bill did not exclude; that for his part he had rather see a bad Prince on the throne than a corrupt House of Commons.

The Duke of Newcastle, Lord Abingdon, Lord Aylesford, Lord Islay spoke. The Division, eighty-four to thirty-two. Lord Lonsdale and Lord Cadogan were with the Minority; which were the only two that used to be with the Majority. There has been nothing in our House lately. . . . .

Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle.

1730, March 31, n.s., Naples.—Gives an account of travels in Italy, and refers to a Papal election.

Endorsed: Sir T. Robinson.

The Same to the Same.

1730, April 8, Rome.—Account of an interview with "the Viceroy" [of Naples], who had been in England in the time of King William III., and who gave news from England. Remarks on the late Pope's character and the election of a new Pope.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1730?], April 8.—Sir Robert stands his ground in spite of all attacks, and indeed he has a miserable time, for he is every day baited like a bull; for a while perhaps he may make his party good, but the number of his assailants, however insignificant, either in size or figure, in time I fancy will bring down the mighty man. The other day Mr. Tompson undertook to justify what Sir R. had advanced, by only

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* This and some other letters are endorsed, "Free." One is addressed "To the Rt. Honble. the Earle of Carlisle, at Castle Howard, in Malton bagg, Yorkshire." Many of the addresses run, "at Castle Howard, near Malton."

taking part of the argument, and leaving out what he thought made against him. Mr. Poultney answered him, that if things were only taken by halves and not considered thoroughly, the Bible might be made blasphemy; as for instance 'tis a text of Scripture, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God"—leave out the fool and read the text only in part, and it runs "There is no God." . . .

Your Lordship being alone now, I am willing to send any trifles that I think may amuse you; the enclosed is Lady Mary Wortley's advice to me, and my answer. She is here often, and contributes not a little to the enlivening conversation; her principles are as corrupt as her wit is entertaining, and I never heard a woman, let her practice be never so scandalous, maintain such arguments. She was here two nights ago; the conversation turned upon constancy; Lady Mary immediately attacked me for a practice so inconsistent with reason and nature; called for a pen and ink; said she found herself inspired for my service, and writ, as she pretended, the enclosed off hand.* I had the better of the argument, but not having her wit to support it, my answer will appear flat. . . .†

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] April 14, London.—I received your last letter, and am really very little able to give you an account in what situation Lord Townshend is. The common report of everybody I meet with universally agrees he is to quit his employment at the end of the Sessions, and most people give their opinion that the occasion of it is from disagreements between him and Sir Robert. What the truth is I can't pretend to say. I have not seen my Lord of some time. I called there twice, but did not see him, lately.

I got Sir William Strickland to speak to Sir Robert upon this report of the marriage of the Prince's; that if the family was settling, to know his opinion concerning the employment your Lordship proposed, or Groom. Sir William told me yesterday he had spoke, and that there was nothing done, nor no thoughts of doing anything, till they found whether this treaty was concluded with success. . . .

I heard from Baron Hylton, before I received your Lordship's, of the vacancy of an Alderman at Carlisle, and likewise that Mr. Aglionby was chose one. I shall set forward for Newmarket next Tuesday, Thursday being first day's sport, and shall stay a week; I shall give your Lordship an account from thence of the sport. It's thought the Houses will be up by the 6th or 7th of next month. .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] April 21, London.—This day we had a pretty warm flurry in the House, which lasted about two hours, occasioned by a motion made by Mr. Norris, son to Sir John Norris, and seconded by Sir John Rushout. The question that he moved was, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to desire he would be graciously pleased to order the copies of any secret Articles relating to the treaty of Seville, which had not yet been communicated to the House, to be laid before them.

The reason, they said, for their Motion at this time was, that these eight thousand men, which was said was now going to be embarked,

* Not found.

† This letter refers to "*Mr.* Robinson.

they thought had the appearance of a war, and involving us in difficulties; and therefore, in justice to the Parliament, and in justice to those that sent them there, they thought their Address at this time was very proper. Sir Will. Windham, both Mr. Pulteneys, Mr. Sands, Sir Thomas Aston, and Mr. George Berkeley spoke for the Address.

The arguments made use of against it were, as they were secret Articles, the word explained itself, and the divulging of them might be of very bad consequence; that they would rather put the negative upon it, than put the King upon the difficulty of doing it; that as there was no demand made upon them, the King had undoubted right of sending these troops without any inquiry. Sir Robert, Mr. [H.] Walpoole, Mr. Pelham, Sir Will. Strickland, Sir George Oxenden, Sir W[ill.] Younge spoke against it.

The debate was as smart as any I have heard this Sessions; the division, a hundred and ninety odd, to seventy odd. I think the argument was of the side of the majority, for certainly the divulging any secret [Articles], that is, the laying them before the House at this time, might be attended with very bad consequences.

There are three Battalions of Guards, four marching Regiments, and one from Gibraltar, and another from Mahon, to go. The marching Regiments are—Col. Groves, Brigadier Kirke, Lord Tyrawley, Lord Mark Kerr, Col. Clayton's from Gibraltar, Col. Cosby's from Mahon. As my Company is one in the Battalion our Regiment finds, it has obliged me to put off my Newmarket journey. They talk Lord Scarborough is to go, and be made a Brigadier, and command the three Battalions of Guards, but as yet it is not settled, nor is it known who will have the command of the whole. They talk of Mr. Wade and Sir Charles Wills, that one of them will be appointed.

It's most likely the transports can't be got ready in a month or six weeks for such an embarkation, and possibly affairs may be altered in that time, so as not to send us. They say Sir Will. Strickland is to leave the employment he has at present, and either to be Paymaster or Secretary at War.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[c. 1730?] April 22, Stamford.—I've had a good journey [from London, on her way to Lincoln and Castle Howard], and am very well, but escaped being robbed upon Finchley Common most narrowly. The York coach, not forty yards before me, was stopped and robbed; I saw the rogues do it, and could expect nothing less myself, having no other guard but Tom Bulfin; but upon seeing him armed, they rid [rode] off with such violence, either on purpose or design (*sic*), they had near thrown Tom off his horse. Thus I fortunately escaped, but they took in another stage coach about 100 yards behind me, and got a good booty—two watches, and above twenty pounds. People have seldom much money going from London, especially those that pay all their debts there; but I was charged with a commission to your Lordship which I should have been much concerned should have miscarried; I have in bank-bills and money near 160 pounds to pay you. I hope I am now safe from any attempt of this kind, or any other danger. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] April 28, London.—I hope your Lordship got my last letter in which I gave you an account of the Motion of the Address to the

King, and likewise of our being ordered to be in a readiness to embark, which prevented my going to Newmarket, as my Company was one that would go. Since that, we have heard little talk of the Expedition; and it's said proposals are sent to the Emperor that they think will be more agreeable; they wait for his answer, and most people are of the opinion we shall not go.

The Duke of Bolton has been much disappointed by his horse being beat for the Stakes, and a great deal of money lost that day. . . .

Your Lordship sees a great many changes in the news; most of them are put in pretty right, I believe. I dined at Sir Conyers' the day before yesterday, and he owned he should be Comptroller, and that Mr. Treby would succeed him. Sir Will. Young's going to the Treasury in the room of Sir Charles Turner, Teller in Lord William Pawlett's vacancy, is taken as certain; Sir Will. Strickland, Secretary at War, and Mr. Pelham, Paymaster; who succeeds Sir William I can't say, but I hear Mr. Selwyn. Sir Thomas Frankland goes to the Admiralty, and Mr. Brudenell to the Board of Trade; Winnington in Sir John Norrises (*sic*), and Dr. Sayer in Mr. Gibbon's.

It's said, and, by what one hears, I believe these are fixed. It's thought we shall be up in a fortnight, and that the King will go early to Windsor this summer. Lady Morpeth is come to town about an Act of Parliament to dispose of the Nottinghamshire estate.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1730?] April 29, London.—There is a Commission of Col. Lenoes, Lieutenant-Col. to Mr. Evanses Dragoons, which is to be disposed of, and which my Lord Cadagan (*sic*) and all my friends advise me to, the post being very much to my advantage. The difference that amounts to be paid between my Commission and this will be near twelve hundred pound. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] May 2, London.—This is to let your Lordship know I received your letter with the enclosed, but, as I informed you before, the talk of the Expedition has lately been dropt, and I believe it's very uncertain whether we shall go. I thought, for this reason, as we had never had actually received orders for going, and that it was the opinion of a great many we should not, it would not be proper to deliver the letter, for by yours I judged you had mentioned to the King as if we were actually ordered for going.

Lord Scarborough sent for me about two mornings ago, and told me he believed the Prince would soon be married, but desired I would not mention my having it from him; that he told me of it, thinking it might be of some service to me.

I went to Lord Townsend, and did not mention Lord Scarborough's name to him or anybody else, but said I had heard the Prince was to be married this summer. He said he believed not, for he knew nothing of it; that he would mention me again to the King before he left his office, and told me the best thing I could do would be to get your Lordship's letter to Sir Robert. . . . .

I heard this morning at Court, that France had consented we should furnish our quota either in ships or money; and they waited the answer from Spain, and then it would be determined whether we should go or not.

We had a long day last Thursday—an accusation against the Lord Chief Justice* of [having] had dealings with Bainbridge; † and they accused him of having been at Newgate with him before his trial. Your Lordship saw by the Votes the resolution the Committee came to, which was very unanimous, and with a great deal of justice; and when it's reported to the House, the three or four evidences will to be sure be punisht.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1730,] May 9, London.—I have heard for these four or five days last past, that your Lordship was to be out of Windsor, and some said you was to have something you would like as well. . . . Sir William [Strickland] said he was surprised how it was put about; that he had heard it the day before yesterday, and spoke to Sir Robert about it, who laughed at it as an idle story; and Sir William added that to be sure nobody was better at Court than your Lordship. . . . I was told in the evening by one, that they designed offering you [the office of] Lord Chief Justice of the North side of Trent. . . . My Lord Carteret will not accept of the Duke of Dorset's White Staff, nor any other employment; Lord Winchelsea will give up his [White Staff]. . .

Sir R. Walpole to Lord Carlisle.

1730, May 9, London.—His Majesty, designing to make Windsor the place of his chief residence in the summer season, and being desirous to have the attendance of his principal officers there, as far as it can be done with any convenience, and sensible how inconvenient it may be to your Lordship, both in regard to the state of your health and the retired country life which you seem to make your choice, to expect your personal attendance there, and that his Majesty may at the same time convince your Lordship that the exchange of your present employment proceeds not from any dissatisfaction or disregard to your Lordship, has commanded me to acquaint your Lordship that he designs to appoint your Lordship Justice in Eyre on the North of Trent, and if there be any small difference in the appointments of the two offices, that his Majesty will make it equal to you. This his Majesty hopes, from the situation and nature of the office, and from the command and authority it gives your Lordship, in your own country and neighbourhood, will make this proposition not at all disagreeable to your Lordship; and as it gives his Majesty an opportunity of making the Duke of St. Alban's Constable of Windsor Castle, whose residence and habitation is always at Windsor, his Majesty is desirous to accommodate his own views, when it can be done without any prejudice to your Lordship, and by giving you this fresh mark of his Majesty's favour, and due regard to your Lordship's character and merit. I hope, my Lord, I shall not be so unhappy as to be the messenger of anything in the least disagreeable to your Lordship, whom I have always honoured and esteemed.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Letters from Sir Robert Walpole concerning the exchange of the employment that I at [that] time held under the Crown, being then Constable of Windsor Castle, and that of Justice in Eyre on the North side of Trent; which employment was not given to me, but in lieu thereof I was made Master of the King's Fox-hounds, with a salary of 2,000*l.* per annum.

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*[Sir]Robert Raymond.

† Thomas Bambridge, Warden of the Fleet Prison. (H. C. Journals.)

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1730,] May 19.—I am sorry, my Lord, I could not acquaint you sooner than this post with the answers to the letters you sent me; it was not in my power to deliver the letter to his Majesty sooner than yesterday. Sir Robert had just before given the letter you enclosed to him, to the King; so when I came in to the Closet, the King told me [he] had just received a very obliging letter from you, and that he took it very well, and was very well pleased with your accepting this employment; upon which I delivered my letter, and made my bows, and withdrew; having asked one or two of the Lords of the Bedchamber whether it was right for me to stay after I had delivered my letter, and they told me no, without he bid me.

The King smiled, and seemed to be very well pleased with the letter you sent him, and I am not out of hopes, as your Lordship has accommodated them with the taking this employment, and with so good a grace, but it may turn out to my advantage.

Sir Robert was out of town Saturday and Sunday, and yesterday morning [Monday, 18 May] I gave him your letter. He told me he was very glad the employment was agreeable to you, and that he would be very ready to serve me when the family was appointed, but did not mention any time when that would be. I told him your Lordship had sent me a letter to the King with an application to be in the Princeses [Prince's] service when his family was named. He bid me deliver it, and that he would put the King in mind when there was occasion.

I then, according to your directions, pulled out the letter I now enclose back to you, and told him when I had received it, and the reason of my not having delivered it; that in that letter you had offered to resign your employment at Windsor to the Duke of Cumberland, if the King approved of it; that in this last to his Majesty, hearing you was to be removed, you had not mentioned it, but that you was desirous the King should know it. I told him I had power from you to say, he might either open the letter, or deliver it to the King; but he declined both, and really, in my opinion, not out of any disregard to your Lordship, or want of inclination of serving you, but thinking it the best way that the letter should be returned back to you.

His reasons were that he could see no advantage it would be to you, the acquainting King with it, for certainly he never could have thought of giving it to the Duke; and in the present situation this affair stood with relation to Lord Harborough, possibly it might create difficulties, the King having offered him a pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year in lieu of his place, which he has refused.

Now what Sir Robert apprehended was, should the King be informed with this design and inclination of yours of resigning Windsor, as these changes are not yet declared, and this difficulty arises from Lord Harborough, the King might then take you at your word, Lord Harborough be allowed to keep his place, and the offer of the pension be then made to you; which he asked me how I thought you would like. I told him, sure I believed not at all. He said he imagined so, and that was the reason Lord Harborough was to make room for you. I was with him near half an hour alone, talking this affair over. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1730,] May 26, London.—I received your Lordship's last night, and as I writ you word before your accepting this employment I thought [it]

would be much to my advantage, so I am more confirmed in it by what Sir Robert told me at Court the day the King went from St. James's. He called me of one side, and said the King had ordered him to acquaint your Lordship he was very well pleased with your having taken this employment, which I have heard from two or three hands he has taken occasion to mention; and that as to the application of my being in the Prince's family, he had not given an actual promise, but he thought what amounted to pretty near the same. This I imagine your Lordship has had from Sir Robert himself.

I shall be on duty when the King goes to Windsor, which at this juncture I am not sorry for. . . . I desired in one of my letters to know whether your Lordship approved of my subscribing to the Rooms that are building at York, for I told Sir Will. Millner I would not if you had any objection to it. My brother [Lord Morpeth] is gone to Altrope for a fortnight. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] June 8.—I was to wait on Lord Harborough this morning to inquire about the employment of the Lord Chief Justice in Eyre, and what officers were under him. The only officers that are of your appointment, as my Lord informs me, are the Clerk of the Swannomore [Swainmote] Court, and his deputy. The Clerk's salary is thirty pounds a year, the deputy's six, both paid by the Lord Chief Justice. The Clerk has a fee tree once a year, [for] which they compound with him at the Treasury, and allow him about six pounds a year. His fees are inconsiderable; he holds a Court once a year, and his deputy once in three weeks. There are three Verdurers, which are chosen by the freeholders of the Forest; no fall of wood, or ploughing of land, belonging to the Forest, though in private property, without an order from the Lord Chief Justice. The method of that is—they who want any favour of that kind apply by a petition to the Lord Chief Justice, which he sends to the Verdurers, and approves or disapproves according to their report to him. The salary of the Lord Chief Justice is a thousand per annum. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] June 22, Windsor.—I delivered your Lordship's to Sir Robert, who repeated the same to me as he had before in relation to my own affair, and told me he hoped you was not uneasy, your patent was not out; that the reason was, Lord Harborough having refused a pension, the King was willing to find out something to satisfy him, but if that could not be soon done, your patent would be ordered. I told him I was quite a stranger to anything in relation to that affair. The Instalment was very fine and magnificent, and everything in the greatest order.

Lord Trevor's death was very sudden; I hear nobody mentioned here that is to succeed him. The transports are sailed to take in Kirk's, Tyrawley's, and Groves's Regiments, and they certainly will be sent, but no more, they say. I shall be relieved here next Thursday, and, after I have done another Tower duty, hope to have the pleasure of seeing your Lordship at Castle Howard.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] June to Sept.—Several long letters of Lady A. Irwin, describing her voyage to Holland, her tour in that country and in Belgium, and her visits to Spa and Paris. In one dated Paris she says :

Mr. Knight lives always here, and is quite metamorphised (*sic*) into a fine gentleman ; from being a man of business he is now become a *gallant homme*, which character just as ill becomes him as a suit o embroidery would a country bumkin. He keeps a great table, has always a vast deal of company, and being both generous and rich, is much visited and esteemed ; but amidst all these caresses and plenty, he groans for the leeks and garlick of Egypt (if I may use that expression), and is perfectly unhappy he can't breathe the air of dear England.

Mr. Walpole in one of his visits took occasion to tell me Sir Robert had writ him word he never saw the King better pleased than with the manner of your Lordship['s] receiving the alteration of your place, and that the King had expressed himself in a very particular manner to your advantage upon that occasion. This conversation naturally led him on to a further discourse upon the politics of your family ; he spoke with some concern of my brother Morpeth's disposition ; and being upon that subject I took the liberty to tell him I had a brother who I hoped the King would think worthy of some mark of his favour, and I could wish his family would interest themselves in it. He told me Sir Robert had writ him word, the King would not hear of any addition to the Prince's family, and that his marriage with Prussia was now at an end, and he believed his family would remain in the circumstance they were for some time.

One of these letters is endorsed by the third Earl : "1730." *Seals.*

Sir R. Walpole to [Lord Carlisle].

1730, July 14, London.—I was in Norfolk when I had the honour to receive both your Lordship's last letters, which prevented my having an opportunity to receive his Majesty's commands upon the subject matter of them, but upon my return I took the first opportunity to acquaint his Majesty with your Lordship's proposal, and have his order to let your Lordship knows that his Majesty is very well pleased with your Lordship's readiness to remove the difficulties which had retarded the execution of his Majesty's intentions in favour of your Lordship.

I am further to acquaint your Lordship that upon the old Establishments of the Crown there have usually been a Master of the Buckhounds, and a Master of the Harriers. The first is what is commonly called the Master of the Stag-hounds, and is now enjoyed by Col. Negus. The latter is vacant, and if your Lordship thinks it more agreeable to be Master of the Fox-hounds, the King has no objection to the style or name of the office, but, as the Masters of the Harriers is an ancient and known office, thinks it may be better if your Lordship takes the addition of Fox-hounds, and the office to be called Master of Fox-hounds and Harriers, which his Majesty is willing to grant to your Lordship with the salary of 2000*l.* per annum for yourself, deputy, and all charges attending the same, and leaves the distribution of the whole and the nomination of the inferior officers with their several appointments to your Lordship's pleasure and discretion. I hope this comes so near to your Lordship's proposal, that it will be agreeable to you, and that I shall soon receive your Lordship's commands upon it.

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1730, Sept. 1, n.s., Spaw.—I was glad to hear the King has distinguished your Lordship in a manner that I believe is agreeable to you, and beg leave to wish you joy of it. If his Majesty is a sportsman, he will now have his hounds in perfection. This will be an inducement to make him one, should he be ignorant hitherto of that diversion.

Lord Scarbrough to Lord Carlisle.

[1730,] Dec. 12, London.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter by Mr. Howard, and did acquaint the King with your request the very morning he gave it me. His Majesty bid me write your Lordship word that at present there would be no more Grooms of the Bedchamber appointed for the Prince. I should have been very happy if I could have been of any service to Colonel Howard upon this occasion.*

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1730,] Dec. 29.—Today an extraordinary operation is to be performed by Chisledon, the famous surgeon; he thinks he has discovered that the hearing is not wholly communicated by the ear, and that a person born deaf, or who has totally lost the hearing by accident, if the drum of the ear be entirely cut out, he will hear by the nose and mouth. Seventeen of the condemned criminals last session had their lives offered 'em, provided they would submit to this trial, but they all refused the condition except two, who are this day to undergo it.

They say 'tis the most painful operation in nature, and that the surgeon insists on their being chained while he performs it; but 'tis well worth trying upon wretches worthy of death, if 'tis attended with a great good to society. . . .

I should be glad could I send your Lordship anything new or entertaining to make my letters acceptable, but wit is at a low ebb, or else kept in bank till the Parliament meets; I have sent to the pamphlet shop two or three times, where I can find nothing but Grub Street. . . .

Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle.

1730–1, Jan. 11, n.s., Dunkirque.—I have brought with me [from Paris] some of Mr. Ward's drops, which now make great noise in Paris; if any secret for health was ever inestimable, this certainly is so; they are chymically prepared, and two years in the making; among other distempers, wonderful cures have been wrought by them for the gout. . . .

I came here on purpose to see the famous Port, from whence we suffered so much in the last wars, and about which so much was said last winter in Parliament. Col. Lascells showed me the whole place, and where our demands were; the destruction of the new jetties are (*sic*) already done, but the most material, viz., the Sluice of Furness, which keeps the Port and channel to the sea open and free from sand,

* There are several other letters from this Earl, and one from another Earl (his father?).

&c., is still undone, though the Cardinal [Fleury] has actually promised to have it destroyed.

I can assure you, my Lord, 'tis become as popular in France against granting our demands here, as 'tis in England our insisting on them. We are already much obliged to the Cardinal; I don't know any other French Minister would have acted so cordially on this occasion. His giving up this affair, persecuting the Jansenists, retrenching the pensions from the Crown, and being backward to begin a war, has created him vast numbers of enemies. I was introduced to him by our Ambassador, and dined with him at Marly; he is a miracle of his age (being four score), a very good companion, and a great joker, is perfectly absolute, and is the only man in France who has an influence on the King [Louis XV.].

As his Majesty seldom speaks, people's judgments are divided what he now is, or may hereafter turn out; hitherto he appears to be without the passions of love or hatred; he shows most fondness for that of play, and is very covetous, and desirous of winning. . . .

Seal of arms. *Addressed to Lord Carlisle at Castle Howard, but* "to be left with Mr. Collett at the Foreign Post Office in Lombard Street, London."

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1731,] Jan. 13.—I writ to your Lordship two or three lines the the night I got to town, which I hope you received. I now enclose to you the proxy which the Duke of Newcastle desired might come down to you by this post, that it might be entered as soon as you returned it; it's filled up with Lord Effingham's name according to your directions, and I have acquainted him with your intentions of lodging it in his hands, who desires me to assure you he is sensible of the honour you do him.

The King inquired after your Lordship's health; I told him you had been frequently out of order, and much troubled with the gout this winter; as I did to the Duke of Newcastle. I have had no opportunity of delivering your letter to Sir Robert, he not having any levee or seeing anybody this morning, but Thursday I shall deliver it to him. Very cheerful countenances are worn at Court both by his Majesty and his Ministers, and foreign affairs, I believe, have turned out beyond their expectation; an immediate reduction of eight thousand land forces and ten thousand seamen ordered; eight regiments sent back to Ireland; they say that Spain and Sardinia have acceded to the preliminaries; so that this Sessions opens with a prospect of little other business than trying elections, amongst which number Yorkshire is to lead the van; and I have it confirmed from so good hands that I think it out of all dispute, an early day will be appointed for its being heard at the meeting, and that they are determined to try it. This has been managed with so much secresy in the country, and kept in so few hands, that I really at first could hardly persuade myself to believe it, but it now remains no longer a doubt to me.

The little Minority conversation I have heard gives no credit to our measures for this peace;* they say it's owing to Providence, but at the same time allow it is very lucky for the nation that this surprising turn of affairs has happened.

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* Treaty of Vienna, March 1731.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1731,] Jan. 21, London.—I am sorry to hear your Lordship has been ill since I left Castle Howard ; I hope the roads will very soon admit of a Bath journey, and that you will receive all the benefit you can propose by it. I acquainted Sir Robert with the state of your health. I enclose to your Lordship the King's Speech, though possibly you may have it from another hand.

We are just up, and it's nine a clock, though we had no Division. Mr. Campbell moved the Address, and Mr. Burton seconded him. The debate was upon some words Sir Will. Windham proposed to be added, to this effect: humbly to advise the King, that the Emperor might not be attacked on the Rhine or in the Austrian Netherlands, but that they should remain in the hands they are in at present; which territories has (*sic*) caused* this nation so much blood and treasure. They debated it for four hours, but did not divide.

The ame was proposed to be added in the House of Lords, moved by Lord Carteret, and seconded by Lord Winchelsea. The Address was moved by the Duke of Devonshire, and seconded by Lord Warwick. The Division in the House of Lords, whether those words should stand part of the Address, twenty, to eighty against it. We had a very good journey up, tolerable good weather, and pretty good roads.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Letters from Col. Howard, commencing Jan. the 21st, 1730.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1731,] Jan. 29.—The duel of Lord Harvey (*sic*) and Mr. Polteney has made a great noise, and I fancy upon the whole will turn to Lord Hervey's service, he knowing well how to make a merit of this at Court; and besides, most people had the same opinion of Lord Hervey before Mr. Polteney drew his character with so much wit; but nobody before this adventure thought he had the courage to send a challenge. My sister Mary's two lovers were the seconds—Sir J. Rushout Mr. Polteney's, Mr. Fox Lord Hervey's; and had it not been for their interposing, one if not both [of] the gentlemen had certainly fallen. When Lord Hervey sent the challenge he desired to meet next morning, but Mr. Polteney with great unconcern sent him word he had business for the next day, but would meet him in an hour ; which accordingly they did, and, in the most snowy day we have had, stripped to their shirts, and went to it in the Park.

Monday and Wednesday are both expected to be long days in the House; Wednesday they are to go upon the Hessians, and possibly if they treat one another in the same style they write, it may produce more duels. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1731,] Feb. 4.—We have had two long days this week. Monday, about our own troops. The Minority opposed the going into the Committee of Supply that day, but† deferring it for five or six days longer; their reasons were, that it was said an accommodation was going forward with the Emperor, and that a number of troops once voted, seldom was

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* "Cost" in H. C. Journals.

† Proposed?

that year reduced; and why would they not stay a little till they see what turn affairs would take. The arguments, in my opinion, were pretty strong not to stay, but to go into the Committee; that an accommodation was not so near, and that the way to bring that about was to continue the number of troops you had before, and that your Allies kept up. They divided whether we should go into the Committee, two hundred and forty for it, a hundred and thirty-six against it.

Yesterday was the Hessians, which they opposed likewise going to the Committee. The debate run—the expense of continuing them, and sending so large a sum out of the nation; that they could be of no service to England, and that they were kept up for his Majesty's German Dominions; of the other side—the necessity of not parting from them now; that if we did, the Emperor would hearken to no terms, nor our Allies continue to go on with us; whereas there was a prospect of an accommodation, and sure nobody would part with them till that was perfected.

The debate lasted near eight hours; Sir Will. Strickland, Sir Will. Younge, Lord Malpas, Col. Bladen, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Lewis, Sir Edmund Bacon, Mr. Walpoole, and some others spoke for them, Sir Will. Younge exceeding well; against them, Mr. Booth, Mr. Noel, that serves for Stamford, Mr. Oglethorpe, my brother [Lord Morpeth], Mr. Barnard, Mr. Plummer, Mr. Dan. Pulteney, Mr. Windham,* Sir Thomas Aston, who said his opinion was that an Address should be presented to his Majesty to part from his German Dominions; and Barnard in speaking after him said, that whenever that gentleman would make a motion for an Address to the King that his foreign dominions should go to a younger branch of the family, he promised him he would second him.

Neither Sir Robert, nor Mr. Pulteney, nor Sir Will. Windham spoke; I believe they waited for one another. Upon the Division, two hundred and forty-nine for the going into the Committee, to a hundred and sixty-four against it. The Division last year was two hundred and forty-eight to a hundred and sixty-nine; so this year the Majority got one, and the Minority lost five.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1731,] Feb. 4.—Yesterday the House sat till nine, upon the affair of the Hessians. . . . The King and Queen are both ill of severe colds, having walked this severe weather in the frost and snow, which, before it affected their Majesties, had made all their attendants sick. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1731,] Feb. 23.—Last week was taken up with the Pension Bill, which Mr. Sands brought in, and most people were of the opinion it would have been opposed in the House of Commons, the Lords, as they say, having intimated that it was disagreeable and unpopular to fall always upon them to throw it out; and Sir William Younge, Mr. Winnington, and some more having, upon Mr. Sands' motion, declared they would not oppose the bringing the Bill in, but that when it was brought in they laid in their claim to oppose it, it passed through the Committee of the whole House without a debate.

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* In a list of names enclosed in the letter of 24 April [1733], "Thomas Wyndham of Clower Wall" is mentioned.

When the Bill was engrossed, and had the third reading, then it was debated; Sir William Younge, Sir Will. Strickland, Mr. Pelham, Sir Arthur Crofts, Sir Rob. Walpoole spoke against it; Mr. Windham, Sir John St. Albans, Mr. Oglethorpe, Lord Tryconnell (*sic*), Mr. Heathcoate, and Mr. Pulteney, for the Bill. The debate was some part very good, and I own by their battling, and its lasting so long, I thought they would have divided the House; but the Ministry let it go up to the Lords without a Division.

I believe they were sensible it would have put a great many gentlemen under difficulties that must have left them, or have hurt their own interest very much at the places they serve for; and why it was so fully debated without dividing, I can assign no reason but either the Lords had a mind the leading men in the House of Commons should declare their sense of it, or else that they might the better oppose it next Sessions; but this is only my surmise.

The Lords gave it the first reading last Saturday, and Lord Strafford moved for circular letters to be writ to all the absent Lords to attend their duty by that day fortnight. This motion was debated and divided upon, for it thirty, against it eighty-one. They appointed next Friday for the second reading. Lord Faulconberg's cause comes on tomorrow.*

I suppose your Lordship has heard of the new honours of Mr. Robinson; he has quitted the Army, and his brother has succeeded him, and now that he has got this title he says he shall ask them no more favours; it would be well for a Ministry if everybody was as easily pleased. Mr. Fish and Capt. Gee are gone out of town, and design staying two or three hunting days with the Confederates. . . . . I am sitting to Mr. Akeman for my picture, for my sister Irwin. . . . .

†Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart., to Lord Carlisle.

1731, June 20, n.s., Paris.—I find the French in general are much discontented at our late behaviour, and the Cardinal not a little displeased at his friend Mr. W—— not having let him into the secret, and 'tis said they do all they possibly can underhand to prevent the Spaniards acceding to our late treaty with the Emperor; so that I wish to God we are as near to a solid and general peace as every lover of his country must wish, after so many years of uncertainty, and so great an expense to prevent a war. . . .

I am fully convinced Mr. Ward's drops would have been of great service to you both as to the gout or (*sic*) any other complaints your Lordship may have; and though I am very sensible how difficult it is to persuade any one to take a new remedy, the ingredients of it not being known, yet could I have told your Lordship some particulars of these drops by word of mouth, I am sure you would make no hesitation in trusting yourself to them. Mr. Ward has met with vast opposition here from the whole body of physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, though he has cured these three last years above 2,000 people of all ranks and conditions, and there is no one instance of their ever having done harm. . . .

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1731, June 29, n.s., Paris.—Having now been nine months at Paris, and it agreeing so well both with me and Mr. Robinson, the way of living

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* "Next Wednesday" struck out. *See* H. L. Journals, xxiv, 623.

† Thomas Robinson was created a baronet on 10th March, 1731, not 1730, as usually stated. *See* Patent Roll, 4 Geo. II., part 3, No. 24.

being so easy, free from ceremony, but maintained with the utmost good breeding, and I now having made some acquaintance that are extremely agreeable (at least very much to my taste), I own, were it not for the pleasure of seeing your Lordship and a few friends more, I should not make it my choice to go into England. Whether I shall stay at Paris next winter or not, we have not determined. Your Lordship will allow 'tis a great temptation to continue in a place, where your health receives an advantage, and the people you converse with are cheerful, sincere, and friendly; and another considerable article, that whoever is in a method of living, and looks into their affairs, finds the expense much easier than in England. We had thoughts of going to Spa this summer, but the journey is long and fatiguing in hot weather, and we now design to take the Forge waters, which are much commended, are of a steel nature, and the place but twelve leagues from Paris. This will be done with a great deal more ease, and I hope may be of as much use.

Lady E. Lechmere to her sister the Viscountess of Irwin.

1731, July 11, n.s., Paris.—The Duke of Wharton has at last finished a despicable, extravagant life. His estate and character died before him, and his name will not long survive him. I believe no person in the time ever made so effectual a dispatch of both, and it will be difficult for any genius that comes after him to imitate him through all the circles of his short course of life. . . .

Lady E. Lechmere to her brother Colonel Howard.

1731, July 14, n.s., Paris.—Colonel Douglas and his company have been here about a fortnight; Mr. Bing and Mr. Kingsly are out of humour with everything they meet with, [so] that you may imagine they pass their hours very agreeably, and give the people that hear them talk a very good opinion of their taste. When they arrive on the other side the water they will certainly represent Paris as a most dreadful place to live in, and by the little I have seen of them I believe it would be so to them. I have of late conversed with so few mere Englishmen that their style seems extraordinary to me. I hope it is not the fashion of the country to be so clamorous; if it be, I shall imagine myself in Muscovy when I return to England.

Colonel Douglas told me you once talked of coming to Paris with them; I wish you had, and instead of taking the buck-hunting season at Castle Howard you might have taken that diversion at Fontainebleau, where the King now is. This would have been a variety, though possibly not so much entertainment to a true sportsman. . . .

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1731, Oct. 26, London.—The town is now very empty, but the Birthday will, I suppose, collect people together. They say the Queen is desirous there should be a fine appearance on the Duke of Lorraine's account; 'tis said he is very well pleased with his reception, for every one who has any call to it endeavours to entertain him. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1731, Oct. 26, Albemarle Street.—There has (*sic*) lately happened two very fatal accidents in London—the breaking of the Charitable

Corporation, and the burning of part of the Cottonian Library; the latter to the great mortification of all antiquaries, and lovers of true learning; and the former to the undoing of numbers of poor innocent families, whose fortunes had been placed there upon an expectation of a little more than common interest. By what I am told the proprietors of the Stock will lose every farthing, for they have not as yet found assids (*sic*) to pay their bonds and notes, which must be first discharged; so there is upwards of 30,000*l.* carried off and imbessled, and 'tis my opinion there are people concerned in this fraud of higher stations than their warehouse-keeper and circulator of their notes.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1731,] Oct. 27.—The Royal family come to town tomorrow, so that the town I suppose will now fill. The Operas begin on Tuesday. 'Tis talked that Cardinal Fleury is going out, and the Duke de Maine is to succeed him: I'm afraid this won't be so well for us, especially if the report be true of the Cardinal's removal, which it is said is occasioned by his intention to demolish Dunkirk according to the desire of the English, and that his enemies laid hold upon this occasion to preserve their favourite place, and remove him from the King; so that of consequence, if he is displaced, Dunkirk will remain in a good condition. But, since I have repeated the story, I ought to tell the author; it came from Mr. Poltney, and that may make it above or under par with different parties. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1731, Dec. 9, Albemarle Street.—I postponed thanking your Lordship for your last obliging letter till I could, at the same time, fill one with something more than bare acknowledgments for it. As to the lawsuit which your Lordship says you wish may not be a detriment to us in being so long deferred, I hope my Lord, the contrary, for as Mr. Lechmere is now of age, one trial in Chancery must be final there, and we have agreed with his lawyers to get it determined the next term; and though the sum in contest is very considerable, and [would] be a vast addition to our present fortune, yet as by marrying Lady Lechmere I already enjoy so much from that family, should we recover no more, 'twould give me very little uneasiness. The keeping the affair in suspense is, I own, very tiresome. Our lawyers give us very good hopes, but daily experience teaches us we ought not to build too much upon the opinions of those gentlemen, whose interest and education teaches them never to let their clients despair, or too soon quit a chase, where themselves are the only certain gainers.

My house in Yorks[hir]e is now entirely fitted up to be warm and convenient for my family, and, with the wings, makes a regular front of 146 feet to the Park, and to the north are three courts for offices. My chief expense has been in Palladian doors and windows, which I am told have a very good effect, and in building a stable for 15 horses as a wing to the house, which makes the regularity, and occasions so large a front, as I have mentioned above. There is now nothing wanting for our reception but to put up the furniture, which is ready there for that end, and I can assure your Lordship in none of my future schemes I propose to myself so much pleasure as in retiring to Rookby Park. How soon that may be, we have not yet determined, but sooner or later in life 'tis what we shall certainly do.

I was a fortnight in my tour into the eastern parts of England, and was, during that time, a week at Houghton. We were generally between 20 and 30 at two tables, and as much cheerfulness and good nature as I ever saw where the company was so numerous. Young Lady Walpole and Mrs. Hamond (Sir R[obert Walpole's] sister) were the only two ladies. Sir Robert does the honours of his house extremely well, and so as to make it perfectly agreeable to everyone who lives with him. They hunted six days in the week, three times with Lord Walpole's fox-hounds, and thrice with Sir R[obert's] harriers and indeed 'tis a very fine open country for sport.

During the Duke of Lorrain's being there the consumption both from the larder and the cellar was prodigious. They dined in the hall, which was lighted by 130 wax candles, and the saloon with 50; the whole expense in that article being computed at fifteen pounds a night.

The house is less than Mr. Duncomb's, but as they make use of the ground storey, and have cellars under that, I believe it is the best house in the world for its size, capable of the greatest reception for company, and the most convenient state apartments, very noble, especially the hall and saloon. The finishing of the inside is, I think, a pattern for all great houses that may hereafter be built: the vast quantity of mahogoni, all the doors, window-shutters, best staircase, &c., being entirely of that wood; the finest chimnies of statuary and other fine marbles; the ceilings in the modern taste by Italians, painted by Mr. Kent, and finely gilt; the furniture of the richest tapestry, &c.; the pictures hung on Genoa velvet and damask; this one article is the price of a good house, for in one drawing-room there are to the value of three thousand pounds; in short, the whole expense of this place must be a prodigious sum, and, I think, all done in a fine taste. There is only one dining room to be finished which is to be lined with marble, and will be a noble work. The offices are also built of Mr. Cholmley's stone, and are well disposed and suitable to the house. In one wing are the kitchens and all necessary rooms belonging to a table, servants' halls, &c., and over head are several very good lodging rooms; in the other are the brew-house and wash-house, &c., and a very magnificent hall for a chapel, and a large room which looks on the parterre, designed for a gallery, there being the same in the opposite wing for a green-house.

The enclosure of the Park contains seven hundred acres, very finely planted, and the ground laid out to the greatest advantage. The gardens are about 40 acres, which are only fenced from the Park by a *fossé*, and I think very prettily disposed. Sir Robert and Bridgeman showed me the large design for the plantations in the country, which is the present undertaking; they are to be plumps and avenues to go quite round the Park pale, and to make straight and oblique lines of a mile or two in length, as the situation of the country admits of. This design will be about 12 miles in circumference, and nature has disposed of the country so as these plantations will have a very noble and fine effect; and at every angle there are to be obelisks, or some other building. In short, the outworks at Houghton will be 200 years hence what those at Castle Howard are now, for he has very little full-grown timber, and not a drop of water for ornament; but take all together, it is a seat so perfectly magnificent and agreeable, that I think nothing but envy itself can find fault because there is no more of the one, and I scarce missed the entire want of the other.

The stables (which are very large and [have] been finished about 13 years ago) are to be pulled down next summer, not only as they are

very ill built, but stand in the way of one of the most agreeable prospects you have from the house, and 'tis not yet quite determined whether they should be rebuilt as wings to the Park front of the house, [and] as part of the whole design, or only a separate building, only for use and not to appear. I own I argued strenuously for the former, but Sir Robert seems almost fixed upon having a plain structure, and to be placed out of the way and not to be seen in your approach to the house. The other wings are thrown quite backwards into the garden, and make very little ornament to this front of the house, which, being without either a portico, three-quarter columns and a pediment, or any other break, appears to me to be too naked and exposed, and rather as an end front to a very large palace, than the principal one of a modern house; and wings to be built here would greatly obviate all objections of this nature.

I had forgot his fine La[o]coon in brass, done by the famous Gerrardon (who made my equestrian figure of Lewis 14th), which cost 1,000 guin[eas] at Paris; a fine gilt gladiator, given him by Lord Pembroke, and which is very prettily placed on four Doric columns with their proper entablature, which stand in the void of the great staircase; and the figure stands upon a level with the floor of the great apartment, and fronts the door which goes into the hall, and has a very fine effect, when you go out of that room. Upon the s[tair]case he has several other fine bronzes, and 12 noble busts in the hall. His statues for two niches are not yet bought; the La[o]coon stands before that which is opposite to the chimney.

I have said so much on Houghton, that 'twould be swelling my letter to too great a size, to give my observations in this of the other seats I saw in my tour, but will send them to your Lordship the next post.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1731, Dec. 12, Albemarle Street.—I promised your Lordship in my last letter to continue my remarks on the tour I lately made into Norfolk, &c. I am the more emboldened in doing it, as this is a part of England you have not seen a great many years, and all the great improvements have not been of very long standing.

'Tis five miles from Sir Robert's to Lord Townshend's. The beauty of this place consists of three very noble woods. In that nearest the house are some of as large oaks as I ever saw in my life; and at a proper distance from it is a piece of water of 26 acres, which makes a sort of half circle, and has a very noble effect. [The] greatest part of the house was built by our Master Inigo Jones. It has lately been sashed, and prettily ornamented in the inside by Mr. Kent; and the four fronts lays [lie] open to the Park, there being only a little corridor which runs to a new building of kitchen offices, &c. The situation is fine, and indeed it is a very noble seat.

Ten miles from Sir Robert's is Lord Lovell's, who is beginning his improvements, but has no other temptation than that his ancestors lived there, and have left a large estate round an exceeding bad old house, for his water is to [be] brought, his plantations but just begun, and a house to be built, and not fifty pounds' worth of wood within two miles of the place, so that 'tis pretty much the same as if any monied person bought a 1,000 acres (which is the whole design) of any common kind of ground of a tolerable situation, and begun a seat there. His successors might reap an advantage, but life is too short for the first generation to receive much benefit, where there are so many disadvantages from nature, and the whole to be compassed only by art, time, and expense.

I was two days at the Duke of Grafton's, at Euston. The house was built by his mother's father, and, though of so short a standing, is ready to fall, being so very slightly finished, and all the materials so very bad. The garden of about 80 acres is fenced on one side from the park by a brick wall in a *fossé*, as at Sir Robert's, and the slope from the terras in the garden so wide, that the wall is plante[d] with fruit trees, and so disposed that they have a sufficient quantity of sun to ripen their respective fruits. On the other side the fence, between the garden and the park, is a very pretty rivulet cut in a winding and irregular manner, with now and then a little lake, &c., and over it in one approach to the house is a wooden bridge built by Lord Burlinton, with an arch that appears almost flat, and from hence you have a beautiful prospect of the water, which is indeed delightfully disposed. The park is about 9 miles about. The Duke has hitherto done very little to it, but is now entering into a taste, but nature has done so much for him, and his woods and lawns are disposed in so agreeable a manner, that a little art and expense will make it a most charming place. He has a wood out of the park something like Pretty-wood at Castle H[owar]d, which might be made a noble thing.

In my way home, I spent a day with Lord Bristol at Ickworth, which is by much the finest park I ever yet saw, being about 1,200 acres, and above 25,000*l.* of exceeding fine oaks, &c. Within the pale, the disposition of the woods, lawns [and] valleys (where for a small expense he might have any quantity of water), and the rising hills covered with large old timber, are all truly magnificent and agreeable. They live in a tenant's old house in the park, so very bad a habitation, that I am astonished how so large a family have so long made a shift in it. The old mansion-house was pulled down about twenty years ago, and those materials and others sufficient to build a new house were led to another situation, and the new one determined to be built; but an ill run at play (as fame reports) stopped the design, and most of the wood, brick, and stone have since been used in tenants' houses. His Lordship has been at very little expense, but nature has been so much his friend that little assistance is wanting from art.

I was at Lord Suffolk's at Audly End, which stands upon a vast deal of ground, but I think has not one comfortable room in it. The park is very prettily improved, and a very genteel spot of ground, though of no great extent.

From thence I closed my tour by spending a day at Lord Tilney's, who expressed great concern he could not wait on your Lordship last summer, when he was in the North, and [at] not having seen Castle H[owar]d. From a punctilio of honour he told me he would not go to Mr. Aislaby's, though he had an opportunity to have seen the place. There is little done to the house since your Lordship saw it, but he has made vast alterations in the gardens, undoing all that he has been at vast expense doing, for a great many years past. He is now working hard to carry water almost round them, and by his plan, when finished, the voyage will be a mile and a half. I own 'twill be very fine, but 'twill make the enclosure so very large, and so great an expense, that I should rather have turned my thoughts and employed my money in building offices, &c., to the front of the house, which being one of the noblest in the world, 'tis pity everything about it should not be proportionally fine, and in the same good taste.

I saw several other seats in my tour, but I must say, take all together, no one I ever yet was at is in my opinion equal to Castle Howard, which

I am told improves in beauty every day, and that the mausoleum begins to have a very magnificent appearance.

I wish Mr. Joye a great deal of pleasure in the post your Lordship has obtained for him in the county of Durham. 'Twas absolutely promised to me by Sir R[obert] (for Mr. Smith, my steward) before he went into Norfolk. He told me in excuse for his not having it that Mr. Joye had been at Houghton, and that as he was your Lordship's servant, and your recommendation, he imagined I would not have insisted on the promise given me, nor oppose what you desired. I told him, since that was the case, I was so far from desiring it for Mr. Smith, that had I known your Lordship's design, I should never have interceded for him. Had the place been given to any other person, to be sure, I should have given quite another answer. I have however since had the good fortune to succeed in my solicitations for him as Steward to the D[uke of] Wharton's Mines (which are taken by the Comp[any] of Mine Adventurers) near Richmond, which I think will be a much better preferment for him.

Mrs. Smith of Morpeth has been in a good deal of trouble herself, and has given me a great deal, not only to secure her from being arrested within the Verge of the Court, but to make her easy as to the money she owes as postmistress, &c. I believe I shall at last get everything made easy to her, and she will soon be able to set out again for the North.

[The Duke of] Hamilton and Brandon to [Lord Carlisle].

1731–2, Jan. 22, Milford.—Dissuading him from paying the writer a visit of ceremony, as the journey would be inconvenient and troublesome to him.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1732,] Jan. 27.—We voted fifteen thousand men yesterday without a debate; everybody indeed expected twenty, but they reduced the number lower than was imagined. Tomorrow we are to have the land forces, which they design to oppose.

Mr. Fysh has given me two letters, in both which he gives account of two long days, and hounds and horses yielding victory to the foxes.*

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1732,] Feb. 12, London.—Since my last we had a debate in the House of Commons which lasted seven or eight hours, occasioned by whether they should revive the duty on Salt, which was taken off last year, or have two shillings in the pound Land Tax.

Sir Robert opened the debate with proposing the laying on the Salt Duty for three years, and the giving ease to the land, which had been long loaded, of a shilling in the pound, and seemed to insinuate that, if things were quiet, he hoped another year there would be no occasion even for that shilling.

It was strongly opposed, and the reasons chiefly urged was the unanimity that was shown last Sessions in the taking off this duty, as a burthensome tax on the poor, which was recommended in the King's

* Sir Robert Walpole and "the Secretary of War" are mentioned; also Lord Orkney.

Speech last Sessions, to ease them in those taxes that lay the hardest on them. This being looked upon by the House in that light, it met with a general concurrence that short was their ease, if the Duty was to be laid on this year; that the taking off the shilling in the pound on land was saving the pockets of the rich, to raise the same sum by salt from the pockets of the poor.

They that spoke was Sir Rob. Walpoole, Sir Will. Younge, Mr. Winnington, Mr. Clayton, Mr. Danvers, Mr. Campbell, for the laying on the Duty; against it, Mr. Pulteney, Sir Will. Windham, Mr. Sands Mr. Windham, Sir Tho. Aston, Mr. Oglethorpe, and some others. It being a Committee, some of them spoke two or three times. The Division: for the laying on the Duty, two hundred and twenty-five to a hundred and eighty-six against it. The next day, in the Report, the majority was but twenty-nine.

On Tuesday last they balloted for a Committee of one and twenty to examine into the affairs of the Charitable Corporation, and the Committee having gone through with the lists of the ballot yesterday they reported the one and twenty. Those that I can remember I will set down: Mr. Perry, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Sands, Mr. Oglethorpe, Sir John Rushout, Lord Limerick, Lord Morpeth, Sir Thomas Saunderson, Mr. Plummer, Mr. Winnington, Mr. Conduit, Mr. Campbell, Sir Tho. Robinson, Mr. Windham, Mr. Danvers, Mr. Digby, Watkin Williams, Mr. Harley. I believe Mr. Bromley is another, and who it is that makes the one and twentieth I can't remember. Your Lordship sees the Minority list has prevailed much in the ballot.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1732,] Feb. 22.—The Pension Bill passed the House of Commons without any debate, and the day Mr. Sands was to carry it to the Lords, where there was a full House, at the time they expected the Bill he was out of the way, and not in the House of Commons to carry it up; upon which a debate arose which was carried on with great warmth on both sides for near three quarters of an hour, Sir Ro: intimating, as if that gentleman, who was always so good an attender, and so zealous for that Bill, his being out of the way surprised much; that he thought some other body should carry it to the Lords.

Mr. Pulteney said he had the least reason of any Member in the House to be solicitous or pressing for the care or dispatch of that Bill, after the severe epithets he frequently had given it; and that if it was to be balloted who should carry it up, it would in his opinion hardly fall to his share.

This occasioned a good deal of heat, and Mr. Pelham, as Mr. Pulteney said afterwards, for I really did not observe the words, but in answer to him, told him he was the last man that should make a comparison between his character and his Honourable friend's.

Mr. Pulteney took it to himself, though I believe it was meant to Sir Will. Windham. Mr. Pulteney went out of the House; upon which Mr. Windham stood up, and said he had taken notice words had been dropt, which, if the House did not interpose, possibly might go farther; upon which the House ordered Mr. Pelham to continue there, and sent the Serjeant for Mr. Pulteney.

When the Speaker had acquainted him with the reason of his having been sent for back again, he owned he thought his character so far called in question, that it was incumbent on him to have sent to Mr.

Pelham for an explanation, but possibly it might not have gone farther; and so it was made up.

The House of Lords, upon the Bill's not coming up, adjourned for three or four days; and then Mr. Sands walked into the House of Commons. Last Thursday he carried it up; the debate was very indifferent, and the Minority less than it was last year.*

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1732,] April 1.—We had a very long day last Thursday in taking Lord Gage's Report into consideration. After two or three strong resolutions, which are upon the Votes, and passed *nemine contradicente*, Lord Gage moved for the bringing in a Bill for the enquiry into the Sale of the Estate,† and the justness of the title.

Mr. Doddington got up and opposed it, and ended with a motion for its going to the Courts in Westminster Hall. This was debated for two or three hours amongst the lawyers, and the Ministry I believe were determined to divide upon it, for its going to the Courts below, had not the Attorney General got up, and declared his opinion very strongly for a Bill, which seemed to be unexpected, the Solicitor having spoke as strongly for its going to Westminster Hall. But Bill was ordered without a Division.

Afterwards Lord Gage moved a Question, that the Commissioners were guilty of a breach of trust in violation of [the] Act of Parliament, which Question you will see in the Votes is amended, guilty of great irregularities in giving a power of setting their hands to matters of form only. The debate was not over till one o'clock, and after three Divisions carried by about thirty each. Sir John Eyles was ordered to be reprimanded by the Speaker, and Lord Gage to have the thanks of the House; Mr. Bond and Serjeant Birch, Commissioners, to be expelled.

Yesterday we were to be on the four and twenty thousand pound for Denmark, but having sat so late the night before, they agreed to put it off till Monday, and Tuesday I shall go for a few days into Sussex.

I hope my sister Irwin got the Poem I sent last post; I thought it was very pretty, and not knowing whether it was come down to Yorkshire yet, made me send it. . . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1732,] April 15.—I have been for eight or nine days with a party at Uppark. . . . . I propose going to Newmarket, the latter meeting, if the report from the Charitable Corporation don't prevent me. Mr. Sandys makes it on Monday, and if the House takes it into consideration any day that week, I shall be able to go down; but if it's put off till the week after, I believe I shall not, for though I fear the proprie[tors] will receive little advantage by it, yet I t[hink] everybody ought to attend it. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1732,] April 27.—Lord Darenwater's Bill is to be read the third time I believe as tomorrow, and [will] hardly meet with any opposition in the House of Commons, nor I imagine in the House of Lords. Had not the

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* *See* H. L. Journals, xxiv, 23.

† Derwentwater Estate. *See* Robinson, 30 Nov. 1732.

House of Commons showed a strong inclination and spirit for the Bill, to be sure the intention was to have sent it down to the Courts in Westminster Hall; and the motive for so doing which was urged by gentlemen that were of that opinion was, upon the account of [the] precedent of [the] Bill, which was new, and might be made use of some time or another to endanger private property.

The Report of the Charitable Corporation is to be read today, and put off for the taking it into consideration till next Tuesday, because they could not get it printed time enough to proceed upon it today.

The King they say is impatient to have the Sessions over, in order to get away, and I don't believe, after the Charitable Corporation is finisht, there will be much more business to keep them sitting. I hope, by the King's going abroad, I shall be released sooner than I expected. You will have a great deal of company this year at Scarborough. . . . .

The Princess of Denmark's picture is come over, and the Prince's is sent to their Court, so that a match is now talked of very warmly before next Christmas for his Royal Highness. . . . . .

Lord Scarbrough to [Lord Carlisle].

1732, May 13, London.—I have received your Lordship's letter by Mr. Elstob, and I have mentioned the contents of it to Sir Robert Walpole, but he gave me no positive answer.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[c. 1732?] June 15, London.—I enclose to your Lordship a letter which Mr. Langley desired I would convey to you; he told me it was from my Lord Aliesbury (*sic*) at Brussels, who had showed him great civilities upon your recommendation. Their stay was short abroad; the reason he says of their quick return was, Mrs. Langley's being with child. They don't propose coming into Yorkshire these two months. I hope I shall be able to set out in a week, and shall call upon my brother [Lord Morpeth] by the way for a few days.

I am lately returned from a little tour of about six days, which was taken up in seeing places; Blenheim, Oxford, and Lord Cobham's were the principal ones, and really there is a grandeur and magnificence in the view you have of Blenheim, when you are through the park gate, that I think cannot be outdone anywhere. That noble piece of water, the bridge, the wood, and that magnificent building with the park lying very fine up to it—all these objects striking your view at the same time—composes a scene of grandeur and pleasure that I should think the nicest critics would be willing to com[mend]. Lord Cobham's gardens are ex[tremely] fin[e and] expensive,* and with great taste, [in] my opinion. He is making a large pe[ice] of water of eleven acres, and designs taking in thirty acres more into his garden, and to enlarge his park very much. He has altered and improved his house considerably since you see [saw] it; his soil is very bad and the country very deep, when others are very dry.

Oxford gave me no great entertainment; there is little variety, and the Colleges have most of them a melancholy, uncheerful air; there is a fine building at Christ Church, unfinished, which I think they design for a library.

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* *Sic*; not extensive.

I am glad to hear your Lordship is so well in your health now, and that the uneasiness the boil gave you is pretty well over. I find by a letter from Robin yesterday the madness is still amongst them [the hounds], and that they have lost a very good young hound. I writ him word that if your Lordship approved of it I thought they should go to the sea again, for now there is no hunting, and I wish they don't lose so many as to disable the pack.

Lady Elizabeth Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1732, Oct. 26, London.—I am told the town is very empty; they say the King designs to continue at Kensington till the middle of January. The Spanish Ambassador is much talked of for the magnificent manner he intends to live in, when he can get a house fit for balls and masquerades. His wife is a very little woman, and plain, and can't speak a word of any language but Spanish. She is learning English, and in compliment to her some of our ladies are studying Spanish; the Duchess of Richmond is one. This is being very polite, but 'tis making a compliment that will require some time to bring it to perfection. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1732, Nov. 18, Albemarle Street.—The weather has been excessive cold here of late; the King and the Royal family hunted last Wednesday a hind in Richmond Park, but suffered so much that day from the cold weather, that it is the last day of their hunting this year. I was disappointed of adding one to the number, being that day engaged with Lady Lechmere, Lord Fauconberg, and the Speaker in a party to Chiswick, which both within and without is a fine bijou, and much beyond anything of the villa kind I ever saw in my life.*

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1732, Nov. 30, Albemarle Street.—I had a conversation yesterday with Lord Gage about Mr. Elstop; as I wish him very well, being one your Lordship is patron to and protects, I think it may be to his advantage to let him know Lord Gage has charged him to the Treasury Board, of his having formerly received near 2000*l.* of Lord Darwentwater's estate more than he accounted for to the Commissioners. His Lordship is now filing affidavits to prove the fact, and intends to bring the affair before Parliament, which will occasion his being examined at the Bar of the House; and if the charge be made good against him, the sentence and consequence will be very severe. If this notice might be of service, I shall be very well pleased with having given it; his only way, if it be true, is to pay the money quietly to Lord Gage, who will deliver it in Parliament, and take the direction of the House for the disposal of it.

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1732, Dec. 14, London.—I hope this disagreeable weather has not disordered your Lordship; almost all people in this town are full of

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* This and many other letters of Sir T. Robinson refer to architecture and sculpture at Castle Howard, and at his own seat, Rookby Park, in Yorkshire.

complaints. The Queen kept her room several days, but is now recovered. Sir Robert Walpole was ill yesterday, and blooded; and indeed few constitutions can resist these heavy fogs making an impression on them. I am glad on the account of my sister Irwin's journey that the frost continues; the roads will be good, and she will only suffer from the cold, which is a less evil than deep ways and waters out.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1732, Dec. 23, Albemarle Street.—Since the hint I took the liberty to write to your Lordship about in regard to Mr. Elstop is well taken by him, I have spoke to Lord Gage again on his account, who still assures me he is prepared with such strong proofs against him, as, to use his own words (if the affair is not made up before the Parliament meets), will not only occasion his being sent to Newgate, but also lose his present employment about that estate, and render him uncapable of ever executing any other under the Crown. What I writ formerly about his paying the money to Lord Gage was his Lordship's thought; he told me 'twas the only thing could prevent a scrutiny in Parliament. . . .

The Town have talked a good deal of late on Mr. Henley's monstrous behaviour to Lady Betty, his wife; there was a hearing last week in Westminster Hall, when 20 coaches of her relations were present, but the merits of the cause are put off till the 9th of Jan.; the old D^s of Marlborough had sufficient spirits to be a volunteer there; by what one hears I think 'tis very apparent his intentions were to have killed her by the most unhumane of (*sic*) usage and cruelty; had his courage been equal to his intentions and not awed by the law, he would certainly have taken a shorter method to have accomplished his design.

The Duke of Norfolk died at two this morn; it is currently reported he was poisoned by the Jesuits some months since, on account of his having made some declarations that carried the appearance as if he intended to turn Protestant. Let that be as it will, his case entirely puzzled the doctors, and was indeed a very extraordinary one; he suffered as much pain as 'twas possible for any mortal to undergo for several weeks before his death.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1732,] Dec. 28, London.—I yesterday saw Miss Elstob; they had a sad conclusion to their journey, which I fancy your Lordship may have seen in the news. The account from her is this. About a mile of this side Baldock they were attacked by five highwaymen; three robbed and two watched. They were not content to take from 'em what they had about 'em, but pulled 'em all out of the coach, searched them narrowly, and upon being disappointed of what they expected, threatened to strip 'em. They were near an hour in the robbery; they took away their portmanteaus, Miss's two gold watches, all Mr. Elstob's clothes, pocket-book, and other things, to the value of a hundred pound. By the circumstance of the robbery they certainly expected a good sum of money, and had notice of Mr. Elstob's being upon the road, and being a Receiver of the Forfeited Estates, thought he could not be without a considerable sum about him.

I met the same honest collectors; they rid [rode] with me over part of Finchley Common, crossed the coach several times, and I really

thought would have stopped me. The coachman knew 'em to be noted highwaymen, but being but two, and I having two attendants, they let me escape: but I rather impute it to my getting into London early, for I lay at Welling, and got to town by dinner. Had I been in the dusk, I think I should have paid the usual fine; for both the men and horses answered exactly to the description of those who robbed Mr. Elstob.

I don't know whether the news mentions the will Mr. Norton of Hampshire has left; he has made the Parliament his heirs, to dispose of his estate, which is a very considerable one, to charitable uses.

The town is yet empty; I was at the Opera on Tuesday, which looked like a church rather than a theatre, they were so few people in it. There is a new woman who is much commended, but having heard her but once, I can't pronounce my opinion of her. . . .

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733 ?] Jan. 2, London.—We have had fine open weather this last week, which I hope has contributed to the sport at Malton. Poor Sir Thomas [Robinson] underwent a terrible fatigue last Thursday, which he still feels; in order to make his court to the Duke of Grafton, either as a sportsman or a minister, he attended him a-hunting at Croyden; it proved a very wet day; he rise (*sic*) at four a clock in the morning, rid above thirty miles, saw no sport, was wet to the skin, and returned like a d[r]aggled post. However, he is satisfied he has showed his mare, who was much commended, and proved his love of hunting by the great fatigue he underwent to procure it; he is much out of order, and is now paying for the reputation he gained upon Epsom Downs. I have seen my Lady Strickland but once, she being wholly taken up with attending Sir William, who has been extremely out of order, but is now upon the mending hand.

Bishop Strickland, who is now in England, and goes by the name of Mr. Mosely, is gone down to Oxford, from thence to Bath, and intends to make a journey into Yorkshire on purpose to see Castle Howard; he is reckoned a man of taste, has built a palace at Namur, is well received here by all the Court, and has had several private audiences of the Queen. . . .

I have not seen Mr. Elstob, so know nothing of his affairs. The enclosed are epigrams which are much commended; the Satyr recommends (*sic*) as it does everything here; 'tis a critical age, and the more I see of people of genius, the less amiable they appear, since they dedicate those talents which were given 'em for the pleasure of mankind, wholly to the detriment of those who dare take pen in hand; as for the numerous herd of readers, they pass uncensured; 'tis the poor writers only upon whose reputation they sit; the province of wit being monopolised by a few, who won't allow any person but themselves to retail an ounce of it. I have lately been in company with some of these geniuses, who having treated mankind in the manner I describe, occasions this reflection to your Lordship. . . .

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] Jan. 6, London.—My sister Lechmere is a good deal at home; she never plays, her circle being for wit and conversation; she herself has as good a pretence to it as any that come there. Mr. Hammond is often with her, and has both wit and knowledge, but won't

allow anybody to have it that presumes to take pen in hand; even the ancients don't escape his criticisms; therefore 'tis impossible the moderns should. I thought Homer had been secured against remarks of that kind, but he must fall a sacrifice to the new tastes, and almost three thousand years' approbation can't protect him from being now ridiculed. Mr. Gay has left a posthumous work, which is soon to be acted; 'tis in the manner of the Beggar's Opera, interspersed with songs; the subject is Achilles amongst the Women, where he is discovered by choosing a sword. The design is to ridicule Homer['s] Odysses; 'tis much commended, and I don't doubt, from the nature of the subject, will be much approved. . . .

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] Jan. 9, London.—I was at Court on Saturday; the crowd was very great. I am now paying the fine of a cold for my appearance there. All the Royal family lost, which was a right decision of fortune. Lord Harington won 800*l.*, the Duke of Grafton 400*l.*, and Lord Portmore 300*l.* The Duchess of Dorset lost 200*l.*, and Lord Albemarle 500*l.*, but the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham being sharers with him, the loss was inconsiderable to each person.

I was told today by a Scotchman the King has dismissed Duke Hamilton from being Lord of his Bedchamber; he had been forced to solicit so many people to wait for him upon the account of his long absence, that the duty grew heavy, and the King told Lord Selkirk he concluded the Duke had no inclination to keep an employment he avoided executing. Lord William, his brother, did not come up to town upon any application that was made for him to the King, but in pursuit of a great fortune, a lady of his own name; she's very plain, and at her own disposal; he very assidious, and handsome; [so] that 'tis very likely the conclusion of the affair will be matrimony, and the end of it misery.

The enclosed is a ballad Lord Malpas gave me:* he says 'tis the best writ of anything that's come out of the opposing side upon that subject, which is but a dry one. The affair of the Excise makes a noise, and I fancy will meet with great opposition, should it be attempted in Parliament. Bristol and Leicester have already sent instructions to their Members to oppose it, and 'tis said all the great towns in England will do the same. The merchants at London having informed their correspondents in the country, the apprehension is become general, especially amongst the traders in wine and tobacco, those being the first branches that will be attempted, as 'tis said.

An excise-man has always been a most hateful officer to the inferior people, and should they be multiplied, they'll look upon 'em like the plagues of Egypt; and Sir Robert [Walpole] in the end perhaps may act the part of Moses, and be forced, after he has brought what is now said will prove real evils upon the country by his power and authority, to remove 'em. . . .

I propose being down [at Castle Howard] some time in April, Scarborough season not beginning till the end of June. . . . I never remember so mild a winter; we have hardly had one day's frost since I came.

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* Not found.

[Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.]

[1733,] Jan. 16, London.—The Duke and Duchess of Norfolk were at Court on Friday where they were received with great distinction. The Duchess, who is a sensible woman, and must act the man where talking is necessary, behaved much to her credit; she assured the Queen, though she and the Duke were of a different religion, they had as much duty and regard for the King as any of his subjects, and should be glad of every occasion that gave 'em an opportunity to show it. This declaration shows they have no intention to enter into any interest contrary to the King's, and is a great step from one of their opinion, where religion governs the politics. The Court was very well pleased with this visit; the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk are both such bigots, it was not expected they would give this open declaration of quitting the interest of the Pretender.

Lord Harvey is at the lowest ebb of credit;* he has tried the humblest and meanest ways imaginable to be reconciled to the Prince, but to no purpose; he attends his levy every day, and has not for some months been spoke to. I was in company the other day where an accident happened that afforded entertainment to the company, but I believe not to the persons concerned: Mrs. V—— was making a visit, and Lord H——y came in; I believe it was the first time of their meeting after the extraordinary letter he writ her. Her resentment and his address were both very particular, but she carried it with the haughtiness of an injured princess, and would not afford him either a look or a word, though he addressed her in the most suppliant manner. People are very mean that can first offend, and after that make such servile submissions; but this good town can prostitute principles in a short time: expensive pleasures make people necessitous, and how to supply that is the next consideration, let the ways and means of doing it be never so scandalous.

I have been to wait on my Lady St. Quintin through Mr. Hill's help; he conveyed my sister and me in his coach, and after that gave us a most elegant dinner at his own house, which was dressed by a cook from the Bedford Head. Everything was in great perfection that related to the dinner; great variety of the most expensive wines, not excepting Tokca. As my demand for wine is small, I have endeavoured to get as good as I could procure; my brother Howard, who got well to town on Saturday, commends my claret, which I bought of Mr. La Cruz. I have Burgundy both from Mr. Wright and Brinsden. Mr. Wright's is dearer, but I think much better. Brinsden's is a poor, meagre wine, and I wonder at people's approving it so much; but I am apt to think party has some share in the commendation; he was formerly Gentleman of the Horse to my Lord Bulingbrook, and all of that party encourage him by buying his wine. He has one very agreeable wine, which he calls a a White Burdeaux. I believe your Lordship would like it; 'tis not dear.

Sir William Strickland has had a very severe attack of illness, and is yet so much indisposed he can't possibly attend his duty at Westminster. Sir Conyers Darcy fell into a fit in the drawing room on Sunday, but is now better. My Lady Preston looks very ill, and one may see a thorough trouble of mind in her countenance. My Lord Preston is much more open in his behaviour to the Quaker; he has left his mother, and his fair lady comes in so undisguised a manner to his house that many people think they are married. . . .

Incomplete.

* Old note: "Quarrel of the Prince and Lord Hervey. Scene with Miss Vane."

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] Jan. 18, London.—I found the roads very bad, and, being tired of riding my own horses, met company at Stilton, so took post to London. I ordered Tom to bring the two hackneys back, and leave the gallaway at Orton, and to bid my man call for him when he came up with the horses.

We had very little debate the first day upon the Address. Sir John Barnard moved an Amendment, and Mr. Sands seconded it. Mr. Shippen made some alteration to your† words, and Sir Robert Walpole said he thought no part of the Speech was liable to have displeased anybody, nor the Address, but that he would do a thing which was very unusual with him, which was to agree with that gentleman that spoke last, and second him. I can't just remember the Amendment, but the meaning of it was, of not raising the Supply contrary to the liberty of the subject, and the detriment of trade, an inference levelled at the Excising Wine and Tobacco, which makes a good deal of noise, and which is to be brought into Parliament.

The Prince received me very civilly, and inquired much after your Lordship. I waited on Sir Robert and made your compliments to him, Sir William Strickland has been extreme ill, and I think looks very bad now; he has been confined a month, and can walk very little yet, but the worst of his complaint is, it affects his nerves. Never was known so many people ill as there are in this town. I have not seen the Duke of Argyle, he is out of order.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Letters from Col. Howard, commencing January the 18th, 1732.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] Jan. 18.—Lord Torrington died yesterday. Lord Pembroke is very ill, and though attended by three physicians, refuses all their prescriptions.

I enclose to you Mr. Pope's new poem, which is much in the style of the epistle to my Lord Burlington; but as the objects of his satire are low, people will be less offended, for who cares for P. Waters, Charters, or Ward. I have marked the characters according to my interpretation without being told of the application, so possibly I may guess wrong. The last character does not hit in every particular, but I think where 'tis disguised, 'tis with a design it mayn't be fixed. The style of the whole is like Young's Universal Passions; there are good thoughts wrapt up in obscurity, but that is so much the fashion that to be plain and intelligible is a meanness in writing the moderns are resolved not to be guilty on. Had the ancients writ so, the present age would not have been much the better for their exalted and noble thoughts. . . .

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] Jan. 18.—I can't help making one observation upon Mr. Pope's poem which I omitted in my letter. The Man of Ross is his hero; the lines which describe him are the best, in my opinion, of any in the poem; he is there celebrated for the same virtues that Castle Howard mentions your Lordship for; and though your circumstances

† Originally "ye," but altered to "yr."

and his are different, social virtues are the same in all people, and if worthy of commendation in him, why not in you? You see, my Lord, I would gladly excuse making a bad picture of a good original by quoting the example of Mr. Pope; for if the commendation of feeding the poor [and] redressing the injured, by keeping 'em out of [the] hands of attorneys, are low subjects not worthy of notice, Mr. Pope would not have admitted 'em into his poem. I hope this in some degree may be an answer to the critical remarks made upon Castle Howard in relation to your character.

That poem is not so much discry'd here as it was in Yorkshire. I was told this morning in particular by Mr. Hammond, who[m] the world allows a good judge, that the poem was good, and that part of it which relates to your Lordship writ after the manner of the ancients, in a beautiful simplicity. He has no other notion I have any interest in the poem than the relation I bear to your Lordship, and the natural affection I have to the place. . . .

The Earl of Carlisle to the Prince of Wales.

1732 [-3], Jan. 20.—Sir,—My Lord Malpas, when he was in this country last summer, was looking out for horses fit for your Royal Highness' own saddle. Whether he succeeded or no, I can't tell, but from thence I take the liberty, Sir, to send you a young gelding and a mare. . . .

Copy, in the Earl's own hand.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] Jan. 23.—The entertainment my Lord Tankerville gave upon the Prince's birthday was one of the finest things that has been known upon that occasion; the company was the foreign ministers and our great men; the service was upon a long table; 96 dishes; beans, peas, and all the rarities that could be thought on was there. Mrs. Vane gave a great entertainment that day to several ladies. The Court was very thin, everybody being confined or sick; there was not a Duke to dance with the Princesses at night, which has not been known in the records of a birthday before.

My brother Morpeth told me last night Mr. Polteney said Duke Hamilton was not out of the King's service, but I'm apt to think he is; everybody believes it; his place indeed is not filled, and that may lead people into the mistake, but I'm afraid he is not in possession himself. The Lord of the Admiralty, 'tis said, won't be named till after the Sessions; Sir Thomas has been to ask it, but was told it was designed for a sea-man; he is satisfied with this answer, though I believe, if a land-man gets it, he won't be the man. . . . (The deaths of Lord Binning and Lord Pembroke are referred to.)

You are very obliging in what you say about my Lady Fitzwilliam; . . . it was through her persuasions the Duchess and Duke of Norfolk paid their compliments at Court, which was, I think, doing a right thing on both sides.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] Jan. 31.—I think there has not yet been anything material done in the House. Sir Robert is thought by many to be in a declining

way, I mean as to his political views, but wishes often influence people's opinions, and 'tis not unlikely it may be so in his case. The cry of the town is more general against him, and if he should keep in, 'tis probable it will be at the expense of the nation, since more must be given in Parliament to blind his faults. Mr. Holt died at an inn at Epping, where he had lain sick a fortnight in his way to the Bath. . . . . (Comments on Lord Carlisle's picture at Ackman's, who agreed to alter it.)*

Col. Sir Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] Feb. 1.—I received your Lordship's letter by last night's post, with the enclosed for Mr. Doddington, which I shall give him tomorrow. I did not get to town till last night ; they kept me two hunting-days at Beswick, which made it Thursday before I got away from thence ; and the tide served so late that when we was got over we were obliged to lie at Barton.

I find here was a strong debate in the House of Commons last week about the number of forces; the Minority proposed twelve thousand instead of the present number ; they divided, I think, two hundred and forty-one, to a hundred and seventy-one, the Speaker, it being in a committee, with the Minority. Sir Thomas Robinson had a set speech for the occasion, I believe pretty well, by what I heard; he is a man of great business at present, and is to present the petition of the Charitable Corporation. My sister I have not seen ; she is at Paddington for the air, having been out of order of late. The duty upon salt I hear Sir Robert designs to lay on again.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].†

[1733,] Feb. 1, London.—My brother Howard informs your Lordship of everything in the political way, which is much more authentic than the reports I hear. The longer I live the more difficult I find it is to arrive at the truth : she's of so retired a nature she seldom makes her appearance here. This is a proper introduction to what I'm going to repeat, in which possibly she may have no share. 'Tis in regard to the Spanish Ambassador's way of living, which by report in some particulars is so extravagant 'tis hardly credible ; 'tis said his butcher's bill comes to ten pounds a day. He labours frequently under the fatigue of most magnificent entertainments, which the Queen of Spain obliges him to make, at which no person is pleased, and he has the least reason of any to be so. The service consists sometimes of a 100 dishes; the dessert is a perfect garden, consisting of rocks, fountains, and fruit a-growing; the time taken up at these entertainments generally three or four hours, so that the greatest epicure is tired before they are finished. He is a handsome little man ; she [his wife ?] a little ugly woman; can speak nothing but Spanish, is starved [chilled] with our climate, against which she makes no defence, going quite uncovered upon her head, as they do in Spain, and upon the whole is very unhappy with her present situation. . . . . (Refers to the will of Lord Pembroke.) . .

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* This letter seems to be of the same year as the third letter dated 18 Jan., and the letter dated 27 Feb. They all mention looking for a man to play the base viol.

† Mentions Dr. Winteringham's medicines in the same way as the letters of Jan. 18 [1733].

On Tuesday was hanged Banks, the noted Pickering attorney, for housebreaking; he sent a message to Sir Wm. Strickland, to desire him to take care of his wife and children.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1732[–3,] Feb. 3, Albemarle Street.—In your Lordship's letter to Lady Lechmere the last post you desire to know what foundation there is for my being inserted in the newspapers for one of the Lords of the Admiralty; I have asked for it, and if a Land Admiral is to be added to supply the present vacancy, I believe I stand as fair as any other candidate; but I fancy a Sea Officer will be added to that Board, for there is now but two out of six. However, if I have not that, I am assured I shall have some other employment; but I depend so little on speeches of this kind that I shall make myself easy in my circumstances, without being obliged to a servile dependence on a Court. And in order to it, we are selling our pictures, sculpture, and Lord Lechmere's books. I have sent your Lordship a catalogue, and if there be any you may want, if your Lordship commissions your bookseller in Town, you may, in all probability, buy them very reasonably; for the Town will have in this instance what they are very little acquainted with, which is a fair sale.

Yesterday we sat till 8 in the evening on the Army; the Division, 239 against 171; last year 'twas 240 against 171, and 19 speakers for the reduction, and 12 against it; and this year 15 speakers for the reduction, and 9 against it; so the difference in the two years was very small. Lord Morpeth proposed the number to be reduced to 12,000, and spoke very well in support of his question, as indeed he did the last year when he made the same motion that he did this; and as the House in general has a very good opinion of him, he is always mighty well heard, and speaks with great weight.

Both years I had my share in the debate, and am the only one who have spoke for the Army, out of employment. I have been complimented by [the] Duke of Newcastle, Lord Harrinton, and Sir R. Walpole, that I did justice to the cause I espoused; if they are my friends, as they pretend to be, their action I hope will soon convince me of the sincerity of their professions, which I have been long accustomed to.

Sir Wm. Windham spoke exceedingly well; Mr. Poultney with a great deal of humour and wit, though not with that strength to the question as Sir William. Sir R. W[alpole] and his brother both spoke very long, and I think well; and indeed the battle was fought well on both sides. As Col. Howard, who is now here, tells me he has writ to your Lordship on this subject, I shall not repeat what he may have said in his letter in a better manner.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] Feb. 6, London.—The bills of mortality were frightfully high last week, beyond what was ever known but in the Plague year. I can't but think this distemper is of the same species, and from the length of the journey and coldness of the climate has lost its chief venom; like adders and vipers, which here are of a poisonous nature, but in hot countries are mortal. However, Doctor Hollings says there is no danger if care is but taken; 'tis only the poor and working people that die, excepting some old persons that this distemper has carried off.

I suppose my brother Howard gave your Lordship an account of the debate on Friday; my brother Morpeth I hear spoke extremely well; Sir Thomas [Robinson] used a great many fine words, but not much to

the purpose; the numbers were much the same as last year. The Excise is the thing now chiefly debated; one side says 'tis an infringement of the liberty of the subject, and an act of oppression; the other says 'tis a thing absolutely necessary for collecting the King's duty on wine, and for the health of his subjects, to prevent its being mixed, and that nobody ought to be against it but wine merchants, who will now be forced to give good wine at the price of bad.

Sir William Lowther, who, your Lordship knows, is a sort of pope with me, says that what he has yet heard in regard to the Excise is so reasonable that he believes he shall be for it, unless some more essential arguments appear against it when 'tis brought into the House. I'm sure his opinion is founded upon reason and conscience, since he is in no way influenced by any party. He was with the Minority in the debate upon the Army.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] Feb. 10, London.—I am glad to acquaint you the Prince saw the horse and the mare this morning, liked them very well, and accepted them; ordered me to acquaint your Lordship he would answer your letter very soon. . . . I had them both in Hyde Park. . . .

I have had an account from Carlisle that the Mayor had called a court upon the death of another alderman, which made two vacancies, and they would not choose me for either; so that I have reason to think I have no good wishes from the Corporation. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1732[–3], Feb. 20, Albemarle Street.—The whole conversation of the Town is on the scheme we expect from Sir R——, which will extend the Excise Laws to wine and tobacco. By what I can judge from the papers which have been writ on both sides, it may be attended with great advantage to the public; but as the opposition and prejudice against the proposed scheme is so general, I wish it turns out so well as might be expected.*

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] Feb. 24.—I received the favour of your last, and am much obliged to you for the offer of your assistance at Carlisle. I have writ Dr. Hutchinson my thoughts of it, after having talked to the Baron [Hylton]; and likewise that in case it is his opinion that the spending some money now would be of service and is neccessary, that they must not solicit votes for the Baron and me in conjunction, which I find is what they are very desirous and pressing we should declare ourselves jointly, by insinuating that would make Mr. Aglionby desist any opposition he should otherwise intend. . . . .

Yesterday we had a debate, whether we should apply five hundred thousand pounds out of the Sinking Fund towards the Supply of the year. Sir Robert opened the debate with acquainting the Committee,

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* In referring to a lawsuit in which he was engaged, the writer mentions that it was heard by the Master of the Rolls on two mornings, beginning at half-past eight; and that "lawyers' fees run exceeding high on these occasions—the first day the Attorney General had 15 guineas, and Messrs. Bootle, Verney, and Willes 12 guineas, and all the rest 10 guineas apiece."

that with the application of this sum, there would still remain an overplus of a million towards the discharge of the National Debt from the Sinking Fund this year. So he left it to gentlemen's consideration, whether they would take this five hundred thousand pounds; which if they approved of, he then should move them only one shilling Land Tax; or not take it, and have a higher Land Tax.

The chief objections urged by those who disagreed with the question were, that the overplus of this Fund was sacred, appropriated by Act of Parliament towards the discharge of Debt, and that if you now did not pay your debts in time of peace, but applied it, what would you do in time of war, when your necessity would oblige you to make use of all sorts of methods of getting money? So Mr. Pulteney moved to leave the Chair. Upon the Division, for making use of the above-mentioned sum, two hundred and forty-five, against one hundred and thirty-five.

There has been a report these eight or ten days about town, as if the Excise was to be dropt; but Sir Robert declared yesterday he would bring it in, and that he had so good an opinion of it, he only wished for every Member that had a right to a seat in the House of Commons might be present; and in order that it might be so, he would give them a week's notice before he brought it in. . . . .

I sent Jack by sea last Thursday. The Prince sent twenty guineas for the servants. . . . My man took great care of the horses, and [I] do assure showed them in very good order. The last time I made my bow to the Prince, he asked me if the servants were gone back. I told him they were; he said he should have had his letter ready. . . .

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] Feb. 27.—Sir Robert continues to be every day affronted and exposed in the Parliament House, which he bears with patience since he carries his point in every question. The other day Mr. Oglethorp run a parallel between Sir Robert and Joseph; said how oppressive Joseph was to the Egyptians—contrived to get both their land and children after reducing 'em to the hard condition of selling 'em for bread, while he fed his own family with the fat of the land; but Pharaoh at last died, and then there arose a king who knew not Joseph, and his posterity was forced to make brick without straw. I'm sorry he made Joseph's character faulty, since I think he has now left us none but Jonathan's without blemish in the Old Testament. Soon after this speech there was a committee appointed. Sir Hind Cotton stood up and named Sir Robert Walpole and Joseph—after a pause—Banks, Esquire. This diverted the House, particularly the Minority, not a little. . . .*

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] March 3, London.—Yesterday they sent me instructions from Carlisle to oppose the Excising the Wine and Tobacco. I answered their letter by this post, and told them, that as I was ignorant what the proposal would be, I believed they, at a greater distance, could not be much less so; that if the Scheme was right, to prevent frauds without detriment to the fair trader, or the liberty of the subject, their directions would prevent my giving my concurrence to it; if on the contrary, it was

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* See note to letter of 31 Jan. 1733.

attended with any of these inconveniencies that alarmed them, of being prejudicial to trade and the liberty of the subject, it would have met with my negative, had I not received their instructions; so I desired to know, whether they expected me to oppose it, in what light soever it appeared to me.

This was partly the substance of the letter, as short as I could express it to you. I hope your Lordship thinks what I have done right, and that it can't be liable to any objection; and if there is any other step you would have me take, I beg you will let me know. There will be time for their answer to come, the proposal not being to be laid before the House till Wednesday sennit. . . . . Thompson is come over, and examined this night before the Charitable Corporation Committee.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] March 9.—The House of Lords debated the Mutiny Bill last Tuesday till about five o'clock. Lord Scarborough and the Duke of Argyle were warm advocates for it. The Minority I think considerably lessened in that House this winter, from what it was last, in the Division of the Pension Bill, and in this.

The House of Commons have had two or three long days about the Salt Bill. Last night they sat till betwixt ten and eleven, had several Divisions, and did not go through it. They went upon it late, was the reason of their being kept so long.

Lord Crawford desired me, when I writ to your Lordship, that you would do him the favour to spare him some beech mast, or else some very small young plants. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] March 15.—After a very long debate, which lasted till betwixt twelve and one this morning, I shall endeavour to give your Lordship the best account I am capable of it.

Sir Robert Walpoole opened the Scheme, and spoke for full two hours; and though he was so long, yet he stated it in so clear a light, that I believe every gentleman that attended to him, did in a great measure possess himself of most part of his proposal. He proved, in my opinion, notorious frauds; he proved likewise those frauds could not be remedied by Customs; that the merchants imported Tabocca (*sic*) at light weights, and exported it at heavy weights, [which] I think was universally agreed to. He said he contended for the fair trader; he was far from thinking this would be any detriment to him. He contended at the same time for the public, to levy no new tax on the subject, but taxes which your Laws had laid, and which Laws were not effectual to collect.

He then explained the difference between the collection of the Customs, and the Excise; that in the Customs, the officers' salaries were small, they had no cheques upon one another; whereas in the Excise they chequed one another, which made them not liable to be bribed, and of course the public revenue to be duly collected; that the neat produce of Tabocca paid into the Exchequer did now amount to one hundred and sixty and one thousand pounds a year.

The Commissioners of the Customs were examined for above two hours at the Bar; and Mr. Hill gave it as his opinion, that exclusive of running, he believed the frauds amounted to as much as the duty paid

the public. He was the Commissioner that spoke for the rest, and, considering the number of questions asked a man in such an assembly, and many in order to puzzle, I thought acquitted himself very well.

Your Lordship must observe that our Question yesterday was confined singly to Tobacca (*sic*). After having explained the frauds, he [Sir Robert Walpole] then came to the manner of collecting it by way of Excise; that he was sensible this was what alarumed gentlemen; that he had the King's leave to propose to the Committee, when the Bill came in, that the penny per pound on Tobacco (*sic*) for the Civil List should remain, and be collected by the Custom-house officers, and that the collection by Excise officers should be paid into the Exchequer, and disposed of as Parliament should direct; that he had likewise leave from the King to say, that all forfeitures which at present goes to the Crown, shall now go to the public; that as to trials, any person within the Bills of Mortality, if he was not satisfied with the determination of the Commissioners, may appeal; which appeal is to be tried by three Judges out of three different Courts, and in a summary way, which will be both expeditious, and at small expense to the party; in the country, from the Justice of Peace to the Judge of Assizes.

This I think was the chief substance of what was opened to us; possibly I may have made some mistakes, which your Lordship will excuse, for my head is confused this morning, after having sat twelve hours in so hot a House, as we had yesterday.

The objections the Minority made to the Question were, the striking at your liberties, and the difficulties you put the merchants under in relation to their trade. The Liberties of the Subjects was the chief stress of the debate. They confessed the frauds, though they did not allow them to amount to near so much as was advanced.

The debate was very fine—carried on with great spirit, and attention, on both sides. The speakers for the Question were Sir Rob. Walpoole, Sir Will. Younge, Mr. Pelham, the Attorney and Solicitor General, the Master of the Roles, Mr. Winnington, Mr. Danvers; against it—Mr. Pulteney, Sir Paul Methuin, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Heathcoate, Mr. Perry, Sir John Bernard, Sir Will. Windham, Mr. Plummer. Sir Robert, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Perry spoke twice, and every one that spoke, except Mr. Plummer and Mr. Heathcote, were very long.

The Court of Request, the Lobby, and the Stairs were filled with people from the City. There was no disturbance at our rising, though I believe nobody would have been much surprised if there had, for they looked very ripe for it. They summoned a whole ward to come down. Sir Robert acquainted the Committee he had one of the letters in his pocket at that time that were sent to them. Great many of the Minority in their speeches said, numbers waited your motions that night—numbers came down supplicating you not to put chains about their necks—and spoke greatly to the passions. The Master of the Roles* in his speech called them "a modest multitude."

I believe I have tired your Lordship, so I shall conclude this subject with only acquainting you, that as the gentlemen at Carlisle, by answer to my letter, left me entirely at liberty to act for them as I thought right, nothing ever appeared to me clearer than that it would raise a considerable sum; that this Bill, if it's past, repeals all former Excise Laws which carries so much terror, and is so much complained of; and that Liberty of the Subject is no more toucht or struck at, but as safe by this law as in any reign or administration whatsoever. In this light,

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* Sir Joseph Jekyll, 1717–38. (Haydn.)

without the least partiality I do assure your Lordship I saw it; and I observed there were gentlemen that voted for the Question, whose opinion carries them often with the Minority upon other occasions.

The Division was two hundred and sixty-five, to two hundred and four. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] March 20.—I hope you received my last letter, in which I gave all the particulars of what passed in the Committee. They debated last Friday in the House agreeing to the Report, till betwixt twelve and one in the morning. Many gentlemen that had not spoke in the Committee were desirous of giving their reasons in the House; among which number were my brother Morpeth, Mr. Plummer, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Waller, Mr. Gilfred Lawson, Mr. Pulteney, Sir Will. Wyndham, and several others, for not agreeing to the Report; Sir Thomas Robinson, Lord Glenorchy, Lord Harvey, Col. Bladen, Sir Will. Lowther, Mr. Clayton, Sir Will. Younge, Sir Robert Walpoole, and others, for agreeing.

The debate, as your Lordship may imagine, was carried on much in the same manner as in the House, the merits of the questions (*sic*) being the same; so of course several things that was said in the Committee was repeated on both sides in the House. The Division: for agreeing to the Report, two hundred and forty-five; against it, I think the number was eighty-eight.

Sir Thomas Robinson spoke about half an hour, but so fast nobody could hear him; and towards the last, the House not being very silent, he was a little out.

Sir Will. Lowther spoke short, but close to the purpose, and had very loud heerum's from the Ministerial Bench. I really believe he and several more gentlemen that had no employments, and that I did expect to have seen of the Minority, voted entirely from the merit of the Question, as thinking it a right proposal. I was a good deal out of order after the two long days, but am now much better.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] March 31.—I waited on the Duke of Argyle immediately after the warrants were made out for the gunners, to thank him from your Lordship for their liberty of exchange; and I gave Lord Scarborough Mr. Howard's name and place in the manner you directed. . . . .

The Tobacco Bill is to be brought in on Tuesday, and Wednesday the Wine, which day I hear the Lord Mayor and Aldermen are to come down to Westminster. It's inconceivable the clamour and spirit of opposition there is in this part of the world to this Scheme; which hitherto I can see no reason for. It's thought we shall not have finisht the two Bills next month. Sir Will. Strickland is come to town. . .

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] March 31, London.—I enclose your Lordship the second part of the Essay upon Man; it does not please me so well as the first; it makes man composed of two contradictory principles—reason and pleasure, and that our virtues arise out of our vices. I don't know but

he [Pope] may be in the right, but methinks the Author of Nature does not appear in so good a light as in the first, since whatever fault is in the system of the Universe reflects upon the Creator, and we, as the principal parts of the Drama, should not make the worst figure amongst the actors. The first Epistle warmed my heart, the second mortifies my pride, and makes me think, with the fable of the Bees, that my virtues, if I have any, are only the result of vices well directed.

Last week we had an Oratorio, composed by Hendel out of the story of Barak and Deborah, the latter of which name[s] it bears. Hendel thought, encouraged by the Princess Royal, it had merit enough to deserve a guinea, and the first time it was performed at that price, exclusive of subscribers' tickets, there was but a 120 people in the House. The subscribers being refused unless they would pay a guinea, they, insisting upon the right of their silver tickets, forced into the House, and carried their point. This gave occasion to the eight lines I send you,* in which they have done Hendel the honour to join him in a dialogue with Sir Robert Walpole. I was at this entertainment on Tuesday; 'tis excessive noisy, a vast number of instruments and voices, who all perform at a time, and is in music what I fancy a French ordinary in conversation. . . . . .

'Tis said there will be a great deal of company at Scarborough this season; I hear it much talked of to its advantage, and, like a prophet, it has more credit in a strange country than its own.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733?] April 1, London.—Sir R. and the K—g 'tis whispered have had a quarrel, which run high, but by the Qu—n['s] management 'tis all made up; 'tis certain Sir R. is pressed so extremely every day in the House that 'tis thought he would be glad to resign quietly, and has even desired it of the King with the security of being made a Peer. He was two days ago absolutely defeated in a proposition he made for taking off a tax upon the victualling houses, and laying it upon small beer.† Mr. Bows answered him, and they say well, considering he is a young speaker; he goes with the Minority. . . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] April 1.—I hear everything is settled between us and Prussia, and it's said the matches are likewise agreed on; that our King received a very obliging letter writ by the King of Prussia to him. . . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, April 3, Albemarle Street.—I have the honour of your Lordship's, and am mighty glad to find you approve of what we are doing in relation to Sir R—— scheme; the Tobacco Bill is to be brought in tomorrow, and will be thoroughly debated; the Wine affair comes in on Friday. I will give your Lordship an account of the progress is made in these respective Bills. . . . . .

Lady Lechmere not recovering so fast as I could wish, I have taken a lodging for her at Turnham Green, and she proposes going thither

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* Not found. † Qu. see H. C. Journals, xxii, 105.

this week; Sir Jno. Shadwell, who is her physician, assuring me country air, gentle exercise, and a regular diet will soon set her in a fair way of recovery.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] April 10.—Your Lordship finds by the Votes that the Order for going into the Committee on the Wine was put off last Friday to the next Friday. Sir Robert said the long attendance on Wednesday made him not capable of opening his scheme on Friday, meaning in regard to his health. This delay, joined to the Division on Wednesday of only six and thirty majority, makes numbers of people think it's very precarious whether they can get the Wine through or not, that being attended with more difficulties to regulate the frauds than the Tobacco. Other people talks as if it would be dropt, but that I don't in the least imagine. Lord Scarborough, Lord Stairs, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Cobham, Lord Marchmont, Duke of Montrose have declared against it.

Thus far I had writ about three a clock; it's now near eleven, and the House just up. The debate was whether they should receive a Petition brought by the Sheriffs of London from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, which ran entirely on order; that these Duties proposed to be regulated being Money Bills, it was unparliamentary and dangerous to receive them. The other side quoted precedents. Upon the Division it was carried only by seventeen to have the Petition laid upon the Table; the numbers were two hundred and fourteen to a hundred and ninety-seven. I forgot to mention they desired to be heard by counsel, which made the objection the stronger.

Your Lordship sees how near it is now run, and indeed I believe it's most people's opinion that the Bill has met with its fate tonight; for as we have fallen off on every Division, it's now hardly possible to suppose they can get through it. Tomorrow the Tobacco Bill is to be read the second time. I shall let you know by Thursday's post what past. . . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] April 12.—As I acquainted you by the last post, the majority, for laying the Petition on the Table brought from the City, and not hearing it by counsel, was only seventeen, and as I then told you I thought the Bill was gone; so accordingly the next day Sir Robert got up, before the Order of the Day was read, which was for reading the Tobacco Bill a second time, and after a long speech of an hour, wherein he took notice of the pains and industry made use of in carrying on the opposition to the Bill, both within doors and without; that he had no ways changed his opinion, but the more he considered it, still more right it appeared to him; that he had taken great pains, which arose from no other motive but easing the land; that he thought he had done his duty in laying the proposal before them; but since the flame was so great that [it] might be attended with bad consequences, he would take the liberty of making a Motion, which was, that the second reading of the Tobacco Bill might be put off to the 12th of July.

The gentlemen that disapproved of the Bill had a mind to have rejected it [the Motion]; they debated it till between seven and eight, but had no Division.

This news soon flew to the City, and upon the House rising, the Lobby and Court of Request was as full as they could crowd, as indeed they

have been every day while the Bill was depending ; but Sir Robert at other times has supped at Lord Hallifax's, and gone out that way. But last night, imagining, as I suppose, the giving it up would quiet and appease them, he came out of the House, and by the account he gave the House today of their behaviour, nothing could equal it. When he came to the Lobby, that was filled with people well drest, all of them cried, "Thank you, Sir Robert, we are much obliged to you ; Sir Robert, we will never forget you."

Upon going down the stairs to the Court of Request, the crowd began with calling Sir Robert's servants, upon which a general hollow (*sic*) was set up ; they enclosed him of all sides, crying "Damn you ! no Excise !" The mob bore him from one side of the Court of Request to the other ; numbers of sticks were held up over his head ; and one fellow caught hold of his collar, and gave him a great pull, whether with a design to throw him off his feet, which if it had happened they would have trod him to death, or what, I can't tell, but he presently quitted him. In this situation he was in (*sic*) for some time, till with great difficulty he got to his chariot, and got away.

The House today, with great spirit, and great unanimity, came to three very strong resolutions, which your Lordship will see upon the Votes, moved by the Attorney, seconded by Mr. Pulteney and Sir Will. Wyndham, to prevent anything of this kind for the future : for, [to] do the gentlemen justice that disliked this Bill, they all showed an universal disapprobation of the behaviour of "the modest multitude," as the Master of the Roles called them last night.

So here ends the Bill, and I hope also the flame. Your Lordship may imagine this is no small triumph to the opposers of the Bill. Sir Robert I thought looked melancholy and disappointed the night of the seventeen majority, but yesterday he had recovered very well. His Levee this morning, as I was told, was extremely full. This will cut short the Sessions, and many gentlemen will go out of town next week, for I scarce believe there will be anything more that's material.

[P.S.] They broke all the windows at the Post Office, rung their bells in all the churches, made bonfires, stopt every coach that came by, and made them cry "No Excise !" last night, in the City.

[P.P.S.] I had forgot to tell you there was a man secured last night by the constables in the mob ; what will be done with him I know not.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] April 12, London.—Sir Robert daily loses friends in regard to the Excise : it may happen to prove like Dr. Sachevrell's affair, and produce a change in the Ministry ; 'tis impossible to express the general dissatisfaction it has given, and the infection is spread amongst all ranks of people. . . . . .

[P.S.] The Excise Bill I find is in effect flung out since ; Sir Robert proposed, finding it impossible to carry it, it should be adjourned to the 12th of July. It was moved to reject it, but I believe that was not carried. It has occasioned a good deal of chagrin at Court, and I was told Sir Robert was insulted and mobbed coming from the House yesterday.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, April 14, Albemarle Street.—In a former letter* I gave your Ldp. an account of the success of our two first Divisions on the Excise

* Not found.

Scheme, and did intend the last post to have continued it to the time of its death, which without doubt your Lordship has heard of ere this; and since there was no manner of likelihood of its passing the Parliament, I think the retreat we have made has been a very prudent step, and much better than to have lost a question in the House, and to have lost the battle in a more destructive way to the party vanquished.

As I told your Lordship before, when the report from the Committee was made to the House on the 16th of the last month, and a Bill was proposed to be brought in according to the resolutions of the Committee, those resolutions were agreed to by the House, and a Bill was accordingly ordered to be brought in, after the debate had lasted till one in the morn, when the majority was 60.

This Bill was introduced the 4th of this month, and the first debate we had that day was on a point of order, whether the Bill was exactly drawn according to the resolutions of the House; and of course the debate was in a very few hands, few people either having time or inclination to read the Journals, which is certainly a very dry study, though I think every speaker in Parliament ought to have some knowledge of the contents of them. Our Division on this question was 237 to 176.

As upon this division the minority were obliged to go out of the House, of course they lost their places, and they had no choice but the gallery or the bottom of the House, so that their speakers would have met with difficulties to have been heard in the debate that was intended; so the first thing they proposed was a Question to adjourn, which we disagreeing to, it fell to our turns to be fairly jockeyed out of the very same places we had in the last division taken possession of, for we were obliged to go out of the House, this question being only calculated to gain this point; the nos. were 237 to 199.

The last and great debate was whether the Bill should be read a second time, and the same arguments were used on both sides; we had the two first days, only several fresh speakers exerted themselves who had not an opportunity on those days. These debates lasted till near one, and the Division was 236 to 200.

As your Lordship may imagine, as we sat so very late, when the House met again that morn, not many members were there, especially as no one expected that there would be anything of consequence to come on; but we were mistaken in that supposition, for Mr. Sands made a motion to have the Bill printed. The debate turned whether this should be called a money Bill, and if so whether it should be printed; and had not the gentlemen in the Minority debated it at all, but called out for the Question, the Ministry would have lost it, but during the debate they sent to Court, &c., which brought down a great many members, and the Division was 128 to 112.

Sir R—— afterwards made a motion to have the Wine Scheme, which was to have been introduced into the House the next day, put off for a week longer, so as the Tobacco Bill might have a 2d reading, and be committed before the other was brought on the anvil, and that they might not interfere with one another; he declaring at the same time that the very long days we had already gone through had so hurt his constitution that he was not able to go forward without some rest.

This was strongly opposed by those against the scheme, urging, as the greatest part of the saving was to come from wine, and as many gentlemen had voted for the Tobacco Bill in expectation that the Wine Scheme was practicable, and as they thought they could shew it was otherways, it ought to be thoroughly canvassed before any further progress was made in the Tobacco Bill. As the House, as I said before,

did not expect either of these debates, the nos. were few, and the Division 124 to 73.

The next trial of skill was on the 10th inst., after we had received the City Petition—whether the Petitioners should be heard by their counsel against the Tobacco Bill; and as this was chiefly a point of order, precedents were sought for and quoted out of the Journals for five hours successively by those skilled in this mysterious learning; and if ever we were in the right on any point, we certainly were so now. The debated lasted till past 10, and the Division was 214 to 197.

Your Lordship will see by this last Division the battle was gradually fought down from a majority of 61 to 17; and as Lords Scarborough, Chesterfield, and other our friends declaring (*sic*) daily against the scheme, it was high time to look about and think of it a little more seriously; and the next day, which was appointed for the 2d reading of the Bill, when all the strength of the other side was mustered together, and places taken in the House at 8 in the morn, and many of our deserters who had not voted at all the night before, and finding the affair droop (and the author thought by some in the same situation), that morn they came down with a resolution openly to join with the enemy. And when they were eager to begin the contest for the 2d reading of the Bill, Sir R—— got up and made an exceeding handsome, I think I may call it, retiring speech, and said his opinion was not altered in relation to the merits of it, but the clamours industriously spread abroad had so incensed the people, that he thought it more for his Majesty's service to put off the 2d reading of the Bill till the 12th of June, and at the same time to have it understood that he should think no more of it; and spoke an hour and ½.

Upon this a great debate arose, which lasted till past 10 at night; and 'twas urged the dropping of the Bill in this gentle manner was not a sufficient conquest, and that the opinion of the House should be taken by a Division, and that it should be rejected, and a mark put upon it to prevent any future Minister ever undertaking another scheme so greatly detrimental to trade and to the liberties of the people, &c.; but 'twas at last thought prudent not to push on a Division, and to be satisfied with our leaving the field of battle and retiring.

But Sir R——, who had hitherto gone home through Lord Hallifaxes house, now ventured through the Court of Request, and was very near following the same fate his favourite scheme (which he had been preparing for some years) had just done before, for the room and passages to it were full of a lower sort of people, flushed with victory and drink, and not content with gaining a complete conquest over the project, [they] insulted and made several attempts on the projector, and many blows past on both sides. It begun by a person seizing him by a great loose coat he had over his shoulders, which giving way saved him; otherways in all probability he might have been pulled down, and if so he must certainly have been trod to death, for his own friends about him would have [been] equally fatal to him as the rest of the brood; &ca.

The next day Sir Charles Wager opened to the House what had passed the night before, and said there was an end of our liberty and of Parliament itself, if some immediate notice was not taken of this insult; 35 people of all complexions spoke to the same purpose, Sir R. the last of all, and in a very moving manner; and all exprest their horror to assassinations and these kind of popular resentments and fury, and came to several resolutions, which I suppose your Lordship has read in the Votes.

Yesterday Sir Ch. Turner moved the Wine Scheme should be put off to the 14th of June. Mr. P[ulteney] seconded him, and exprest himself in the style of a victor upon this occasion ; and said, since it was allowed that there was many frauds in these branches of the Revenue, he hoped we should strengthen the Custom-house Laws to prevent them, to destroy all patent places there as they should hereafter fall vacant, and mitigate those methods of proceeding in Excise Laws which seemed most to infringe on the liberties of the subject, &c. Nobody spoke afterwards, and thus this great contest is ended.

But that night and the following the City bells were rung, and public rejoicings and bonefires in every street; Sir R. was burnt in effigie at several of them, with his Garter and Ribbon (made of blue paper), and the Tobacco Bill so placed in his hand that in lighting that, it set fire to him and the bonefires at once. They also burnt figures in resemblance of Excise officers, with a roll of tobacco in one hand and a flask in the other. They have broke the windows of the General Post Office, and of many other houses in the City suspected to favour this Scheme, and been guilty of many other irregularities ; so your Lordship will see how much the spirit of the people was raised against it; and though I never was more master of a subject, nor never clearer in any point since I came into Parliament, yet, considering the turn and reception it took without doors, I am exceedingly glad it was pushed no farther, and I hope we have not made an ill-judged retreat.

I am afraid I have tired your Lordship with the diary of this affair, but as by your last letter you seemed to me to approve what we are doing, I thought it would not be disagreeable to give you an abstract of the rise of this Scheme, with the progress it had made before its fall in our House. . . . .

P.S. The Duke of Grafton was sent yesterday to my Lord Chesterfield to let him know the King had no farther service for his Lordship. And a letter was writ to Lord Clinton, one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, to acquaint him with the same resolution of the King's. And there is talk of many other very considerable people being turned out of their employments.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] April 21.—My sister Lechmere set out for Bath last Thursday. . . . . Your Lordship sees by the Votes last week a private Committee was ordered, which is to be balloted for next Tuesday, to inquire into the frauds of the Customs. Sir Edward Stanley made the Motion, and Mr. Sands seconded him. We was surprised they let it go, and did not make an Amendment to refer it to a Committee of the whole House ; but since their conquest and our defeat, we have lain upon our arms like two armies looking at one another, without either side caring for a Division.

Yesterday was the first; Sir John Barnard presented a Petition from the dealers in Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, praying to be relieved from the arbitrary laws of Excise, particularly mentioning the officers visiting, the trials by Commissioners, and other hardships they lay under; submitting themselves to us to do what we thought proper.

The argument in support of it was—as the House did not think proper to lay the dealers in Wine and Tobacco under these laws, and as gentlemen allowed there were clauses in them that would admit of alterations in case those two commodities had passed into a law; so they thought there never could be a more favourable opportunity of complying with the Petition than now.

We differed with them, as thinking this was renewing the fuel, and keeping up the flame, which had shewn and spread itself so universally; that their Petition was taken of [taking off?] all the effects of the Excise; that any alteration or amendment we thought should arise from us, and not from them; that, complying with this Petition, the same indulgence might be expected to be shewn to all others under Excise Laws; and no doubt, but the humour and disposition people was in, that would be the consequence; that at the same time, it was an increase of a hundred thousand pounds a year, since altered from Customs to Excise.

After debating it for about four hours, they divided unwillingly; they that were with them in the Excise left them, and we beat them by a hundred. The numbers were two hundred and fifty to a hundred and fifty. I think this Division was not too well judged of their side, and may possibly do them no service in their Ballot, which they have great expectations to carry, and which the Ministry will do what they can to prevent, for should they succeed they might possibly give a great deal of trouble. Sir Will. Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and all the chiefs are in their list for the Committee, which is to consist of one and twenty.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] April 24.—I enclose to your Lordship both the lists, which were balloted for today. Last night we had a meeting at the Cockpitt, where there were two hundred and sixty-three. This Committee is more laboured than any point I have seen since I was in Parliament; and with great reason they should be desirous of carrying it, for should the Court list lose it, no doubt there would be a scene of great disorder; but I can't think there is any likelihood of it, without people act very different in the dark from what they do in the light. The Committee appointed to examine the Ballot will hardly finish tonight. I shall let you know next post how it has gone.

First list, referred to above:—

John Campbell, of Pembrokeshire, Esq.
Sir William Clayton.
William Clayton, Esq.
Thomas Clutterbuck, Esq.
Sir John Cope.
George Dodington, of Eastbury, Esq.
Richard Edgcumbe, Esq.
Duncan Forbes, Esq.
Stephen Fox, Esq.
Sir Thomas Frankland.
Lord Hervey.
Sir John Heathcote.
Anthony Lowther, Esq.
Sir George Oxenden.
Henry Pelham, Esq.
Charles Talbot, Esq.
George Wade, Esq.
Horatio Walpole, Esq.
Thomas Winnington, Esq.
Sir William Yonge.
Sir Philip Yorke.

Second list, referred to above:—

Sir Jno. Barnard.
Geo. Compton.

Sir Jno. H. Cotton.
Sir Fr. Child.
Robt. Dundas.
H. Furnese.
Philips Gibbon.
Ed. Harley.
Lord Limmerick.
Lord Morpeth.
Wm. Noel.
Wm. Pulteney.
Thos. Palmer.
Mic. Perry.
Walt. Plummer.
Sir Ed. Stanley.
Sir Thos. Seabright.
Sam Sandys.
Sir Wm. Wyndham.
Thos. Wyndham, of Clower Wall.
Ed. Waller.

These lists are in different hands.

[Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.]

[1733, April.]—I writ to my sister Irwin last post, and enclosed a list of the Ballot to her, otherwise should have sent your Lordship an account of it. I believe no one ever remembers so full an attendance as was given to this vote, four hundred and ninety-five being present at the Ballot. Their expectations were high with the success their opposition to the Excise met with, and they judged people's inclinations, when they acted in the dark, would turn out in favour of them. I own I had strong objections to many of their list, and I thought the pushing things in the manner they had done of late, had their list succeeded, would have obliged the King to employ Torys instead of Whiggs.

Nothing since the defeat of the Excise could ever have turned out more for the advantage of Sir Robert and this Ministry, than their pushing the Petition of the Coffee and Tea. The division of a hundred majority gave great life to the Ministry, and very much dejected them; the Ballot being carried with so much success, has sent most of them out of town, and those that remains (*sic*) will have very little hopes of attempting anything this Parliament. Their language is very different now, from what it was three weeks ago; then they looked upon him as gone, now they say it is to no purpose to attend, nothing is to be done. From being in the highest expectations, the disappointment on this occasion has altered the scene quicker than anything I ever saw; indeed there has been no medium for these last five or six weeks; everything was carried on with so much flame, that zeal was necessary whatever side you thought right, and I believe Sir Robert has stood a trial that no Minister besides himself could have done, after so many years service, and so many disappointments people must have met with from him; still, upon this occasion to unite for his support the same by Ballot, as if they had appeared openly, is what nobody expected we should have been so consistent. As to my own particular, as far as my vote, I have given it absolutely from opinion, without expectation of favour from him.

I have given Mr. Wright orders about the wine, and he is extreme positive your Lordship will like it; it will be fit for drinking in about two

months. I have heard nothing of my sister Lechmere since Reading; I wish she may do well; by this time my sister Irwin has given you an account of her.

Your Lordship will see by the Votes the resolution the House came to yesterday about Sir Robert Sutton, that he was guilty of neglect of duty, which is a very easy censure, and I believe there will be nothing more done in relation to the Charitable Corporation.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] May 3.—The Duke of Devonshire kissed the King's hand yesterday for Lord Steward, and Lord Lonsdale for Privy Seal, and Lord Walpoole for Lord Lieutenant of Devonshire in Lord Clinton's room. I forgot to tell my sister Mary, last post, Lord William Hamilton had run away with Miss Hawes; they were married without their relations knowing anything of it. She is a pretty young woman, but without a shilling; and what's worse, her father has not much in his power to give her, if he is reconciled. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] May 8.—I believe you was surprised to hear Lord Burlington had resigned his employments; he writ I believe last Friday to the King, to quit. The reason everybody gives that I converse with, is, his not having the White Staff. Let it be what it will, his doing it at this time, considering how much notice always was taken of him at Court, and he looked upon as being particularly well with the Ministry, has caused great speculation. He has not only quitted the Gold Stick, but the Lieutenancy of the West Riding, and the Treasurer (*sic*) of Ireland. Lady Burlington has not yet left the Queen's service, but everybody takes for granted that will follow.

Today we agreed with the Committee for a Lottery for the Sufferers in the Charitable Corporation, but had a Division. After that was over Sir Rob. Walpoole delivered a Message from the King to the House, to acquaint them of the marriage designed between the Princess Royal and the Prince of Orange. Mr. Bromley moved the Address, and Mr. Fox seconded it. The House was unanimous, except Mr. Shippen, Sir John Hind Cotton, and Mr. Bromley. Tomorrow we shall go into the Committee for the raising of the fortune; the sum that is to be askt is four score thousand pounds. Possibly we may have some debating tomorrow.

The same Message was delivered today at the House of Lords by the Duke of Newcastle; the Address moved by the Duke of Devonshire, seconded by Lord Lovell, who they say is to succeed Lord Burlington.

About three days ago Lord Bathurst moved for an account how the money arising from the Forfeited Estates of the late Directors of the South Sea had been applied. He was seconded by Lord Scarborough. The Court opposed the Question, and it was debated above an hour. They divided, thirty-five for it, thirty-one against it.

Sir Thomas Robinson comes to town next Thursday. I hear my sister is much better since her being at Bath. Lord Chomley died yesterday, and I believe Lord Albermarle (*sic*) stands fair to succeed him in the Troop of Guards.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] May 12.—We had no debate in the Committee about the Princess Royal's fortune; the four score thousand pounds are to be taken out of money arising from a purchase made from the public, of lands at St. Christopher, which were sold for ninety-three thousand pounds. They have voted a Lottery for the Sufferers in the Charitable Corporation, but no proprietor to be entitled to the benefit of it worth five thousand pounds, and I should think it would meet with great difficulty in filling, at 20 per cent. discount. . . . .

I hope to be in Yorkshire the beginning of July. The Parliament will be up the latter end of the month, and we expect to be reviewed the 8th or 9th of next month; then, after having done a three week's duty at Hampton Court, I shall be at liberty. I am just come from Honslow Heath, where the King saw Evans's, Churchill's, and Marker's Dragoons; they made a very fine appearance, and was attended by most of the people of fashion from hence. Churchill's I think universally bore the bell. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1733,] May 24.—I send you the list Mr. Brougham has drawn out for the Commission of Peace. . . . The Princess's jointure of fifty thousand pounds came into the House of Commons, and a Bill to regulate the Playhouses read the first time; a debate of about two hours upon it, but no Division. Never was there more occasion for it sure than at present, for the Stage is scurrilous to the last degree. The million that was taken from the Sinking Fund was only borrowed till the money was raised by the Malt and Land, and then replaced to pay debts. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, May 24, Albemarle Street.—As to what your Lordship asks about Lord Burlinton's quitting all his employments, the general report is, that in order to make him accept the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners; he was promised the first employment which fell vacant that might entitle him to be a Cabinet Councillor, the least of which I think, by the pensions added to them by the late King, are 3,000*l.* a year. If this be so, of course he could not be very well pleased at Lord Lonsdale's being preferred to him. I was at Chiswick three hours the morning before we left Turnham Green for the Bath; I found then he was not very well satisfied with what was doing. I have been three times with him since my return at Chiswick, and twice in Town, but never nothing on this subject was mentioned. Lady Burlinton came into waiting last Friday, the very day the newspapers had given her employment to Lady Tankervile; her resignation indeed has been daily expected, but people begin now to think otherways.

I had writ so far in the morn, and as there has been very considerable debate this day in the House of Lords, in relation to the S. Sea enquiry, I shall attempt to give your Lordship some account of it; but as I was seven hours on my legs in the House, and as the first bell is gone by, I can't give so particular an account as I otherways should do.

Lord Bathurst begun the debate, and made a motion founded upon some papers that had lately been called for, the success of which must have been followed by others which would not have been very agreeable

to many people. D. Newcastle opposed it, and made another for other papers to be called for to clear up those already before them, &ca.

After those two questions had been debated for several hours, and 19 Lords had spoke for and against 'em, Lord Scarbrough gave his reasons very clearly and very well against both, and was for Mr. Degols being called in [to] explain those papers already before them.

Upon this Lord Bathurst withdrew his motion, and the Ministry tried their strength on this question and that of the D. of Newcastle's. In short, the Division of the Lords present for the D. New. motion was - - - - - 57

Those who voted by proxy - - -	18
	75
Those for Lord Scarborough's motion present -	48
Those who voted by proxy - - -	27
	75

So your Lordship will see their numbers were equal; so 'twas by the rules of the House given for Lord S. motion, &ca.

As the Court lost this question, many others followed, which were all agreed to without any Division, and they are to go upon the same subject next Tuesday. Had I time, I could have given your Lordship the particulars of the debate on both sides, and if Col. Howard does not do it, I will let your Lordship know further particulars on this head.

Note at foot [*by Col. Howard*].—As nobody can do it so well as Sir Thomas, Col. Howard begs to be excused.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1733,] May 25.—Your Lordship will see by the Votes the resolution the House of Commons came to in relation to the letter signed by Belloni. Sir Thomas Robinson said he would send you a copy of the letter this post, so I need say nothing more on that head. It's thought the House of Lords will have gone through the Charitable Corporation by the middle of the next week, and then the Houses will rise, and the King immediately go.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, May 26, Albemarle Street.—As Col. Howard writ a postscript in my last letter whereby he refers the further account of the debate of last Thursday in the House of Lords to me, I think myself obliged to give as many particulars of that important day as my memory will help me to.

After the accounts from [the] S[outh] Sea Directors, which had been called for some days before (and which I have enclosed in another cover to your Lordship), were read, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Bathurst got up, which occasioned a debate who should speak first, and 'twas given for the latter, as he was first upon his legs, and after haranguing for some time he made a motion in the very words of the papers given in by [the] S[outh] Sea Directors (I have enclosed a copy of them I had from the House of Lords and of all the other motions that day, which I beg I may have again, after you have done with them).

The Duke of Newcastle begun the opposition, alleging that the accounts were imperfect, and made with an intention to perplex; and that the present Directors, having no great respect for their predecessors, had taken no great pains to set their actions in a favourable light; and therefore was against Lord Bathurst's motion and made one of his own, which might explain more fully what was already delivered to the House.

Those who spoke against the Duke's [motion ?] said the Session was near at an end, and putting off or any delay to the enquiry, would carry the appearance out of doors that nothing was intended to be done.

Lord Scarborough, as I mentioned in my former, gave his reasons against both questions, alleging Mr. De Gols the Cashier was without, and might without loss of time explain those papers delivered in, which he owned his ignorance of, and did not see any reason for others being called for to explain them, when a person was at the door who might do it; nor was willing to come into Lord B[athurst's] motion till the whole was cleared up.

Upon this the Lords who differed from the Court very wisely gave up Lord B[athurst's] motion, and laid their strength upon Mr. De Gols being called in, and said, if that was agreed to, the Duke of Newcastle should have his motion afterwards; *en fin*, the Court divided the House upon the previous question (which some people do not think was worth their while), and as I said before lost it, and which is the first question that has been lost by the Court in the House of Lords during the two last reigns, and in a very full House, and upon a known debate, and great pains taken.

After this Lord B[athurst] moved that Mr. De Gols might be called in, and the Duke [of] Newcastle moved a previous question whether Lord B[athurst's] motion should be now put, and seemed for dividing the House again, but Sir R[obert], who sat all the whole day at the Bar, sent Lord Lynn to his Grace, upon which he gave it up; and Mr. De Gols and Mr. Read were both examined, though no one thought either of them gave candid or fair answers to the questions asked.

When this was over, Lord B[athurst] moved a very strong and severe question, which would have been the severest censure upon the whole body of the late S[outh] Sea Directors.

[The] Duke [of] Argile and Lord Scarbro' both spoke extremely well against it (though they had voted against the Court in the other), and said they should be heard at the Bar, before a sentence was given; and that though they were for pushing this affair on with great zeal, yet they would avoid fury; and indeed the motion was so very severe that 'twas given up after a very short debate upon it.

Afterwards the majority in the division called upon the Duke of Newcastle for his motion and made some amendments to it, and made two more which the Court expressed their dislike to, but did not think fit to divide the House upon.

The stress of this great enquiry seems to be for finding out whether the Law justifies the late Directors paying in dividends the estates of the Directors which were forfeited in the year 1720, and also the method of their proving the int[er]est on their bonds, by which two irregularities 'twas said in the debate the Proprietors had been cheated of three millions; and also to find out who have been concerned in the illicit and private trade to the West Indies.

The Court that day were overmatched in good speakers, the battle being chiefly maintained by the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Islay; the

others who spoke for them were the Duke of Devonshire, Lords Cholmley and Lovel, [the] Lord Chancellor, and [the] Bishop of Banger.

On the other side the Lords who spoke were [the] Dukes of Argile and Montrose, Marquis of Tweedale, Lords Chesterfield, Winchelsea, Scarborough, Marchmount, Falmouth, Carteret, Bathurst, and Onslow (though he did not vote), Strafford, and Gower.

The whole debate was a very dry one, and chiefly upon acts of Parliament, and figures, that 'tis difficult to give so particular an account in writing of it, as I could wish to do, though I am afraid I have already tired you with it; but as your Lordship may be desirous to know the names of those Lords who have generally voted with the Court, who differed this day, I have taken the pains to set down as many as I can now recollect, by which your Lordship will see there are ten knights of the Garter.

The Scotch neither added nor diminished the strength of either side, 7 being for them, 7 against them; Lord Sutherland did not vote, and Lord Hopetore in Scotland.

The Bishops were more steady, for out of the 26, 25 were present or voted by proxy, of which 24 were for the Court, and the Bishop of Lincoln was left alone on the Bench of Bishops; the Archbishop of Canterbury no proxy, but the Archbishop of York had.

I beg my sincerest compliments to Lady Irwin, whose obliging letter I will answer very soon, and also to Lady Mary.

Knights of the Garter against the Court—Dukes of Somerset, Bolton, Kent, and Argile, Earls of Chesterfield Burlinton (by his proxy Lord Stairs), Berkley, Scarborough, and Strafford, Lord Townshend (by his proxy Lord Scarborough).

Scotch Lords against the Court—Duke of Montrose, Marquis of Tweedale, Earls of Rothes, Stairs, and Marchm[oun]t, Earl of Hadington by his proxy Lord Rothes.

Scotch Lords with the Court—Marquis of Lothian by his proxy the Duke of Newcastle, Earls of Crawford, Morton, Dunmore, Islay, Selkirk, and Orkney.

Other Lords against the Court—Dukes of St. Albans and Manchester, Earls of Pomfret, Macclesfield and Fitzwalter, Viscount Falmouth, Lord Cornwallis, &c.

P.S. I have just had a dozen of the Free Britons of last Thursday sent to me, and as many pamphlets about [the] late Excise Scheme; I have taken the liberty to send one of each to your Lordship. Your Lordship will receive four packets from me by this post.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, June 2, Albemarle Street.—As there was yesterday a very long debate in the House of Lords in relation to the farther enquiry into the affairs of the South Sea Company, and lasted till half an hour after nine, and as I did not see Col. Howard in the House who might give your Lordship a better account of it, I shall attempt to give your Lordship some particulars as to the merits of it.

The enquiry begun at one, by examining the present set of Directors, who were chosen very lately, and who did not seem very inclinable (as I believe is very usual in all administrations) to favour the actions of their predecessors; after that, the inspectors were examined who had been appointed by the General Court to make up an account of the state of the Company's affairs, and after the old set, many of whom had been continued from time to time from the year 1721 to last February, when

the new set were chosen, and among whom were nine members of Parliament who[m] we gave leave to attend the House of Lords, if they thought fit, the day before.

After the examination of these gentlemen, Lord Bathurst made a motion which tended to show they had but one general order of a general Court (in December 1729) to divide out the forfeited estates of the Directors in 1720, their immediate predecessors, and that this order was not asked, till all the money had been actually paid out before to the Proprietors in extra dividends, and which by act of Parliament ought to have been added to every man's capital and not to their annual income, which should have been no more than what they received from the Exchequer; and I must observe this order of the General Court was rather an indemnity of what was already done, than an instruction what to do, for at that time as I said before the money was all paid away.

After some little amendments this question was agreed to by the Court.

My Lord Winchelsea afterwards moved another, the purport of which was, that what the Directors had done in relation to these extra dividends, was contrary to law.

The Duke of Devonshire begun the opposition, followed by two Bishops, viz., of Winchester and Banger, and the question was warmly contested on both sides; and if this had passed, very severe censures by other questions of course must have followed.

Those Lords against it said the opinion of all the Judges should be taken on a point of law, which might in its consequence if this question passed affect ninety or more gentlemen of figure and fortune; and if trials on this head should be begun in Westminster Hall, and appeals from thence to the House of Lords, they would be precluded in giving their judgments in favour of these men, though their cases in equity appeared never so favourable.

Those for the question appealed to the words of the very acts of Parliament, and Lord Chesterfield asked if the transgression of Law was not contrary to Law, and indeed spoke mighty well. And they endeavoured to show how very hard it was upon those proprietors who bought their Stock at 120 and upwards, which got up to that great height upon the large dividends they divided, and which the world thought and were taught to believe they were enabled to do out of the profits of their trade; and that these Directors who were in the secret sold out, when they knew the source from whence they gave these high dividends was run out, and upon which the Stock immediately fell 20 per cent., and besides the great loss it was to minors and others in paying them as interest what now appears to be part of their principal.

Lord Scarborough spoke the last, and extremely well, and said though he was strongly and clearly for the present question, yet he hoped till a farther disquisition [inquisition ?] was made no censures or suits would be begun against the Directors concerned in these extra dividends, but he thought this question ought to pass *in terrorem* to make those in all future direction of great Companies more careful and circumspect in their actions, and did not think he was precluded by it from giving a favourable judgment in their behalf upon their appearing not guilty of frauds, when any farther progress should be made in this enquiry.

Upon the Division, for the question, 45 present, and proxies 25, which makes 70; against the question, 57, and proxies 18, which makes 75; so your Lordship will see the Court carried it by 5.

The Bishops to a man voted as they had done on the 24th of last month, of which debate I wrote your Lordship two long letters.

The Dukes of St. Albans and Manchester, and Lords Sutherland, Harborough, Falmouth, Cornwallis, and Onslow, voted with the Court this day, 5 of them having voted on the contrary side on the 24th, and two did not vote at all that day, as I mentioned in my last letter.

The Duke of Argile went away half an hour before the Division.

P.S. Since I finished this in the morn, I have been at the House of Lords (our House being adjourned till Monday), where I heard another long debate, which lasted till 6. 'Twas upon a motion of Lord Bathurst's to have a committee of 12 Lords to be chosen by ballot, to sit during the recess of Parliament to enquire more minutely into this affair, and also 'twas hinted to have 24 of our House to be joined with them in the same enquiry; but after many long speeches on both sides, the parties who espoused the Motion did not think fit to divide the House on the merits of it. But as I am afraid I have already tired your Lordship with the particulars of that of yesterday, I shall not now enter further into what was done there today.

I will send your Lordship the printed accounts given into the House of Lords on this subject the next post.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, June 7, Albemarle Street.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's of 31st ult., and find your opinion of the debate in the House of Lords of 24th is pretty much with the generality of the people without doors here, and by what has since happened 'tis thought there is an end of this enquiry, which has made so much noise.

I mentioned in a postscript of my letter of the 2nd inst. that the Lords had sat that day till past six on a motion of Lord Bathurst's, for a committee of 12 Lords to be chosen by ballot and to sit during the recess of Parliament.

Those against it said 'twas in some measure raising a 4th and a new part of the Legislature, and the powers to be given to them to send for persons, papers, and records was so very great, and their sitting during the interval of Parliament so very rare and extraordinary, that it might justly alarm the whole nation, and ought never to be permitted but when the Commonwealth itself was in the utmost danger, and that 'twas setting up an inquisition, for 'twould be difficult to say where they would stop, and whether they might not sift into state affairs and into other matters which did not belong to them.

Those for the question said, if the enquiry dropped here, they had done nothing, and 'twould be easy to guess what the world would say out of doors, for they had only gone far enough to have the strongest suspicions of the greatest frauds, and 'twas very hard to be debarred from an opportunity to discriminate the few guilty from the many innocent who now lie under the same imputation; and that the Sessions now drawing so near to an end, and the accounts and volumes were so many that must be examined in order to sift this affair to the bottom, that they had not sufficient time to do it now, and that it plainly however appeared that there was 4 millions difference between the cash and ledger books, and the reason of that vast difference not at all cleared up as it ought to be; and as for the objection to the Committee's sitting during the interval of Parliament, they would mend that part of the motion, so they might be allowed to sit the beginning of the next Sessions, and that the Committee might be confined to enquire only into the transactions of the S[outh] Sea Company since the year 1720. And Lord Chesterfield spoke with a great deal of

humour and wit, and said 'twas impossible the enquiry could affect any in the Administration, and that none in the K[ing's] service could be concerned in their illicit trade or any of the frauds they were endeavouring to find out, &c.

The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Islay replied that they were now and ever should be against a general enquiry, notwithstanding the popularity of it; that it might greatly affect public credit, and that the Proprietors themselves had not desired it, and that they should be far from opposing a proper enquiry into the actions of the present Administration, or any farther into the disposition of the forfeiting Directors' estates, &c.

In short the debate ended without a division, as I mentioned in my former, but has occasioned the most remarkable protest, signed by 21 Lords, that ever was entered upon the Journals; the last paragraph, No. 8, has many sharp stings in it.

I have also sent your Lordship that of the 30th May, wherein many things are brought in relative to and as a condemnation of what we attempted in the extension of the Excise Laws in relation to tobacco and wine.

The accounts delivered to the Lords and which I promised to send I shall bring down with me, they being too large to send by the post. Lord Lonsdale voted with the Court in every question, but has not spoke in any of the debates.

Our House is to adjourn from Saturday 'till Wednesday, we having little or nothing to do, and 'tis thought the King will come that day to the House of Lords and put an end to this tedious Session, which has lasted since the 16th January.

I was in hopes Lady Lechmere would have been in town 'ere this, but Dr. Cheyne has desired she might stay at the Bath 'till the middle of the next month at the least, so that I propose going thither next Thursday, and so cross the country into the north.

I desired Lady Irwin to let me know the stages your Lordship kept when you made that journey, but, not having received an answer, fear my letter never came to hand. I beg my best compliments to her Ladyship and Lady Mary.

P.S. Since I finished this I was at our House, and found almost every member with a poem in their hands, which is called the State Dunces. I have sent your Lordship one, with what is called a key to the characters described.

Mr. H. Walpole to Lord Carlisle.

1733, June 30.—I delivered in the best manner I could the letter your Lordship was pleased to write to the Queen; and I should not have failed answering sooner the honour you did me, but that I was in continual expectation of having that of transmitting one to your Lordship from her Majesty herself, who was pleased to tell me last Monday, when I made my court to her at Richmond, that she would soon write an answer to your Lordship; but as I am obliged to go this day into Norfolk for a fortnight, I thought it my duty to let you know that her Majesty in talking to me on your request for making Lady Irwyn a Lady of her Bedchamber, exprest all imaginable regard for your Lordship and said the handsomest things of the Lady Irwyn's good understanding, conduct, and character, but let fall at the same time that there was no vacancy in her Bedchamber at present, besides that she had now two supernumeraries; and the last time I mentioned this affair to her, I

think she intimated as if she was under some engagement already, but did not explain to whom. I wish I could have sent your Lordship an answer that might seem as hopeful as the manner was obliging, because nobody can have a greater respect than I have for Lady Irwyn, nor can be with greater attachment than I am, &c.

The Queen to Lord Carlisle.

1733, July 11, Richemont.—Je suis honteuse, milord, de ne vous avoir pas repondu plus tost; j'ay creu que tar [tard?] vallais mieu que point de tout. C'est avec grande raison que j'estime votre fille; come je n'ay pas de vaquance dans ma chamber (*sic*) de lit, et que j'ay desja deu dame de susnomeraire, cela plaidera mon excuse. Je sçerais charme si je pouvais avoir quelque occasion de vous marquer mon estime, et vous me trouverais pronde a vous temoigner combien je suis votre amie.

Caroline.

With portion of seal.

Lord Carlisle to the Queen.

1733, July 15.—Madam,— On Saturday the 14th (?) Sir William Strickland delivered me the letter which your Majesty has done me the honour to write to me, for which I take leave to return your Majesty my most humble thanks. In that letter your Majesty is pleased to acquaint me, that you have no vacancy at present in your Bed-Chamber, and further that you have several supernumeraries, who undoubtedly ought to be first provided for, agreeable to your known rules of justice, by which your Majesty governs all your actions. When I took the liberty to acquaint your Majesty with my Lady Irwin's desire of having the honour to be admitted into your family, I did not presume to name any time; if the offer was agreeable to you, it was left solely to your Majesty to consider in what manner and at what time it might be done with most ease to yourself and most conveniently to your affairs. If such time should ever come, I shall look upon it as an additional mark of the Royal favour to my family.

I sincerely and truly wish your Majesty and the King a long and prosperous reign. Nothing that lies in my small power shall ever be wanting upon all occasions towards the contributing to render it so.

In Lord Carlisle's hand, and endorsed by him: A copy of my letter to the Queen's (*sic*) of the 15th of July 1733.

The Prince of Wales to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, Aug. 2, Hampton Court.—My Lord,—'Tis not out of want of regard to you, that I did not thank you sooner, for the two fine horses you sent me. I stayed till Cll. Howard's duty would permit him to carry my letter, and shall depend upon him to give you further assurances how agreable your present is to me. My stables want'd only the Carlisle breed to make them perfect, and I look upon this mark of your affection and regard to me with a great deal a (*sic*) pleasure.

Your affectionate,

Frederick P.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle.

Mr. H. Walpole to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, Sept. 13, Hampton Court.—I received from Mr. Jackson the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 10th inst. with the inclosed paper, which I took the liberty to communicate to the Q——n and Sir R. W., who were both extremely pleased with it, and desire extremely that it may [be] published; of which I shall take care without letting the author be known. I am in the meantime directed by them both to return the most strong and hearty acknowledgments for your Lordship's constant zeal and attachment to the Government, as well as for your good opinion of the present Administration's endeavours to support it, and to serve the true interest of their country. A little piece of paper containing some addition in the third page has been mislaid; if your Lordship could supply it in your next you will oblige me.

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Mr. H. Walpole to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, Oct. 9, Cockpitt.—At my return out of the country I was honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 18th past, inclosing the paragraph that was wanting in the paper of *Observations*, but I found the Observations already printed, contrary to my expectations; however, as the paper is extremely liked by all readers, except those that will like nothing that is good and honest, I think there is no great harm done. There are some other pamphlets lately published; particularly one, entitled *The Rise and Fall of ye Excise, &c.*, is much esteemed; it is indeed somewhat too long; and one upon the game of Chess, in answer to a Craftman on that subject, is extremely ingenious, and very entertaining to those that have a notion of that game. I suppose your Lordship has some correspondent in town who sends you of course all that are printed; if not, you will be so kind as to lay your commands upon, &c.

Lan. Ebor. (Archbishop of York) to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, Nov. 3, Downing Street.—I shall serve Sir Rowland Winn to the utmost of my power. Of any other person I shall be silent, till I hear what the York Meeting of Wednesday last will have produced; and shall hope that our friends in the country will thereupon come to some such proper resolution as Mr. Turner's behaviour shall suggest.

I am greatly obliged to your Lordship for your kind intimation concerning the Roman Catholics, and the warm alarm they have taken at my proceedings. But whatever the hot ones among 'em may threaten of complaints against me on that account, I am in no pain about it. Such of 'em as are quiet and peaceable will find the Penal Act, for my part, as harmless as they can wish. But such as can be proved to have been perverting our people from their religion and allegiance must not expect to be suffered to do it with impunity, but to pay for their unquiet abuse of so much lenity as they enjoy under the present Government.

But to avoid being more tedious to your Lordship on that subject, I beg leave rather to enclose the copies of two letters on it, which have passed between Lord Irwin and me.

(There are a few other letters of the Archbishop on other subjects.)

Sir William Strickland to Lord Carlisle.

1733, Nov. 6, London.—The Prince of Orange we expect in town tonight, but the day for the wedding [is] not fixed; the claims of the

Irish Peers to walk not adjusted, nor the precedency betwixt the Earls' daughters and Lady Hertford's daughter and the Duke of Kingston's sister.

Original, signed.

Sir William Strickland to Lord Carlisle.

[ ], ——, Tuesday.—The creation of these new Peers is as great a surprise here as it can be to your Lordship. For my part I never heard one word about it till the day they were to kiss the King's hand. This creates difficulties about the new elections. The greatest part of us here in town meet tomorrow at the King's Arms in order to concert measures the best we can here, at least, to agree to support whatever Whigg shall be set up. . . . . .

Lord Fauconberg to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, Nov. 13, Newborough.—At my return yesterday I had the honour of your Lordship's letter, with the copy of the Archbishop's letter to my Lord Irwin; and am much obliged to your Lordship for your kind intercession to his Grace of York in favour of a handful of unfortunate people, I hope, falsely accused.

As your Lordship has always favoured me with your friendship, I hope you will give me leave once more to trouble you on this account tomorrow morning between eleven and twelve o'clock, or any other time your Lordship pleases to appoint, except latter (*sic*) tomorrow, being engaged to dine at Gilling.

The Duke of Newcastle to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, Nov. 15, Newcastle House.—I had this morning the honour of your Lordship's letter, and will certainly do Mr. Shackelton and the Quakers all the service in my power, for I am convinced how well they deserve of the Government, the interest of which I look upon to be concerned in this question. The case was referred to the Attorney and Solicitor General, and I hear they have made their report, and that it is now in the Council Office, but has not yet been considered. I will speak to [the] Lord President about it, and if there are no difficulties which I am not at present apprised of, I should hope the Quakers would have reason to be satisfied with the determination of the Council. Your Lordship is extremely good in concerning yourself in behalf of people who certainly deserve so well. I shall be obliged to go soon to Sussex, where the Tories have found us a good deal of business, though I hope things will end well.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, Nov. 17, Albemarle Street.—The conversation of the town runs entirely upon the Prince of Orange's illness, who has been thought to be in great danger and not yet clear from it. He was ill when he left Holland, but his eager desire to hasten his approaching happiness made him venture on board the yacht sooner than he ought to have done, and being very sick at sea, and living in a continued hurry of company after his landing, has made him relapse, and well disposed people still fear the consequence.

The City shewed the highest satisfaction on his passing through it to St. James', as also when he went to the Dutch Chapel, where he was in danger of being squeezed to death, but are very angry the wedding is not to be at St. Paul's, and the procession from St. James' to that Cathedral, alleging that as the fortune to the Princess was paid by the nation, everyone has a right to see the ceremony of the wedding, which is now confined to about 500, being as many as the Chapel will hold, and the Gallery contains only 2800—to see the procession. Tickets for it are extremely sought for; eight has been sold for 100 guineas, so great are people's curiosities on this occasion; and as there have been already several counterfeited, they have been all called in, and will not be delivered out again till the day before the marriage, which 'tis thought will be postponed a month longer; for as he is now extremely weak and exhausted, 'tis advised to have it put off at least for that time. The French Chapel is fitted up in a very expensive manner, and in a very fine taste (by Kent); that and the other preparations will cost the King 15,000.

Sir R. W—— and his party go into Norfolk tomorrow, and the Duke of Newcastle with his into Sussex next week, and most persons who have an opportunity are going into the country, that the Town will be very empty till the wedding brings the company together again. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, Dec. 8, Albemarle Street.—The town is both empty of news and company. People don't know what judgment to make of our present situation of affairs; 'tis said the Administration want to know the opinion of the patriots on this head. Both sides have hitherto been quite silent in their writings, and neither care[s] to begin the battle. 'Tis reported the Emperor has declared, if we do not assist him *totis viribus*, he will throw the Austrian Netherlands into the hands the French. On the other hand France declares, if we do not keep an exact neutrality, the first step she will take is to send for the Pretender to St. Germain's. How likely these reports are to be truly grounded I leave to your Lordship's judgment.

Great pains is everywhere taking for the next election, it being thought the great trial of the Whigg interest and the present Administration, and each side speaks with certainty of success in their respective views and interest.

The vast quantity of corn lately exported from London I hope will soon reach the farmers in the country, and enable them to make better payments of their rents; and the demand for corn daily increases, and 'tis all sent to Spain, Portugal, and Italy. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1733, Dec. 24, Albemarle Street.—The last time I was at Chiswick I had a good deal of talk with Lord B[urlington] about our County contest. He says he is not engaged any way, and is still entirely master of his interest; commended the letter my kinsman writ to him, and said Sir R——d's [Roland Wynne?] was a very indifferent one. He talks of going soon into Yorkshire, and in my opinion, if he stirs in the Election, 'twill be for the former. He has quite quitted London, sent for all his pictures from Burlinton House, and is making very great and beautiful additions to Chiswick. My Lady continues still in a very bad way.

The Tories are exceeding angry with Mr. T[urner], and say they should not have made an opposition but by his giving the strongest hints he would not stand, or at least not join with Sir R[obert Walpole]. I find the great ones here are full as angry with him, and wish we had pinned him to his first declaration, when he at first declared he would not stand, and seem very unwilling he should come again into Parliament. . . .

A few months will now soon bring us to the field of battle, and I believe the struggle will be as warmly maintained on both sides as ever was known in the memory of man; and I think it demonstrable the loss [result?] of the ensuing elections will not only be the entire loss of the Whigg interest, but no one knows what may be the farther fatal consequence of it.

There is no more talk of the royal wedding; 'tis said the scaffolds will soon be taken down, and the nuptials be performed in private; but the Prince continues so very weak, and recovers so slowly, it may be a long while still before the day comes which every true Englishman who wishes well to this Constitution must rejoice to see.

I find the author of the Observations upon the List is not known to many persons in town. Sir R. and his brother spoke to me about it, and in very grateful terms of your Lordship upon this occasion.

Sir R. Walpole to Lord Carlisle.

1733–4, Jan. 3, London.—It would be a great pleasure to me to think, that your Lordship's health will permit you to give your friends the satisfaction of seeing you in town, but as that is a happiness, I fear, more to be wished than expected, it will be some comfort to hope, that the benefit your Lordship will receive from the country air, and diversions, will contribute so much towards making this new year and many succeeding years happy and agreeable to you, that we may long enjoy, what all that know your Lordship most sincerely wish, a long continuance of so valuable a life.

You have given me so many undeserved proofs of your Lordship's goodness to me, that I am encouraged to trespass further, and to take the liberty of sending you a proxy. No pains is spared on the other side to supply their absent friends, which makes the same care necessary on our part. The Duke of Devonshire, Duke of Grafton, and Lord Cholmondely are not full of proxies. If your Lordship will be pleased to sign the proxy, it may be filled up, by your direction, by such person as appears by the books not to have two proxies. Pray pardon this freedom, and believe me, my Lord, to be, what I have great reason to be, with perfect respect and esteem, &c.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: An obliging kind letter from Sir Robert Walpole.

Sir R. Walpole to [Lord Carlisle].

1733–4, Jan. 15, London.—I had the honour of your Lordship's letter with your proxy, and I am infinitely obliged to you for the very great goodness you are pleased to express for me. I have acquainted the King with your Lordship's readiness even to have attended in person, if his service had required it, but his Majesty is very desirous you should stay in the country and take care of your health. I wish, my Lord, that everything that is agreeable to your Lordship may be your fortune, and you may long enjoy health and prosperity.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1734,] Jan. 17.—You will see by the King's Speech, which I suppose is sent to you by this post, that the part we are to take in relation to foreign affairs is yet uncertain, though in my opinion has a great appearance as if we should act, by the considerable addition of the Navy, and by the great jealousies naturally entertained of this Triple Alliance.

Our Address, which was moved by Mr. Campbell, and seconded by Mr. Fox, occasioned a disconcerted debate of I believe two hours; I call it so, because by what one could judge they did not seem to agree in the points they made their objections to.

The Question had the appearance of going without anybody's speaking to it, when Mr. Shippen got up and made a formal harangue of large promises, without knowing the necessity for them. Sir John Hind Cotton objected to the part of the Address that mentions the protecting the King's dominions. He thought that wanted explanation, that it might include Hanover.

Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulteney threw strong insinuations out, they had great fears that these promises of support tended to a vote of credit, which I think this Address does not lead to, nor I don't know is designed, but I dare say will be very much propagated from what passed in the House today, where there were many strangers; but I hope without foundation. The Address went without any amendment, or division.

I delivered your letter to Sir Robert upon my coming to town; he told me the King took it very well your sending your proxy, and as I understood him he would acquaint you so by that post. As to my own affair, he said he was ashamed to see me; it was a debt of honour, and what he thought himself obliged to pay; that he had been endeavouring to do it, that he could not; he still hoped he should be able; by this speech I imagine I shall hardly succeed, nor yet can I, by what I have heard since I came to town, question but that he was desirous of doing it. He asked me if I thought Turner would like the red Rubban [Ribbon]. I told him it was my opinion he would. His answer was, he was so wrong-headed there was no holding him; enquired about Ned Thompson, and spoke of him in a very kind light.

[P.S.] I had a letter from Carlisle that says Mr. Aglionby had that day begun spending some money, and I hear here Lord Lonsdale designs recommending Mr. Pennington for the County.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Letters from Col. Howard, commencing January the 17th, 1733.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to (Lord Carlisle).

[1734,] Jan. 24.—Mr. Turner desired me to acquaint you Mr. Lonsdale, attorney at Bernard Castle, and agent for the Duke of Devonshire and you, has received no directions from you; that Mr. Bowes is very zealous in making interest against him, in that part of the country; and that this person is very well inclined to him, but only waits for orders from your Lordship. I told him I dare answer any agent of yours have (*sic*) had notice before this, but that I would send you word.

He [Mr. Turner] divided with us yesterday in an Address that was moved to be presented to the King, to lay before the House letters writ to the Courts of France and Spain at the time of the making the Treaty

of Seville, which was debated for two hours. Upon the Division, for the Question, a hundred and five; against it, a hundred and ninety-five.

I imagine your Lordship has had an account of Lord Lonsdale's recommending Mr. Pennington for the County, and I hear that Lawson declines, and will give his interest to him.

We are to have twenty thousand seamen, but I don't hear any augmentation as yet of land forces. I believe we shall have several long days on foreign affairs, but the Sessions it's thought by everybody will be over by the latter end of April, several gentlemen having contested elections on both sides, and will be glad to have them over.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Letters received from Col. Howard, commencing Jan. the 24th, 1733.

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1733[-4], Jan. 27, London.—Mr. Gordon desired me to tell your Lordship he hopes for the honour of kissing your hand next summer at Castle Howard; he is to be at Scarborough, with the Duke of Argylle. You have had accounts, undoubtedly, of the general sickness we have had in London; it has carried off many of the old people, and few persons of any age have escaped the distemper. I have hitherto, but as it is still very prevailing, my turn may come. I hope it has not, nor will not, reach your neighbourhood, for where it seizes, it runs through whole families, and has been a very profitable season for the physicians and apothecaries.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1734,] Jan. 31.—As to Parliamentary business, we have hitherto had short days, and peaceable behaviour. There were last Friday two or three Motions made for papers in relation to Treaties, and what part the King had taken in negotiating between the contending powers, which your Lordship will see by the Votes did not meet with the concurrence of the House, but passed in the negative. They debated it three or four hours; went from the question to the situation we were in; and there were several spoke well. Upon the Division, above ninety majority, in a House of about three hundred and twenty.

The Lords had the same Motion that day in their House, and their division was fifty-seven to thirty-three, without proxies. Your Lordship's is lodged with Lord Effingham, who has been much out of order of late with the gout, but hopes to be out again in a few days. I shall take care of the certificate, and of recommending Mr. Green.

I forgot to acquaint you the Seamen were voted unanimous; two or three speeches made upon the Speaker's leaving the chair. Mr. Pulteney said he thought twenty thousand were too much by way of defence, and he feared infinitely too few in our situation, if we were obliged to act; that he did not know how to give his vote, as not knowing what engagements we were under, or not knowing what part we were to take.

Sir John Barnard spoke very candidly, very coolly and sensibly, that if we were in difficulties it become [became] every gentleman to lend his helping hand to get out of them; that he hoped this squadron that was going to be fitted out, would have its effect; and that he should be extreme sorry we should plunge ourselves into the war, without the Dutch acted in concert with us, nay even called upon us for our assistance.

Monday we are to vote the number of Forces, and I believe I informed your Lordship it was thought there would be no addition, but I find it is fixed for eighteen hundred, which I believe will be ten men a company for the foot, and ten per troop for the Dragoons. This I imagine will be opposed, and we shall have a long day. I believe they will get the business done by the latter end of April, nor do I think the House will be well attended any time this winter.

They talk of a Lottery this year, and whether two or three shillings I can't say. I think the King's Speech was mighty well penned, and universally approved of here, by even those that differ from the present measures. My compliments to my sister. I carried Captain Ellis to Sir Thomas Frankland, who promised to speak to Sir Charles, but at the same time gave him little hopes of success.

[P.S.] Since I writ this, which you will see by the date was to have gone last Thursday, but was too late for the post, Sir Jos[eph] Pennington called upon me, [and] told me the gentlemen's inclinations in desiring to have his son for the County, and in what manner I would advise him to apply to your Lordship, whether to write. I told him I thought so, and that your Lordship would serve him. Lawson gives up, so there is no contest.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1734,] Feb. 1.—The horses came to town yesterday, and this morning I saw them; they look very well, having made very easy days' journeys, so that I believe in a week's time they will be fit to be shown to the Prince. . . . .

Tomorrow will be a long debate in the House of Commons about the troops, and the Minority expects, and I believe will, divide stronger than they have done any Sessions this Parliament upon the question. There is a report that they design after the Division is over to make a Motion that since we are to have this number, that the present Officers shall not be broke but by the sentence of a Court Martial. I shall let your Lordship know the particulars after the debate is over. Sir William Strickland still continues very ill, and will not be able to get out of some time; Mr. Pelham is to officiate tomorrow for him.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1734,] Feb. 3.—The Army debate came on yesterday, and Mr. Andrews made the motion for the continuance of the eighteen thousand men. My brother Morpeth of the other side moved the amendment, which was twelve thousand, instead of eighteen. The debate lasted till after eight; the speakers were the two that I mentioned, Mr. Cornwallis, Mr. Harley, Sir Thomas Robinson, Mr. Bramston, Sir Archer Croft, Sir Thomas Saunderson, Sir Richard Lane, Mr. Roles, Sir John St. Albans, Mr. Pelham, Sir Will. Windham, Mr. Palmer, the Master of the Roles, Mr. Horace Walpoole, Mr. Shippen, Sir Will. Younge, Sir Rob. Walpoole, Mr. Pulteney, who spoke, I believe, an hour, and in his speech introduced what I mentioned to your Lordship in my last, in relation to officers not being turned out of their commissions but by court martials; said as there was so many gentlemen in the House of that profession, and made us compliments at the same time that it was in his opinion worth the consideration of the House; but made no motion, and whether they design any I can't tell. The debate

was heavy, and not near so good of the Minority side as was expected. Sir Will. Windham spoke extremely well.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1734,] Feb. 7.—I had the favour of your Lordship's letter, and shall acquaint Mr. Turner, not having yet had an opportunity, of your having sent to Mr. Lonsdale.

We yesterday had a debate of the augmentation proposed in the estimates of the Army; the additional number we voted were eighteen hundred and forty, to make good those three regiments of Kirk's, Groves's, and Tyrawley's, sent some time since from this establishment to Gibraltar. The amendment moved by Sir William Wyndham was, the same number of troops as last year, including those three corps.

This was debated for about five hours, the arguments urged by the Minority were—show us a reason why we have occasion for an addition; if we are to act, these are too few; if not to be made use of, too many.

The Ministry's answers were, that the face of affairs were [was] so much changed, that it was obvious to every gentleman, whilst every court was putting themselves in a posture of defence, it ill become [became] us to be careless and idle; that neither would the number of seamen [have] been proposed or gentlemen so unanimously have come into them, had not they been sensible clouds were gathered which they did not know where would break; that the King asked this as a defence for the nation, and they who had the honour of serving him was [were] not at at liberty of saying now what possibly a little time might explain.

Upon the division, two hundred and sixty-two against a hundred and sixty-two. In the reporting it this morning to the House, they did not debate it. I believe the Sessions will be short, and that there will not be any material points of either side. . . . Sir Thomas [Robinson], I believe, has no view of a seat in next Parliament, nor much I fancy of an employment, and I own I wish that is not likely to be my situation, for I don't think my prospect is the least higher than it was when I left London last.

[P.S.] Mr. Turner was with us yesterday; so I believe he will continue. Col. Howard* desired me, when I writ to your Lordship, to let you know he often inquired after your health.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734, [Feb.?] 21, Albemarle Street.—In a very few post[s], Count Kiuski tells us, we shall hear of a very surprising stroke, the Imperialists having received orders to pass the Oglio and to attack the French; the Emperor being determined to attempt one decisive action there, before he will listen to any accommodation without his favourite Italian Dominions be previously stipulated to be restored to him; while on the other hand France as strenuously insists on Stanislaus being acknowledged King, and put into the possession of the Crown of Poland.

It has been currently reported for some days, that we are to have the next year 30,000 Land Forces, and as many Seamen, besides auxiliary

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* Probably Col. Thomas Howard, Aide de Camp to the King, appointed 29 May 1732. (Home Office Military Entry Book, No. 15, p. 154.)

Danes and Swedes, &c., but at the same time to be only as we are now upon the defensive; and to maintain this additional strength, we are to have a Lottery, and 4*s.* upon Land, and an alteration in the Window Tax, viz., one shilling upon every window in all houses whatever; which will fall very heavily upon London and all great towns, as well as houses, among which your Lordship will pay a very great proportion. However, if it takes place, I hope 'twill have this good effect, all new houses will be built in the Italian taste, to save expense, and of consequence more lasting edifices to posterity, having fewer windows, and of course larger solids, &c.

Lady Suffolk's sudden departure from Court has been the subject of much conversation, and various reasons have been assigned for so unlookt for an event; though perhaps, among the many, none which gave ground for her resolution has been given. Lady Tankerville and the Widow Coleman are the two now talked of to be most in his Majesty's favour.

The Lord Chancellor has at last been told Dr. Rundle is never to be a Bishop; so the Reverend Bench will sit triumphant. Surely this must be a melancholy reflexion to those who are naturally jealous of the power of the Church; for this step shews they expect at least a *nolumus* to any man the K[ing] shall think fit to promote to the purple; which may in the end prove as dangerous to our Constitution as the success of that Question would have been, to have made Military Officers removable only by a Court Martial. As I then thought that would have been raising a fourth power in the State, independent of, and at the long run destructive of the other three; so I think, if this doctrine of the Bench be allowed as an established maxim, 'twill be adding an Ecclesiastical independent power in the State, which might prove more dangerous to Liberty than even a Military one; as of all tyranny that practised by those in black have (*sic*) in all ages and nations been most destructive of Liberty, Commerce, and everything to make society agreeable to life. It is said the Lord Chancellor has declared he will give up the Seals whenever the *congé d'élire* goes to Gloucester to elect any other than Dr. Rundle to that See.

Last post brought me a letter from Mr. Stables for my second payment to our Subscription, which I have by this post ordered to be paid; for I will give no handle to their thinking me backward in the Whigg cause in Yorkshire, though I think what they are now about is not the right way to keep it up there. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1734,] Feb. 26.—I believe you was surprised to hear of Lord Scarborough's having resigned his employment as Master of the Horse. I was not certain of it of the Saturday night, but of the Sunday morning waited upon him, when he told me that possibly this step might surprise you, and occasion variety of opinions and conversation both in the country and town. Therefore he desired me to assure you, it did not arise from any dislike of measures or persons; that the King had shewed him great civility, and upon this occasion more tenderness and regard than he had any pretensions to; that there was no servant he employed that he had any objection to; and that it was the greatest concern to him at this time, when party's was (*sic*) running high, to quit; but that he had struggled with himself, and could not get over a difficulty he had, and be easy. . . .

Your Lordship may imagine the stroke was highly disagreeable to the Ministers; his great credit in the world, his Parliamentary abilities, made them take all the pains they were capable of, to prevent his going into the Closet, when they knew his intentions; but he was determined, and not to be persuaded. . . .

I was told by another person that he had declared he had never been easy since the Question in the House of Lords about the Officers not being turned out but by Court Martials. It seems Lord Scarborough had declared his opinion last winter, in two or three sets of company, that he thought that motion would be right. When it came into the House, he acquainted the Lords he had thought it so, but upon taking all the pains he was master of, and fully considering it, it appeared to him in a very different light, and he disliked the Motion, and spoke very strongly against it.

The conversation of the Minority before it came into the House was—this question would try my Lord. This they say has so piqued him, and not being satisfied but the opinion of the world might think his employment had influenced him, he has carried his nicety so far as to give up his regiment, which he resigned at the same time. The King desired him to keep, and he continues, in the Cabinet. . . . (Election expenses at Carlisle.)

We have had a very warm debate whether we should commit a Place Bill Mr. Sandys brought in seven or eight days ago. The House debated it till seven a clock; for the commitment, 191; against it, 230. This Bill was to have restrained great numbers of employments that now sits in the House. The Minority thought the influence of the Crown too great, and that a Parliament composed of such a number of officers was no true representative of the people. We thought it was dangerous trying experiments of alterations; that the Law had excluded since the Revolution some employments from having seats, as Customs and Excise, and that no new erected employment could now sit as the Law stood; that every gentleman that took a place, vacated his seat, and must have a new election to send him there again; which I own was to me very strong reasons, but the intention of this self-denying Bill

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Incomplete.

[Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.]

[1734, Feb.]—I heard Sir Thomas Robinson had given your Lordship an account of the debate last Wednesday in the House of Commons, but upon enquiry found yesterday I was mistaken, otherwise you should have had it sooner.

The Question, that was moved by my brother [Lord Morpeth] and seconded by Sir John Rushout, was that no Officer should be displaced from his Commission, but by a Court Martial. This was treated of the other side of the House, as altering a part of our Constitution, and divesting the King of a power his predecessors had always enjoyed before him. The reasons urged in support of it were, that now many gentlemen of the Army were in both Houses; that two noble Lords had lost their Commissions last winter, from differing in opinion with those who conduct the King's affairs; that others might suffer, and others might be influenced; and therefore this Motion was thought necessary.

After a debate of four or five hours, a negative was put upon the Motion, without a division. Shippen and his squadron did not like the Question, and I believe told them they would not divide for it, which

made them give it up; otherwise they debated it strongly, as if they designed to have divided, and all the speakers of both sides held forth, amongst which number Sir Thomas for the first time this Sessions was one; I could not hear him, he spoke so fast, but those that did, told me he did tolerably well.

When this Question was disposed of, Mr. Sandys moved that an humble Address might be presented to his Majesty to desire to know who advised him to cashier the Duke of Bolton and my Lord Cobham. Mr. Pulteney seconded it, and as this Question was subsequent to the former we did not long debate it. Upon this they divided; the numbers were, to the best of my remembrance—for the Address, one hundred and fifty-one; against it, two hundred and fifty two.

Both these questions were the same day in the House of Lords, the first moved by the Duke of Marlborough, seconded by Lord Winchelsea, the other by Lord Carteret; the Division with proxies, hundred and two to sixty-two.

Today we had a complaint made by Mr. Thompson of Parson Noble having said in a public house Sir William Millner had a pension of five hundred pounds a year for voting with the Court. Two that were in company and heard it were examined as witnesses at the Bar, and confirmed it, and added likewise that he said he knew who paid it him. Noble denied that part, but owned his having said he had heard he had a pension. He was ordered into custody.

Sir William Millner spoke very handsomely to clear himself of an imputation that was so scandalous and groundless; said that while he sat in Parliament he never would have any employment from the Ministry or any other.

Sir William Lowther, in giving an account of the Doctor, said there was a noble lord in the country, who had promised him a living, and just before it fell vacant he had spoke disrespectfully of the late King, which, when told, prevented his succeeding to it, and he was afraid it was from the same fountain of disaffection that he had propagated this scandalous report of one who so little deserved it.

They debated the Qualification Bill today, whether it should go to a committee, and divided upon it, two hundred and eight against it, to a hundred and twenty-seven for it.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1734,] March 14.—I received your letter, and made your compliments to Lord Scarborough; as to his accepting the same employment again, I believe there is little prospect; I wish we may keep him as a Colonel. I writ my sister word last post, he had taken an opportunity in a debate since his resignation, to declare his dislike to the Opposition, that it tended to inflame the nation.

We had yesterday a long debate about the repealing the Septennial; the question was moved by Mr. Bromley, and seconded by Sir John St. Albans. I was told the day before, this was a favourite point of the Tories, and that Pulteney and his party were not fond of it, many of them having been for making Parliaments septennial. However, they all joined issue in the debate, which was carried on by both sides with a good deal of warmth.

Sir Thomas Robinson spoke early, and very properly, to the Question, which gained him the approbation of everybody, and I hope will be of real service to himself, [so] that he will either make a voyage to Cornwall, or have some employment. Sir Will. Lowther spoke against

the motion. Turner divided against it; he told me the Duke of Bolton had given him his interest. The debate lasted till eight. The Division: for the question 184; against it 247. . . . .

The wedding [of the Prince of Orange and the Princess Royal] is to be today, and it's likely to be very rainy; the scaffolding is much enlarged, so as to hold a great number.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1734,] March 29.—Yesterday the King's Message was taken into consideration by both Houses. The Message was to desire the Parliament's support in case any emergency or difficulty happened during the interval to oblige him to increase his force either by sea or land; and and that whatever expense should be incurred upon that occasion should be laid before the next Parliament at their meeting.

This occasioned a Motion of an Address, in both Houses, of thanks to the King for his care, and whatever steps he should make for the honour and defence of the nation, they would stand by him and support him. The Address is long and strong, but I send [it] your Lordship only in short, as near the meaning as I could carry away.

The Address met with a warm opposition both from the Lords and Commons. Those that disliked it in our House, treated it as a Vote of Credit in the ampliest manner; that we were alarumed continually with groundless apprehensions; that nobody could imagine France was desirous at present of engaging us in a quarrel with them; that everybody concluded their squadron, which was in so great a readiness, was designed for no other service than Dantzick; that even if they had any thoughts of disturbing and making us a visit, was it a prudent step for the Parliament to rise, whose time was not near expiring, and then lodge so great a power in the Crown, contrary to the foundation of Parliaments?

This was the language of those gentlemen who differed from the Address. In answer to it, it was said by the Ministers it was no Vote of Credit, because they hoped no use would be made of it; if any was the King had assured us an account of the expenses should be laid before us. It was indeed a Vote of Confidence, and which they thought was absolutely necessary at this time, when every gentleman might see the situation of affairs abroad— when the French had marched troops down to their sea-coasts—had a considerable squadron, which very likely might be designed for Dantzick; but should they stop here, what would be then said to those the King entrusted with his affairs, if they should be in no readiness, and want power to receive them? Then might it be justly urged that their belief of their being designed for Dantzick, would be a poor excuse. This was, as well as I am capable of remembering, the substance and main arguments made use of in the debate by both sides.

Sir Robert Walpoole, in support of the Message, said it came much properer now than at the beginning of the Sessions; that the two maritime Powers had offered their mediation this winter; that it was not accepted of, nor was it refused.

The speakers for the Address were Sir Robert, who moved it, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Tuffnell, Sir Thomas Robinson, Sir Will. Younge, Mr. Horace Walpoole, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Danvers; against it, Shippen, Sir Will. Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, my brother [Lord Morpeth], Sir Thomas Saunderson, Mr. Wyndham, Sir John Hind Cotton. The

Division: for the Question, two hundred and forty-eight; against it, a hundred and forty-seven.

The debate in both Houses lasted till after eight. Lord Islay, Lord Scarborough, the Duke of Argyle, Duke of Newcastle, Lord Hervey, and Earl Powlett, the Chancellor, and the Lord Chief Justice spoke for the Address; against it, Lord Carteret, Lord Bathurst, Lord Strafford, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Winchelsea, Lord Aylesford, and the Duke of Montrose. Upon the Division, without proxies, for the Address, seventy-eight; against it, thirty-nine proxies for, twenty-three; against nineteen. . . . .

I find most agree a war is unavoidable, and that this is a leading step towards it. Sir Thomas [Robinson] I can't say acquitted himself anything equal to his perseverance in the debate against repealing the Septennial. . . . (Yorkshire and Carlisle elections.)

Mr. H. Walpole to [Lord Carlisle].

1734, March 30, Cockpitt.—I have been honoured with your Lordship's letters by Mr. Jackson, containing a very ingenious copy of verses, and a very sensible pamphlet. I should have acknowledged the first sooner, but having put the verses into her Majesty's hands, with which she was extremely pleased, I have not received them back again. As to the pamphlet, I will consider of the part which you have been pleased to refer to me, which is of a very essential, as well as extensive nature, and must be put into a true light; and then your Lordship shall hear further from me. The verses shall be printed as soon as I have received them from the Queen. I cannot conclude this without letting you know that it is impossible for me to express their Majesties' sense, as well as the gratitude of Sir Robt. W., with respect to the great zeal which your Lordship is pleased to show in all parts and on all occasions for the service and support of his Majesty's Government and Administration.

P.S. May I trouble your Lordship with my respects to Lady Irwyn.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734, April 18, Albemarle Street.—I am very much obliged to your Lordship for your very obliging letter; as to my coming into the next Parliament it must entirely depend upon the sincerity of those who have it in their power, to perform what they have not only promised in the strongest terms to me singly, but even have plighted their faiths to the public itself. As my public behaviour for 7 years past in Parliament has not only shewn my opinion of the Ministers but of the measures carried on by the Administration, 'tis impossible for me to doubt 'em incapable of making this small return to such a series of services past, but whether I shall be elected now, or upon a double return, I believe is not decided; which way ever it be, 'twill be entirely the same thing to me.

As Lady Lechmere stays in town this summer, I should not willingly have left her alone, could my being here have been of any use and service to her, but as I can't flatter myself with that, and as I am desirous of paying my duty to your Lordship at Castle Howard, and to bring with me the settlement I made upon her of my real estate, and of her own personal estate, for your perusal and amendment where it may not be effectually done to your satisfaction, and at the same time as my

attendance and little assistance on the County Election may be expected, I propose coming down into the country about that time.

Colonel Howard, I am afraid, will not be able personally to attend his election at Carlisle. I have offered to go thither on his account, could I be of the least service on that occasion, and which I shall immediately do, if I have your Lordship's orders upon that account.

I can now doubly congratulate your Lordship on his account, as I think he is now entirely out of all danger (and indeed in my opinion he has had a very narrow escape), but this day he has received the very agreeable news to himself and his friends of being provided for as Aid de Camp to the King, which as it gives him the rank of Colonel, the transition to a regiment won't be a difficult step for him to make in a very few years.*

I am very sorry to acquaint your Lordship that this morn my Lord Stairs was dismissed from his Regiment of Dragoons, not that I think his actions of late are to be justified, but as he has formerly done signal services to his country, and which are publicly known, and his fault, though real, only known to a few, this very severe proceeding against him in the decline of life, and in very bad circumstances, will I am afraid be made use of, as a handle to foment those divisions which are already carried to too great a height.

This day many persons were presented to their new employments; as your Lordship will see the particulars in public prints, I will not enumerate them here.

Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle, at Castle Howard.

1734, June 6, Wentworth House.—I have been here since Monday, and shall proceed forward on my journey this day. Lord and Lady Strafford called here yesterday in their way home. Lady Malton has desired me to acquaint your Lordship of it, and that they shall now expect you and the Ladies at Wentworth House very soon; her Ladyship desires Lady Mary will excuse her not writing, as I write this post to Castle Howard.

I can't quit this country without saying something of Stainbro' and this place. The first is finely situated and has the prospect of a pretty enclosed country; the new castle just finished has an extreme fine situation, and built entirely in the old castle style, but the room I believe will be thought too little; the gallery in the house answered my expectations less than any room I ever heard talked of in my life, it being out of all proportion and lighted like a green-house, and no taste in the finishing; the four marble columns in it are indeed for their size very great curiosities; the park lays very prettily round the gardens, and ridings cut out in woods which surround the park, and which are very handsomely disposed.

If in some things Lord Strafford's fell short of what I was told of it, I was very agreeably surprised in finding this place improved in all respects since I was last here infinitely beyond my expectations. What may properly be called the house is about the same length in front as Lord Tilney's (260 feet); that front towards the garden is entirely finished, being partly patch-work of the old house and partly a new

* "Commission for Charles Howard, esquire, to be Aid de Camp to the King in the room of the Earl of Albemarle, and to command and take rank as Colonel of Foot; . . . dated at St. James's, the 23rd of April 1734." (Home Office Military Entry Book, No. 16, p. 69.)

building, and excepting a very fine library, little can be said in its praise, but when you come to the court front, amends will be sufficiently made to all lovers of architecture, and when finished 'twill be a stupendous fabric, infinitely superior to anything we have now in England; the front of the house and offices (exclusive of the stables) being a line of 606 feet built of the most beautiful hewn stone and the best masonry I ever saw; these offices on each side the house are entirely finished. The upright of the house will be in the same style as Lord Tilney's, only this portico will have 8 columns in front.

The hall will be 64 feet by 53 deep and 48 high, a prodigious room; on each side of it are 3 rooms, all 6 24 high; two of them will be 36 feet square, two 26 in front and 38 deep, and two 24 in front and 36 deep. This whole front will contain 21 windows, 5 of which are now just covered in. The whole finishing will be entirely submitted to Lord Burlington, and I know of no subject's house in Europe [which] will have 7 such magnificent rooms so finely proportioned as these will be. This part of the house will be built entirely new from the foundations, and very conveniently disposed to lay it to the old house; and as Lord Tilney's has hitherto been thought so fine [a] house, as some people imagined would never have been excelled, I am very glad for the honour of Yorkshire to see a pile going forward here that will in every respect infinitely exceed it. The outworks are also large, and my Lord has a very fine command of wood and water; but none of the finishing strokes which give the beauty to the whole are yet completed.

As it is impossible in one place or country to have everything, I must now acquaint your Lordship, if the axle-trees of your coach are not very strong, you will find it difficult to get thro' the country, the roads being intolerable, by the vast number of iron-stone pits, coal pits, and woods in the country. I have never yet been out, but I have met carts and waggons overthrown, for there have been such plentiful rains of late in this country, that the roads are almost as bad as in winter.

After saying so much of this place I can't finish my letter without speaking something of the master and mistress of it, who really live as happily together, as easy to those with them, and with as much hospitality to their neighbours and goodness to their children and servants as in any house I ever was in. I never spent six days more agreeably, and am sorry to be obliged to leave them so soon. When I reflect how soon your Lordship will be here, I beg pardon for taking up so much of your time; I desire my compliments to the ladies and Colonel Howard.

P.S. The kitchen offices here are particularly worth seeing, and are very noble; and I would recommend the apartments for the poultry to Lady Irwin's observation, where she will find great variety of the feathered specie[s], all magnificently lodged, and well attended on.

[Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.]

[1734,] June 14, London.—The reason of your not hearing sooner from me was occasioned by waiting till I thought I should have been able to have given you an account of a mark of the King's favour to me, which having met with difficulties, and being deferred, makes me now a little apprehend the success of it. I shall give your Lordship a short account by way of letter, and explain it further when I see you in the country.

Towards the latter end of this Session Sir Robert shewed me a good deal of civility, and told me he had something to propose to me which he believed I should like. I went to him; his proposal did not suit my

inclinations, so after thanking him for his offer, told him, if he thought me deserving any mark of the King's favour, I rested it with him, and did not doubt but that he might have an opportunity of taking notice of me. In about a fortnight after, he told me there was Groom of the Bedchamber to the King, or his Aid de Camp, vacant; that he could carry either for me; which did I choose? My answer was, they were both very honourable, and both very much to my inclinations; that as your Lordship had put me into the Army, though the Aid de Camp was but ten shillings a day, yet for the sake of getting the rank of Colonel I preferred it to the other, which was much a better income.

I hope your Lordship approves of my answer. I had not time to write to you for your opinion, he desiring I would give it then. I thought myself very secure from the assurances of Sir Robert, the Duke of Newcastle, and Sir William Strickland. The difficulty now is to persuade the King about the rank. I have absolutely refused it upon any other terms, and told Sir Robert so yesterday that that was the only temptation for me to desire it, and I was sure he must have an indifferent opinion of me to take it any otherwise. He agreed with me, told me to be quiet, and say nothing of it, and that he did not fear but that he should yet bring the King to give his consent, and I must really do him justice to think he designs serving me, and that it entirely sticks there.

I hope your Lordship does not disapprove of any part of my conduct in this affair, and I return you my thanks again, for your kind intentions of serving me, if occasion had offered. All this he directed me to keep secret, which I have done; therefore I desire your Lordship won't mention it publicly. I have not told Sir Thomas Robinson of it, thinking it would not be very safe in his hands; he proposes leaving this place in a day or two, going for Bath, and so to Yorkshire.

Since I writ this, I received [your Lordship's] last night, and shall execute your orders the best I can; the books being shut some time, I scarce believe they will give instructions. Mr. Jackson has got cloth and lace for the hunting clothes, and plate buttons and green cloth for the other coat; my suit is made up, but as . . .

Incomplete.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1734,] July 23, London.—Yesterday morning, before I got your letter, I had an opportunity of talking with Sir Robert at the Treasury, having been two or three times lately, but never could see him. My business was to ask, whether he had received your Lordship's letter I sent him into Norfolk, for at the time you enclosed that to me, you told me you had made a proposal you thought would be agreeable to me. He told me he had, and had sent you an answer to it; that he supposed I knew the contents of your letter, but finding I did not, acquainted me with your proposals, and the answer the King had ordered him to send back to you, and that as there was only two hundred pounds difference he imagined your Lordship would be very well satisfied with it. He said, as to the establishment, the King left that entirely to you, but as to my particular, his opinion was, whatever allowance you pleased to make me, should be private, both as there never was any such officer, and was it to be done as a public employment, it would vacate my seat in Parliament. For these reasons, I believe your Lordship will think it right not to have it public and go under the name of an employment.

Sir Robert told me yesterday to call again at the Treasury about two of clock, and then the post would be come in, and he expected a letter from you. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734, Oct. 10, Albemarle Street.—I have been in town some days and found Lady Lechmere I think rather easier in her mind, and her behaviour since my being here convinces me of a visible change for the better; time and patience only can work an entire recovery, ails of this nature requiring both to banish them out the mind.

The K[ing] was so elated upon the news of the Marshal Broglio's quarters being seized and the advantage gained by the Germans in that attack, that it not only appeared visibly in his countenance at his Levies, but he expressed his satisfaction by his conversation. Some days after another courier brought an account of the battle of Guastella, where I am afraid the event has since shown the Imperialists were defeated; they say the K[ing] cried the succeeding night, and the next morn his eyes appeared swollen and red, and he shewed the greatest uneasiness imaginable. These kind of accounts seldom lose by telling, but I believe 'tis pretty clear which way the K[ing] personally bends relative to the commotions now on the Continent.

Stocks continue to rise, and people are still in great hopes of an approaching accommodation; if one was to judge from last Saturday's Craf[t]sman, one would imagine it was pretty near, since that seditious paper has endeavoured to throw out several ill-natured innuendoes and expressions tending to advise the victorious to recede from no p[ar]t of their conquests and the vanquished not to make peace without the whole being restored; telling the one they can't in honour pocket the affronts they have received from us by guarantring (*sic*) the Pragmatic Sanction without their consent, and putting the others in mind that we are obliged by treaties to go to their assistance. Surely this way of endeavouring to keep up national quarrels must open the eyes of the unprejudiced part of mankind, and shews some people would rather run all hazards as to the whole than not gain their points against those in power.

I hope your Lordship bore your western expedition well, and has had no occasion to take Mr. Ward's drop nor any other remedy since your return; if you have, I shall be very glad to hear it has done you good; he has great success here of late, and gets a great deal of money; 10 guineas a day, as he tells me, one day with another, exclusive of all manner of expenses. I wish it holds, and that the method he has taken of giving it to all ages and sexes and to all distempers incident to human nature, does not in the end bring a bad character upon a remedy which I believe in my conscience, if discreetly managed, for some particular ails and constitutions is the very best specific which was ever found out in physic. He has taken a very large house in Pelmel; has a great many servants, and keeps 5 or 6 large rooms for the reception of company, and which are seldom or never empty; indeed the crowds of all ranks which go to him is surprisingly great, and he is now so taken up at home, that he never goes to his patient[s], or dines abroad, but of a Sunday.

P.S. Sir William Strickland continues so very ill, that he neither sees company [n]or receives any message.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734, Oct. 26, Albemarle Street.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's, and since one from my servant at Rookby, who acquaints me with the generous present of beech and Spanish chestnuts lately sent from Castle Howard, for which I return my sincere acknowledgments, and flatter myself I shall see your Lordship there next summer in your northern tour, and have your approbation as to the place and manner of planting them, as well as the other wood of all sorts which I shall intermix amongst them this winter.

By what one hears of foreign affairs of late, war seems to approach us by hasty steps; it has been talked that 'twill soon be declared, and the Stocks have accordingly fell; but 'tis reported at the same time the Dutch, Sweden, and Denmark are to follow entirely the measures we shall take.

This war now carrying on upon the Continent had its foundation upon the most trifling pretence that could be, viz., who should be King of Poland, and has been so very bloody and expensive, that every power engaged in it are [is] heartily sick of it.

The Emperor has the most reason, as he is in all respect[s] the greatest loser, but is the most against entering into pacific measures; and unless all his favourite possessions in Italy be restored to him, which are computed to be worth annually 1,500,000*l.*, he is determined to try the fate of another campaign, and if he does without any assistance, the powers now united against him will soon drive him out of Germany as they have almost already out of Italy. By what one hears the Neutral Princes are endeavouring to bring about a match with one of his daughters to Don Carlos, by which means he may relinquish his Italian Dominions and save his honour in parting from them, and this to be the foundation of a general pacification.

France, though hitherto successful, is quite tired of the war; the people have now all the taxes they laboured under in old Lewis's time, and are already exhausted of money, by the immense sums they have sent to Poland, and to maintain their troops in Italy, and it costs them 20 per cent. for all the money they have sent thither; and it still remains a mystery what benefit or part of the general plunder of the Emperor is to fall to their share, except in the long run they should make a sacrifice of the King of Sardignia, who is now entirely dependent upon them, of which he is so sensible, that 'tis reported he would gladly bring things to bear for a general peace.

Spain is both drained of men and money, and the Spaniards to a man uneasy at the counsels which now guide the measures of that Court; they being entirely managed by the influence of a Queen who is an Italian by birth, and is depressing the whole kingdom to make foreign conquests which will never belong to Spain, but solely confined to her children.

During these inquietudes and bustles upon the Continent, surely we ought to think ourselves happy to be out of them, and our alliance courted by them all; but we are making preparations as if we were sooner or later to take a part, for the 8 regiments sent for from Ireland last spring are put upon the English Establishment, and men to be raised to be added to the Irish Regiments, to make up the deficiency occasioned by the removal of these regiments out of their country.

Sir Charles Wager told me yesterday we have now 100 men of war at sea, aboard of which there are now 27,000 seamen, but that we still want 6,000 men more to man the ships to their full complement. He

says the Fleet was never victualled at so low a rate; they buy their beef at $1\frac{3}{4}d.$ a pound, and other provisions cheap in proportion. A man has contracted to furnish Greenwich Hospital at $2d.$ a pound for all sorts of butcher's meat, and mouton sells now at White Chapel at $1\frac{1}{2}$ a pound. I am afraid this will continue to affect the farmers in the country, but if it be a fault, it is one that arises from abundance and plenty, as the other extreme must always occasion the excessive price of any commodity.

I have taken the liberty to send your Lordship a pamphlet I think writ in a better style and manner, and more adapted for the present times, than anything that has been published for many years; 'tis upon a subject I have often wondered was never attempted before, and if anything could have tempted me to write political papers, it should have been to have followed the plan of this incomparable and unknown author. I have had a very large parcel of them sent to me, and shall faithfully disperse them.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734, Dec. 10, Albemarle Street.—In the last letter I had the honour to receive from your Lordship you enquire the meaning of the Courant upon Mr. Ward; it has puzzled every mortal here to find it out; Sir Archer Croft is the supposed author. I think 'tis too dull to have any pretentions to wit, and too silly to be serious; but however it has given the alarm to some timorous Dissenters and good Churchmen, who really think Ward to be a forerunner of greater attempts to subvert the Protestant religion and introduce Popery; in the main this author speaks well of the remedy. It is not, my Lord, to be conceived how much this gentleman is the subject of conversation; go where you will his pill and drop are talked of before you leave the company. A stranger would imagine all was at peace on the Continent, and all parties asleep at home, and the only contention now among us was for and against his remedy. As I have sent the Lord Chief Baron's* letter, as an impartial advocate I have enclosed the Grubstreet Journal, which that letter occasioned; this was writ by one Clopton, a Quaker apothecary in Holburn, who jointly with others have made it their entire business to find out any pretence of its hurting those who have taken it; and in my opinion, supposing the 12 instances he has given are true, considering the many thousands who have taken it and the strict scrutiny of the Faculty on this occasion, these few persons, I say, who have suffered from it, are the strongest proof of the goodness of it; but however the facts are falsely stated, and many of them without any foundation. I should not have dwelt so long upon this subject had not your Lordship intentions of taking it, and indeed I should think myself wanting in my duty to you on that head did I conceal the bad and only divulge the good things said relative to it. These cases have not failed making several votaries, and are always quoted by the anti-Wardites. The last post I enclosed a pamphlet to you of some humour, writ by a young physician on this subject; but however Mr. Ward goes on with great practice and vast success.

But 'tis now time to quit this subject, and to talk a little of what more immediately concerns the nation, the issue of our important negotiations carrying on at the Hague. It seems there are 6 or 7 men who have now got the absolute sway over the Dutch into their own

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* Sir James Reynolds, 1730–8. (Haydn.)

hands, and who dispose of all the honorary and beneficial employments among their own relations and dependants; they all readily joined with us in concerting measures against the House of Bourbon and in support of the Emperor before the marriage of the Princess Royal; since that they have always been jealous and shey (*sic*) to us, for fear of our imposing the P[rince] of Orange as Statholder. They concluded the neutrality with the French without our consent or even knowledge, and have gone so far as to declare, if they are to have a Statholder, they will choose the K[ing] of France as such. Power is surely such an alluring bait, such a sweet morsel, as is too strong for mortal reason to part from, though even the safety of one's country may depend on quitting of it. This is now the case of their measures, for the Emperor has drawn every man out of the Barrier Towns, and the Low Countries are now open to the French, and have no other security than the faith of a nation who never yet kept any treaty longer than its interest made appear reasonable. This has been strongly urged to them, but hitherto without success, as they don't intend augmenting either naval or military strength the next year. This being their situation, 'tis thought we shall scarce enter into the war without them, though the K[ing], the City of London, and all the moneyed men of the nation are for it. The Prince of O[range's] party among the Dutch daily increases, and at the end, some imagine these great men will run the risk of being de Witted, if they pursue the measures they are now engaged in, &c.

Her Majesty has lately received private letters from the Q[uee]n of Prussia which say the K[ing] can't hold out much longer; he is now the oddest sight imaginable, the upper part being worn to a skeleton, his face ghastly and pale, and the lower part of His M[a]j[es]ty swelled to an enormous size, and full of running humours and sores. He carries his resentment against our K[ing] to the last, hurrying up a match with his only marriageable daughter for fear she should fall to the share of the P[rince] of Wales. 'Tis thought his death will make a great change in the Emperor's affairs, who is mortgaging his whole revenues here, and in all the moneyed cities in Europe, to enable him if possible to hold out another campaign; and Italy will be the great scene of action, and where P[rince] Eugene is to command.

The Bishop of Namur (formerly Abbé Strickland) is suddenly recalled; he came here with a private commission from the Emperor, and intended to have made a tour into Westmoreland, and was to have stayed some time amongst us, but some days since he received an order from his master immediately to quit the kingdom. This affair has been the subject of much conversation, and 'tis said an information was sent of his being in a plot. He has taken great pains to find out those who gave the information to the Emperor. All our Ministers disown knowing anything of the matter. Sure at least I am the rest of the world are ignorant of the secret motive for this extraordinary event, and of which there are as many different stories told, as there are people who speak of it, which makes me conclude 'tis still a mystery amongst us.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734, December 23, Albemarle Street.—I have the honour of your Lordship's of the 15th, and have made the best enquiry I could as to what your Lordship ordered me to send you some accounts of, viz., the Petition of the Scotch Lords, and the calculation of the strength of each contending party in the new elected House of Commons. I have upon

this occasion and many others experienced, where a country is divided into parties, every political question receives an answer, tinctured with the complexion of the person you ask it of, which makes it very difficult upon any point where a party is concerned, to arrive at a certain knowledge of the truth. Those for the Court upon this question say the protesting Scotch Lords are so far from intending to lodge and prosecute a petition, the natural consequence of their protest, that they would be glad to have their names erased out of it. Lord Islay has told them they are guilty of a premunire, and indeed there is an article in the Union, which seems to be a just foundation for their forfeiture on that head; 'tis too long to recount here.

On the other side 'tis reported that these Lords will not only prosecute this affair in Parliament, but make many discoveries of such enormous practices as will astonish mankind, and that they have kept the affair so secret that none of the Ministers can guess at their intentions, or how the attack is to be conducted, but that no threatened strokes of the ensuing Sessions give them half the uneasiness that this affair creates; this however is certain, that several of these Lords are arrived in Town, and the remaining number on the road.

Whatever methods may have been practised to obtain this Election I know not, but I dare say none but such as 8 out of the present protesting 16 Lords were chosen by, seven years ago; how, therefore, can the same men justify their having voted in the Legislature for seven years past, being elected upon the same right of Election, by which others are at this time chosen (hinc illæ lacrymæ), and which they now call illegal and unjust? This is a paradox I am not casuist enough to solve.

As to your Lordship's enquiry about the other House, all the calculations at present run upon the issue of the first Question (which 'tis supposed Lord Morpeth is to move), viz. Mr. Sands for Speaker against Mr. Onslow, who[m] the Court intend to nominate upon this occasion also. The calculators of each party are exceeding wide of each other; those for the former say the Court will not carry it for Mr. Onslow by above 50 (for they all allow they shall lose the question); the Court on the contrary asserts they shall in the division against Mr. Sands be 100 ahead; moderate people split the difference, and think about 75 is all the majority that can with certainty be depended on. There are not a party wanting who think the Patriots will not try their strength upon this question; my own opinion is in this number, for should they lose it by a very great majority, 'twould be such a damp upon their party as they would not recover it for a great while.

The P[rince]ss of Orange has got safe to the Hague, and the bills for the expenses of her journey being brought in, they say the K[ing] is not a little displeased at the total, being reported to be 30,000*l.*; surely, if this be a fact, a shilling of his Majesty's money will not go so far as a groat of the worst economist of his subjects.

There is a new taste in gardening just arisen, which has been practised with so great success at the Prince's garden in Town, that a general alteration of some of the most considerable gardens in the kingdom is begun, after Mr. Kent's notion of gardening, viz., to lay them out, and work without either level or line. By this means I really think the 12 acres the Prince's garden consists of, is more diversified and of greater variety than anything of that compass I ever saw; and this method of gardening is the more agreeable, as when finished, it has the appearance of beautiful nature, and without being told, one would imagine art had no part in the finishing, and is, according to what one

hears of the Chinese, entirely after their models for works of this nature, where they never plant straight lines or make regular designs. The celebrated gardens of Claremount, Chiswick, and Stowe are now full of labourers, to modernise the expensive works finished in them, even since every one's memory. If this grows a fashion, 'twill be happy for that class of the people, as they will run no risk of having time lay on their hands.

The new Treasury is just finished; I have sent your Lordship the upright of it, as in my opinion 'tis one of the most perfect designs in the Island; and 'tis some satisfaction to me, as a Yorkshireman (and as I was entrusted by Lord Malton in negotiating the agreement between him and Mr. Kent), to reflect, that the architect of this beautiful building is from henceforward to conduct and finish his Lordship's; and as he is determined to spare no expense, a few years will make it a pile sufficient to tempt strangers to visit the north, though there was not a Castle Howard or a Studley Park in the country.

Your Lordship asked me in a former letter the meaning of the Courant of the 28th of November. Lord Gage by threatening the printer has found out the author, who is Sir Archer Croft. The Craftsman of 14th inst., supposed to be writ by Mr. Poultny, was a very good burlesque on it. Sir Archer's answer to it in the Courant of the 19th has made all parties unite in this particular, that there never was so unintelligible and ridiculous a political writer, who has shot very wide from the mark upon this occasion. Pamphlets are soon expected from each party to be preparatory to the opening the Sessions; when any comes out well recommended, I will take care to enclose them to your Lordship. Sir W[illia]m Strickland is again relapsed, and lies dangerously ill.

P.S. Since I finished the letter Lord Marchmount has been here, and upon talking over this affair of the Protest, he desired me to acquaint your Lordship he hoped that you had that good opinion of him, as to believe he would not engage in it without just grounds, and that it would most certainly be prosecuted with great vigour and resolution, and was very sorry your Lordship will not be in Town when 'tis tried.

Sir R. Walpole to Lord Carlisle.

1734[–5],* Jan. 4, London.—I had the favour of yours, and since you are pleased to give me the liberty, I hope you will excuse my being so free, as to desire, if you can without any prejudice to your health, that your Lordship will be here at the opening of the Parliament. There is nothing so extravagant, as what they every day talk, and their threats about the Scotch Peerage exceed all bounds and reason; and as this must certainly come on at the very beginning of the Session, your Lordship's presence and countenance cannot but be of very great service. I beg you will forgive me this freedom, but we know the opponents promise themselves they shall not have one friend absent. I should think myself very unhappy, if this importunity should put your Lordship under any great inconvenience.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734 [–5], Jan. 16, Albemarle Street.—The town is extremely full of company, few of either party of both Houses being absent, where

* In other letters Sir Robert uses the double date.

there was a possibility of their attending; and indeed now is the critical time to shew one's attachment to either. Your Lordship's regular conduct on this head for the cause of the Whiggs, and of liberty, is well known; and I hope you'll excuse the freedom I am going to take in acquainting your Lordship that all the Ministers have several times spoke to me, with great uneasiness at the thoughts of your not coming to town till spring; and I am fully satisfied, nothing can be more obliging to the Royal Family, and to them, than your coming up as soon as your affairs will give you leave. The K[ing] and Q[uee]n have both spoke to me upon this subject.

There will certainly be great pushes against them in both Houses, and the chief business will be over before spring. The number of Tories in the House of Commons is very great, and 'tis not yet known in what method the Scotch protesting Lords intend to proceed. Your health to be sure, my Lord, is to you above all other considerations; if that did not obstruct your journey, your presence in town would give infinite satisfaction to your friends, and be of great weight in the ensuing struggles which are threatened. . . .

Col. Howard, I fancy, has given your Lordship an account of the Speaker's being chose without opposition, and that we shall not have the King's Speech till this day sennight, and 'twill be some time after that before they begin to transact any material business, that your Lordship might easily get to town before anything of consequence was introduced.

I have sent your Lordship a pamphlet dispersed by the Administration, called the Grand Accuser, and have this post enclosed a poem on the glorious theme of Liberty; they are both esteemed to be well done in their different kinds, and I hope will amuse some of the idle hours at Castle Howard.

The Emperor has at last borrowed 250,000*l.* among us at 7 per cent. upon the mines of Siletia, who (*sic*) are mortgaged to the Dutch for five years; and our principal is not to be begun to be paid off till that time is elapsed, and is then gradually to be repaid in six years more. This is so precarious a security, that 'tis astonishing how so large a sum has been got together, but the high interest has been the great inducement; though the cautious people think there is no small risk of the principal, as no one knows who may be the Emperor's successor, nor to whose future possession those mines may fall. But this shows to what straits for money he is driven, and what a poor Prince he must be for many years to come. Every other part of his income he has also mortgaged upon this occasion; and I think 'tis demonstrable, if the neutral Princes do not declare in his behalf, all the efforts he can make will not avail much, considering the superior strength now united against him.

Mr. Thompson and Sir Wm. Lowther say our Yorkshire Petition will be tried at the Bar of the House in March, but many think otherways. Sir Miles [Stapylton] has had five meetings at Mr. Poultney's with all the heads of his party, to prepare for a defence, and to be sure he will in all respects be well supported by them, and they seem to have little apprehensions of the consequence of it.

I am very glad to find the terrible hurricane we had the 8th inst. has not reached the North; accounts daily arrive of the great mischief done both to our shipping and plantations. Many gentlemen's seats in the West have been almost entirely destroyed by it. For the time it lasted, it is thought to have been more violent than the great storm in the year 1703. . . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734 [-5], Jan. 25, Albemarle Street.—I received the honour of your Lordship's the last post, with great pleasure and satisfaction, not only to find what I said on your Lordship's speedily coming to Town was not taken amiss, but also that you intend soon to set forwards; but as the Town is so extremely full, I am afraid 'twill be difficult to meet with a house that will hold your Lordship and the ladies.

Your presence will be of great use and service at this time, for the opposite party neglect no opportunity to distress the present Administration. The House of Lords had a debate, and divided upon the Address, which was moved and seconded by the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Hinton. There never was less grounds for a Division, and the numbers shewed it, they being 89 to 37. None spoke for the Court but the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwick.

As the Patriots would have altered the proposed Address, no notice would have been taken of the King's Speech—only general terms of affection, &c.; which might have been interpreted by Foreign Courts as if the Parliament would not stand by his Majesty in any negotiation he might enter into for the good of the whole. The same debate and a Division is expected on this head next Monday in the House of Commons.

The Duke of Argile and Lord Islay are very ill, the first being greatly distrest with what I think some of your neighbours call the Black Devil, and the other is laid up with a nervous fever; so that 'tis thought the protesting Scotch Lords will have that just regard and good manners to the latter, as not to lodge their intended Petition till Lord Islay can appear, it being thought that the great attack on this head is levelled at him.

Sir R[obert] W[alpole] is now, and has been for four days past, confined by the gout in his heel; so that your Lordship will see the Administration will stand in need of the attendance and assistance of all their friends at this uncertain time of public affairs.

There has been of late four or five very virulent pamphlets against the persons and actions of the Ministers, writ with great strength and in a masterly style. As your Lordship knows my thinking on this head, I have not sent any of them to Castle Howard; though, being what is called an idle man about Town, I generally read all that is writ on both sides; and if your Lordship would have me send you any of these antiministerial papers, I shall willingly obey your commands.

Your Lordship's judgment of Mr. Thompson's poem on Liberty is very judicious, and is the opinion I have also heard of it, by some of the best judges in these kind of performances. . . . (The Yorkshire Election Petition.)

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734[-5], Jan. 30, Albemarle Street.—Col. Howard not finding himself well enough to stay the whole debate upon the Address yesterday in the House of Commons, and though a trespasser,* yet, by the indulgence of the Speaker, as I was in the House the whole time, I think it my duty to send you the particulars of it. . . . .

Lord Morpeth begun the opposition to the proposed Address, seconded by Lord Noel Somerset, and both performed their parts very

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* Sir Thomas had ceased to be a M.P. in 1734.

well. The substance of what they said was, that we should return back to the ancient Parliamentary practice, which was only to return thanks for the King's Speech, with general assurances of loyalty and affection, and not to insert anything in the Address which might preclude any future debate on the public affairs.

Those who spoke on the other side said this method of addressing the King had been practised without any interruption since the Revolution; and that whatever had been said in Addresses to the King's Speech was never construed to tie up the voices and hands of the Parliament in the debates of that Session.

Had either side kept closely to this question, the debate could not possibly have lasted an hour; the Address, which was proposed by Mr. Hedges and seconded by Mr. Campbell, being in my opinion as little liable to objection as any question I ever heard in Parliament. And after several hours' debate on subjects which might as well be talked over any other time, being quite foreign to this question, Sir Wm. Windham proposed to agree with the Address, provided they agreed to an addition which he added to it.

Upon this a fresh debate arose, those against it saying, if his proposition took place, 'twould be construed out of doors, that we were not acting with the Dutch, but under them; that all future applications of the contending parties would only be made at the Hague; and that there would be no occasion for any Foreign Ministers to reside here, as by this question the fate and welfare of this country must entirely depend on the good [will ?] and measures of the Dutch. This indeed appeared to be the natural construction of the Amendment.

Mr. Poultny, in answer to these objections, said it would have been happy for the nation, if for many years past we had entirely trod in their steps; that notwithstanding danger is nearer to them, they had not exhausted their strength by silent squadrons and useless standing armies; and declared he did not know what appellation to give to the state Great Britain had been in for some years past, and since the fatal Treaty of Hanover; in his opinion, he said, 'twas *peace without rest, and war without hostilities;* hoped this Parliament would not follow the steps of their predecessors, and complimented the new Members.

After this question of Sir Wm. W[indham] had been debated for some time, the Master of the Rolls* got up, and before he sat down, changed his opinion 7 times, and as often the Party which thought they had got him roared out the *Hear him;* a peculiar talent this, that can so amuse with hopes and fears, that in one speech he can so often divide the opinion of mankind as to his real sentiments (this uncertainty in his opinion is also his practice in every law-suit which comes before him, which we once fatally experienced); but at last he differed from both sides, and made an amendment to Sir William's motion by leaving out that half of it which was the most tenable, and least liable to objection.

This occasioned the renewal of the debate, and which lasted till eight at night. Mr. Pelham spoke twice in the room of Sir R[obert] W[alpole], who is still confined by the gout, and came off very well. Mr Oglethorp spoke, and voted for the first time for the Court. Sir Jno. Buckworth, Messrs. Delmé, Knight, Boon, &c., voted against them, contrary to their expectations. The whole numbers were 265 against 185, a vast Minority, considering the question. In the beginning of the

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* Sir Joseph Jekyll.

last Parliament they used to divide near 100 less. If this Minority increases in the same proportion, 'twill soon be very formidable; but the gleaning of the House by contested Elections, will soon send some of them to look after their affairs in the country. . . . . (Proceedings on the presentation of the Yorkshire Petitions; speeches on the conduct of the High Sheriff, the Lord Lieutenants, and the Crown officers concerned in the Revenue, in relation to the County Election, suspected votes, &c.)

In my last I gave your Lordship an account of the numbers in the last Division in the House of Lords. The Patriots say 20 of their friends were absent at that time, and since most of them are come to Town. The King reckons 13 Lords of the side of his Administration were also absent, and that he soon expected them all in Town. I have enclosed your Lordship one of the State pamphlets [which] was sent to me this day. Sir Con[yers] Darcy is extremely ill.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734[-5], Feb. 10, Albemarle Street.—I received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 4th instant, and as you order me to continue the account of what is stirring here and the debates in Parliament, I shall in compliance to that order, give you some particulars of the debate last Friday on the Seamen.

But in the first place I will answer that paragraph in your Lordship's letter relative to the Scotch Petition, viz., what is the reason of its not having already been introduced into Parliament. I believe the true reason of this delay is unknown; it hangs as a rod over the House, a fresh report arising every day, that 'twill certainly be brought in the next, so that the House is under a continued alarm, and generally kept pretty full.

It has been reported Lord Stairs went to Lord Islay when he was ill, and told him, as the blow was chiefly levelled at him, in good manners they did not think it decent to introduce the Petition till he was able to attend. He has since been at the House, and 'tis now reported Lord Elphinstone, whose evidence they laid the greatest stress on, has changed his note—has mislaid or lost his letters from Lord I——, and his memory has quite failed him; for Lord Chesterfield very lately has been pressing him to give a positive answer, as to what he could say. He answered, he believed he might have had money, had he encouraged an offer; and such like equivocating accusations.

Yesterday I dined with Lord Malton, and in the afternoon he received a message from the Duke of Newcastle to desire he would not fail being at the House of Lords the next day, for the Scotch Petition would then certainly be brought in. This summons was likewise sent to every other Lord, and the House was accordingly full; and the reasons given for its still being postponed are, that hitherto these Scotch Lords have only told their cases [to], and let into the secret, the Whigg Minority Lords, and last night was appointed for the general conclusive meeting at the Duke of Queenboro's, when all the Minority Lords were summoned, but not one of the Tories attended; the other reason is, Lord Carteret has declared against the Petition, and there is also a very strong report he is soon to be taken into play again.

Though these unexpected circumstances have disconcerted their measures a little, 'tis however imagined 'twill be decided next Thursday in the House of Lords. They have also had a good deal of difficulty in settling the direction. At first it was to have been to the Lords

Temporal in Parliament assembled only; of course it would not have been received at this House, which some say is what they desire, that they may deliver it to the Commons. But it would be endless to enumerate half the stories and reports which have been raised and spread about on this occasion.

I shall therefore quit this subject, and give your Lordship the detail of the debate on the number of Seamen proposed by Sir Charles Wager, viz., 30,000 men. Mr. Sands begun the opposition, and proposed 20,000. Those for his Question said, in our present situation they could not act, as 'twas universally allowed we should have no war, exclusive of the Dutch, and that they could not now enter into it, as they had very lately signed the neutrality with France for a year longer, nor had not since the war begun added a man either to their Sea or Land Forces.

Mr. Willimot, the new City member, went so far as to say that he hoped this House would pour down national vengeance upon the head of that man who should advise his Prince to enter into this war without the Dutch, as by this means we should exhaust our force and treasure, and in the meanwhile they run away with all our trade.

Sir Jno. Barn[ar]d said that our exportation of corn last year to Spain would have been infinitely greater, if there had been more seamen to navigate our ships, and for want of supply from us France had sent great quantities thither; and as they had tasted the sweets of it 'twould be difficult to prevent their undermining us in this article, as they had already done in most of the other branches of trade; and concludes (*sic*) by say[ing], if the nation has so greatly suffered by 20,000 of their seamen being in the Royal Navy last year, how much more will it suffer when you add a third to the number?

[The] Master of the Rolls greatly commended the wise management of King William in the 4½ [years] he lived after the Treaty of Riswick (which he said the King made himself without the advice of his Ministers; yet by his wise negotiating this peace, he had many countries and great cities restored, which were taken from him and his allies by an unsuccessful war); the nation owed 13 millions and a half, and during the peace he had paid off before he died one 4th of this debt; but says, how little has this wise example been followed since that of Utrecht! that he did not see a possibility of carrying on a war, as 'twould be impossible either to add to the taxes now in being, or to find anything new that could be taxed, and 4*s*. on Land last (*sic*) would undo the country; and concluded by saying last year's fleet was no service to the nation.

Mr. Poultny said, as there was some circumstances might happen which would make a war unavoidable—and named the Emperor's death for one—will you therefore in time of peace exhaust your strength, and of course be without a possibility of helping yourselves when that fatal time comes? alleged that 'twas in a great measure owing to our negotiations the present war on the Continent; for upon the sickness of the late King of Poland, we joined with France in giving an absolute negative to the Elector of Saxony ever being King, and at that time so much courted France, that we gave orders to our Ministers abroad to act in concert with theirs for the election of Stanislaus to the throne; and when it came to the push, we secretly advised the Emperor to oppose him, and promised to stand by him in the action; and though our mediation was accepted by the Emperor, there was a proviso that it should not hinder our obligations to assist him according to our Treaties; and on the other hand France has declared they have accepted it upon no other terms but our keeping an exact neutrality, and whether they will think voting 30,000 Seamen is acting accordingly

he would not pretend to say; and if the Maritime Powers could not act as mediators with weight, as was alleged, without increasing their forces, why did not the Dutch increase theirs, as they lay nearest to France, and most exposed to danger? joked a little upon Mr. W[illimot?], who[m] he called the Dutch orator, and said he in his speech had told them nothing new.

Those on the other side answered that we do now in every step go hand in hand with the Dutch; that we speak the same language, and are engaged in the same measures; that 'tis true they had raised no new forces since this war begun, but it had prevented the resolution they had come to of disbanding 10,000 of their soldiers; that they have now 53,000 men; that if some of them might be influenced by indirect practices to follow French counsels, and to act contrary to the true interest of their country, must we therefore take no steps for our own preservation?

Sir R[obert] W[alpole], though just recovered from a fit of the gout, spoke a full hour, and with great spirit; said the reason of our wanting seamen to export our corn to Spain last year was owing to the Spaniards employing 11,000 of them all summer in transporting troops to Italy, and of (*sic*) those ships and men which otherways would have been employed in carrying their corn; but the price the Spaniards paid for the other work made it worth their while staying with them; that our fleet prevented the Squadron from Brest going to the relief of Dantswich, the Spaniards insisting on their staying there, for fear we should sail up the Mediterranean and prevent their Italian conquests; that the French had now 40 sail, and the Spaniards 30, all stout ships of the line of battle; and that he thought it absolutely necessary we should have an equal force, for fear of a surprise; that the Vote of Credit had in a great measure been the occasion of our mediation being accepted, and putting a confidence at this time in the King would be the ready way to add a just weight to that mediation, and to bring a happy conclusion of the present troubles; that notwithstanding the deplorable situation we were then represented to be in, he was assured the Allies would be very sorry to see us join the Emperor, and next to that to see 30,000 Seamen; that they had almost run themselves out of breath, and were tired of the war; and that 'twas a comfortable reflexion that 100,000 men had already perished in the war (50,000 of them French), and many millions of money expended, yet not one drop of English blood spilt, or one shilling of English money spent in it; that he knew nothing of a negative being given to the Elector of Saxony, or our espousing Stanislaus, but supposed these and such like suggestions he had from Bishop Namur (Abbé Strickland); said there was two sorts of mediations, one when the mediator had no interest in the consequence of the quarrel, and the other where his own interest was deeply concerned in the event of it, which was our case, &c.

Mr. Oglethorp answered the Master of the Rolls, that as to the expense, if 'twas necessary, and we could not afford it, we must cease to be a nation; and that if we had a less Naval Force in the West Indies, and a quarrel with France, all our plantations would soon fall a prey to them; which would sink the value of all the lands in the nation 20 per cent.

Upon the Division the Nos. were 256 against 183; so that your Lordship will see the Court wanted nine, and the Minority two, of those that were there the first day of the Sessions; and 'tis very remarkable 'tis the first Division that was ever in Parliament upon the No. of Seamen demanded by the Court since we were a nation.

Sir Francis Boynton and Mr. Turner voted with the Court, and 'tis thought the Petition which is lodged against the latter, will make him do right while that is depending. Sir Miles [Stapylton] is gone into Yorkshire to prepare his defence. Sir Wm. Str[ickland] has been for some days in a melancholy situation, viz., speechless, but has not lost his senses; 'tis thought his stay amongst us can't possibly be much longer.

I have sent your Lordship the pamphlet you writ for, as also Mr. Pope's last poem, and the next post I shall send two more, as they may be amusing to your Lordship and the ladies on the road.

[P.S.] I have enclosed the Amendments to the Address, as your Lordship desired.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1735,] Feb. 11.—I sent your Lordship last post an account of the debate of the number of Seamen, which they say has not happened these thirty years before. Next Friday we shall vote the number of Land Forces, and that I fear will be received with much more warmth and meet with much more opposition than the former question; they propose an augmentation of ten men a Company to the Foot, which, with the eight Regiments that came last year from Ireland, will amount I believe to between six and seven and twenty thousand. I am sorry so great a number is necessary, because it will be the handle of discontent, but I believe they would not ask a man more than they thought absolutely (*sic*). So this will bring the expenses of the year to rather above three million, and I believe the method they propose raising it is by the Malt, a Land-tax of three shillings, and a million from the Sinking Fund.

I am told from pretty good authority that the Scotch Petition, so long expected, will certainly be presented next Thursday: I believe they have differed amongst themselves as to the conducting of it, and I shall not be disappointed if this mountain don't end in a mold hill (*sic*), but a few days will clear it up. I am sorry your Lordship won't be there; the season has been extremely fine, and I wish you had made use of it; the roads I fancy must be very good for the time of year, the dust flies here as if it was summer. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734[–5], Feb. 13, Albemarle Street.—The Scotch Petition was at last delivered to the House of Lords this day by the Duke of Bedford, who moved that the merits of it might be heard this day month. The petition is not against the sitting Lords, nor calls their seats in question, but it is to show that illegal and corrupt practices have been used to procure votes upon this occasion; and as 'twas necessary to have witnesses from Scotland, his Grace said he thought it would require at least a month to bring them to town.

Lord Cholmley spoke next, and did not directly oppose this Motion, but only desired they would appoint a short day to take the Petition into consideration; for as it was of a different nature from any had ever been offered before, he thought this step, to consider in what manner they should proceed in examining the merits, necessary, previous to the examination.

[The] Duke of Newcastle spoke to the same purpose, and proposed this day sennight.

Lord Bathurst desired the reason for appointing that day should be inserted in the order of the House, viz., that 'twas to consider of the methods of proceeding; by which the House would afterwards have been obliged to have considered of the merits of the Petition.

[The] Lord Chancellor opposed this, and said the first words moved for, which were general, would be better, as they would not be confined, but might throw out the Petition, if upon consideration next Thursday they found 'twas not necessary to proceed on it.

So it rests in this manner, and if it be not thrown out next week, your Lordship will be present, which all your friends wish for. Only six Lords signed this Petition, viz., the Dukes of Hamilton, Queensboro', and Montrose, and the Earls of Stair, Marchmount, and Dondonald. I will make no remark on this, and its being proposed to be put off for a month by themselves; your Lordship's own good judgment will naturally point out what the world must think of it.

There have been very strong reports the Marquis of Tweedale, the Lords Stair, Carteret, and Cobham are to be taken into play again; I write this only as a general report, but have no other foundation for my intelligence.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1735,] Feb. 15.—Yesterday our debate for augmenting the Land Forces came on; the number that was moved by Mr. Andrews I think was twenty-five thousand six or seven hundred men; I have not cast them up, otherwise it is very easy computing them, and I believe I sent your Lordship word they would amount to more. My brother [Lord Morpeth] moved the same number as last year; Lord Noel Somerset seconded him. The debate was dry, and no ways entertaining, the subject being pretty much exhausted, and little variety thrown in from what we have heard other years on the same question.

Mr. John How, who has always been a strong opposer, made a speech which surprised most people; he argued for the merits of the question and the necessity of the augmentation, but concluded with differing from gentlemen in the manner of raising them; he was for taking foreigners into pay, and his reasons were, they were both cheaper to the nation, and that English, when once raised, seldom were parted from; so voted against us. The debate began about one, and lasted till ten, in a very full Committee; no new speakers let fly, which was expected. The Division for the addition was two hundred and sixty-three; against it, two hundred and eight.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734[–5], Feb. 20, Albemarle Street.—In my last I told your Lordship that the farther consideration of the Scotch Petition was appointed to be heard as this day; there was accordingly a very full House of Lords, the Dukes of Bucclugh and Athole made each a short speech, and desired to know whether anything was intended by the petition which might attack their seats; it was urged on the other side that the words of the petition were plain, and needed no explanation. Lord Hardwick then made a very long speech, and he said he thought before they could enter into the merits of the petition, the six protesting Lords should declare under their hands by another petition whether they intended to controvert the election of any of the 16 elected Lords, and which of them, that

they might have time to make their defence, and proposed tomorrow for receiving this explanation.

It seems they had heard the Court intended this motion, for the Duke of Bedford came prepared to give an answer to it, in their names, and said for fear of mistaking their meaning he had got it writ down, and which he read to the House, which was to declare in the strongest terms, they did not intend to call any of their elections in question.

The Duke of Newcastle and other Court Lords said this assertion of his Grace's was not sufficient; that this explanation should be signed by the same Lords who signed the petition; and after two or three hours of a very dull debate the House divided, 90 against 51; and tomorrow is appointed to receive their explanation, and next post I will send your Lordship what is done upon it.

The six protesting Lords waited all the time in the Prince's Chamber; the Duke of Argile was in the House in a great cloak, and looks most dreadfully; neither the Prince, his Lord in waiting (Lord Jersey), or [the] Duke of Leeds voted in the question, but retired under the canopy during the division.

[P.S.] The Lords who spoke for the Court were—Lords Hardwick, Harvy, Lord Chancellor, Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Cholmly. Those against it—Lords Chesterfield, Strafford, Bathurst, Gower, and Abington.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734[–5], Feb. 22, Albemarle Street.—. . . . As I take it for granted this letter will reach Castle Howard before you leave it, I shall give your Lordship the account of yesterday's proceeding on the Scotch Petition.

The Lord Chancellor told the Lords he had writ to each of the six protesting peers the orders he had received the day before from the House, and that morning [the] Duke [of] Hamilton and Lord Stairs came to him and brought a letter signed by the whole six, the purport being what the Duke of Bedford had declared in their names in the last debate, viz., that they did not by their petition intend to controvert the seats of any of the 16 elected peers.

[The] Duke [of] Devonshire then made a short speech, and ended with another motion, that next Thursday these six Lords should declare under their hands to the House the particular instances of frauds and ill practices, and who were the persons they intended to accuse in prosecuting this petition.

This occasioned a long debate. Lord Chesterfield spoke first, and said he was extremely surprised at this motion; that the 6 Lords had desired a month to prepare materials to make good the allegations of their petition, and by this question you would pin them down to a week; it looked as if 'twas intended, by repeating so many motions, to put it off and quash the hearing; said, if this was agreed to, he did not doubt but questions would germinate and others would ensue; that if the petition was not tried, the reflection would lay very strong against this House, and if it was brought to a fair trial, and nothing was made out, it could only affect the characters of those noble Lords who had signed it; made a supposition, as a parallel case to this question, that an information was brought that gun-powder was under the House of Lords; would it not be very absurd that a question was proposed, and an order made that you should first enquire who placed it there, and afterwards order it to be taken it (*sic*) away? Says he, would not self-preservation

naturally direct you immediately to order it to be removed, and afterwards search out and punish the villains? Said what was alleged in this petition was a sort of metaphorical gun-powder, and more fatal in its consequences than real gun-powder could be, as the one could only blow up the present set of Lords, the other struck at the very foundations of your Constitution, and of course latest posterity would suffer by the blast; that had the accused persons been named in the petition it would have been thought extremely wrong, as they would have laid under the imputation of guilt for many weeks before they could have had an opportunity given them for their justification; and concluded with saying that he was very sorry the Scotch Lords sat here upon no better tenure, for he thought nothing more fatal to a society than where different and distinct interests were among the members.

Lord Scarbro' spoke next, and extremely well; he said he looked on this petition as an accusation against some persons, that evil practices could not be committed without evil practicers; that in all impeachments the person accused had his crimes publicly alleged, and a considerable time given to make his defence; that the method it was proposed by the other party to proceed in, an accusation might come out against several persons who, by not being previously warned of it, might not be able immediately to make a proper defence for themselves; that perhaps five or six weeks after his character had suffered in the opinion of mankind, he might get evidence to invalidate that of his accusers; that the suspicions cast on his honour may be, and will be, known to all, his justification, coming at so great a distance, perhaps only to a few. Supposing, says he, this unfortunate person should happen to die in the interval of time he is preparing for his defence, his memory would be branded to posterity, and what must be the pangs of an innocent man in his last moments in such a situation? That it could be no hardship to the six protesting Lords, who had been long preparing this petition, to answer these questions, for as they were all men of sense, it could not be supposed they were at this time ignorant who they intended to accuse, nor what evil practices they intended to proceed on.

It was alleged on the other side that an impeachment was no parallel case, as there was always many secret meetings, and many witnesses examined, before an impeached person knew he was the object levelled at; that it must appear very odd to the impartial part of mankind to clog this enquiry with impracticable questions, because a very great person was supposed to be aimed at, and if the world had suspicions of any particular man, this method of proceeding would especially confirm them in those suspicions; that the corrupt method of managing a Scotch Election of the 16 Peers required the severest animadversion of this House; said a *congé d'élire* for a Bishop gave him a seat among the Lords for life, but a *congé d'élire* in this case gave the elected only a septennial seat, and the persons liable to be changed at the breath of the Minister; for though it was always the privilege of all our Kings to make Lords, since the Union they had a (*sic*) gained a new and a very great prerogative, which was the power to unmake them at the end of every seven years; said if this petition was quashed 'twould be the last would ever appear from Scotland before this House; the Lords who signed it being of great distinction, fortunes, and qualifications, and who would attempt any point wherein they had miscarried; all of them pointed their discourses to Lord Islay, who made a very short and angry speech at something Lord Chesterfield said about the Scotch Peers being elective, and declared the reason of his not having hitherto spoke in this affair was his great illness, and that nothing could have made him now rise, but being as he thought called to it.

The Lord Chancellor spoke also, very well, and said he was for this question, as he thought it the ready way to have the petition heard, and the greater the accused person should be, if he was found guilty, he thought his high station would be an aggravation of his crimes.

Lord Hardwick said he could look on this affair in no other light than as a cause; that the protesting Lords were the plaintiffs, and before any further steps could be taken he thought it absolutely necessary to know who were the defendants.

It was also alleged by other Court Lords that in all civilized nations in the world the accused had sufficient notice to make his defence at the very same time the accusation against him was endeavoured to be made good, and that as the six Lords (who were the accusers) have had several months to make good their charge, they thought it high time the accused should be preparing their witnesses to clear themselves of the guilt alleged against them; that Westminster Hall was the bulwark of our Liberties, and what was done in similar cases there ought to be the standard for conducting this affair; that there was but one Court in the universe where the party accused neither knew his crimes or accusers, viz., the Inquisition, but that it has always been condemned as a cruel institution and contrary to the tenets of Christianity.

These, as far as I can recollect, are the chief arguments made use of on both sides, and upon the Division the numbers were 48 to 90.

Lord[s] Winchelsea and Carteret have divided both days with the minority, but have not spoke. I formerly mentioned what has been said upon this unusual silence.

The new Lords who have spoke today, which did not in the former debate, are the Bishop of Salisbury, Lord Harvy, and Lord Gower.

The protesting Lords were as usual in the Prince's Chamber.

Neither the Prince, nor the Lords I mentioned in my former, were in this Division, though present during the whole debate.

P.S. I have enclosed to your Lordship the last poem of Mr. Pope's.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1734[–5], Feb. 26, Albemarle Street.—As I have given your Lordship at large the progressive steps which have been taken relative to the Scotch Petition, since its first introduction to the House of Lords, I think it my duty to continue the account of it.

[The] Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that this morning the Duke of Queensboro' and Lord Marchmount brought him an answer to the last order of the House, which was in purport, that as they never intended to be either accusers or witnesses, they did not know who would come out to be the persons accused in the prosecution of this affair; that as to the facts the House desired to know, they were, among many others, a regiment being drawn out in Edinburgh the day of Election, a list of 16 Lords being handed about, and which was called the Court list, from which no deviation was to be made, promises of places, pensions, and money given to obtain votes for that list, and other circumstances to the same purpose. As there was an adjourned cause before the House, the consideration of this answer was put off till tomorrow, which will also be a very busy day in the House of Commons, the Danish Treaty being to be then debated.

Little news is stirring here but what your Lordship will see in the public prints.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1735,] Feb. 27.—I have not anything material to acquaint you with, the answer from the petitioning Lords not being given in today as was appointed, but put off till tomorrow, and this day I am told they will not name persons, but facts; which I own I am glad to hear, for that in all likelihood will let it fall without any violent resolutions. I believe the Ministry is very easy about it. Lord Walgrave is gone back to Paris, and Lord Essex expects going next week to Turin. Ned Thompson is much concerned for the loss of his daughter; he went out of town upon it, and I have not seen him since.

The spirit of our Yorkshire Petition I think is much flagged here, and I believe no other payment will be called for; Sir Will. Lowther seems by his conversation to see it in a different light here from what he did in the country; and these two Petitions that have been tried makes him think the County can never be gone through.

Tomorrow the Danish Treaty is expected in the House of Commons, and in all likelihood will be a long debate. . . . .

Sir R. Walpole to Lord Carlisle.

[1735 ?] May 30, 6 in the morning, Newmarket.—The messenger from the North overtook me here this morning, and in this hurry your Lordship will give me leave to trouble you with a few words, upon a subject, which it is not very easy for a man in my station to write upon. I can say to your Lordship, what I cannot write more fully, that your adversaries are under great apprehensions of the consequences of this Scrutiny and Petition, and have confessed to their principals the danger they are in of infinite abuses being detected. This I know, but in a way, that must not be made any use of, and is to your Lordship only. You shall command my best services, if you determine to bring it upon the stage above, and if the Return is against you, you will have time to see what ground you have to stand upon. It will be intolerable if the greatness and extent of the injustice makes it void of all redress, but what will be practicable must be considered, as well as of what infinite service it will be to lay open such a scene of iniquity.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: A letter from Sir Robert Walpole concerning the scrutiny for the County of York.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1735, Nov. 4, Albemarle Street.—Yesterday's news is too important to omit giving your Lordship the account of it by the first post. A cessation of arms being proclaimed at Versailles and Vienna, the preliminaries for a peace are signed at both Courts, 'tis said not without our knowledge; but this affair has been chiefly transacted by a French Minister at Vienna. A Congress is to be immediately held, the chief use of which is that the Maritime Powers may acknowledge Don Carlos K[ing] of the two Sicilyes. The terms for peace are reported to be as follows: Stanislaus to be K[ing] of Lorrain, and that country after his death to revert and be annexed to France; the D[uke] of Lorrain to marry the eldest Arch Dutch[ess], to be declared King of the Romans, and have the eventual succession of Tuscany; the Emperor to keep Mantua and have the greatest part of the Milanese restored to him, and to be assisted by France to recover Bosnia out of the hands of the Turks; the K[ing] of Sardignia to have a little town or two of the

Milanese annexed to his hereditary territories; so that your Lordship will see he has been made the dupe on this occasion, which every mortal is glad of, he being in some measure the occasion of the present war. This scheme they say originally was of Card. Alberoni's.

At the King's Birthday on Thursday last [there] was very little finery, and at night scarce men enough to make a ball, the D. of D. and his whole set having so plentifully solemnised the day, as that not one of them was able to attend at night. At the D. of G. many were in the same situation, and at the D. of R. out of 18 people only four went thither. I was among the unfortunate 14, and though engaged to dance with a fine lady was obliged to stay, against my inclinations, at home, for excepting the victory obtained over me by the Morpeth championess, I was never so demolished in my life. At the D. of N. were 200 dishes of meat, and everything in the utmost splendour, but very little drinking. The Town is extremely empty, and will be much more so the next week, many sets of company going soon out of it.

Lady Lechmere I think much better in every particular, and desires her duty. I should sooner have paid mine to your Lordship this way, had I picked up any materials I could imagine would any way have been conducive to your entertainment at Castle Howard. I beg my compliments to the Col. and the Ladies.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1735, Dec. 6, Albemarle Street.—I am indebted to your Lordship for your letter of congratulation, and the kind advice therein given. As I have always esteemed your Lordship's notice in regard to our affairs, to proceed from your humane and generous disposition to all your family, so your last mark of goodness on this head, I take as a fresh one of your concern as to what regards our welfare.

Last Tuesday was the first time I had seen Sir Robert since I was in possession of my employment; he talked to me in a very friendly manner relative to my behaviour at the Board,* saying, as he was an old stager, he hoped I would not take it ill, in giving me such and such advice, and that he did not doubt by diligence and application I should soon make myself master of the business, and act in such a manner in that office, that in process of time I should find a sure advancement to a better. This generous and friendly way of treating a young beginner makes as deep an impression of gratitude in me as the first obligation I lay under to him of giving me the employment, and I have already seen enough of it, to be convinced there's no 1,000*l.* a year in the King's gift, so dearly earned. We meet every day of the year (Sundays and holidays excepted) at nine in the morn, and have full employment at the Board till twelve, so that I am always obliged to go from home at eight, our office being very near as far as the Royal Exchange, and never return before two. To a person of a lazy disposition, or to one who has an aversion to business, this would not be a very agreeable life; as I believe no one will accuse me of the one, nor do I find myself in the least averse to the other, that I believe I shall be able to do the duty, with as much ease to myself, as any of my brother Commissioners; but as we are 9 of us, and 5 making a Board, we contrive matters so that during the summer season, when our business is less, we have each of us a few weeks to make little excursions into the country.

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* Sir Thomas was appointed one of the Commissioners of Excise in November 1735, and held the office till 1742. (Haydn.)

My scheme however of bringing my family into the North the next summer I have now entirely laid aside, but I propose some part of it to make a trip down myself for a very short time.

Your Lordship will see by the prints how prodigiously the public Funds are risen, and by all accounts, with great reason, the state of foreign affairs being in as prosperous a way as can possibly be wished; for France and Spain in all appearance will come to an open quarrel, and a difference between those two nations must always turn out to our advantage.

Perhaps your Lordship has not heard that at the time France closed with the Emp[ero]r, Spain was at the same time treating separately with him; so it appears each side was endeavouring to leave the other in the lurch. Spain's proposals to the Emp[ero]r were, to marry the eldest Archduchess to Don Carlos, and as a motive to the match the Q[uee]n of Spain told him, that by this means, in all human probability, the kingdom of Spain would be united to the Empire and all Italy, and, of course, the House of Austria be once more as powerful as 'twas under Charles the 5th; and this scheme was all written by the Queen herself, which the Emp[ero]r shewed to the French Minister at Vienna, which made the Treaty be so expeditiously closed up, and so much to the advantage of the Emperor.

When I was at Wentworth very little was said of our Yorkshire Petition; I thought, by what I could find there, as well as here, the spirit for it daily subsides, but in my present situation, I am acting out of my department when I meddle with Elections, and if this Petition goes on, all I have to do is to pay my 25*l*.

Lord Malton, from your hint and advice, is making one of the finest terraces in England, for 'twill be 1,500 feet long, that next the wall 50 feet wide, and the lower one to that (which has a fall of 2 feet) 40 feet wide; at one end it terminates in a fine rotunda of the Ionic order, and at the other a bastion. This terrace is the fence to that side of the garden towards the great woods and piece of water, and fine views from it. They always call it your Lordship's design, and he can't too much esteem the person who set him to work on it, for 'tis certainly the best understood, the most to the purpose, and the finest thing he ever undertook.

When the D[uche]ss of Buckingham heard of her son's death at Paris, she sent an express to England to secure all the best council (*sic*); from what foundation her fears proceed, I have not yet heard. I hope this Lord's death will facilitate any intention your Lordship may have, as to the purchase of the woods or the estate at Slingsby. It is said by the Duke's decease the Duchess has convinced the world she is an honest woman, it having been always foretold by the learned, no true child of the Duke's could ever live to manhood.

LADY A. IRWIN to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1735?] Dec. 14, London.—I delivered your message to the Prince, who desired me to return your Lordship his compliments, and to tell you he hoped, since your health would not permit you to come and see him, he should one day be able to make you a visit at Castle Howard. He has a great inclination to make a progress, but I believe that will never be allowed till he is King, his popularity having already given offence; so nothing will be suffered to increase that. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle.

1735[-6], Jan. 3, Albemarle Street.—We are still ignorant of the preliminaries, but according to what is in print, and taken for granted to be true, 'tis thought the Emperor will be rather in a better situation than he was before the War began, his present dominions in Italy, according to the received notion of the preliminaries, laying (*sic*) more contiguous and convenient than when he had Naples and Sicily, exclusive of those countries which are now to be given to him in exchange for them. This is reckoned one of the luckiest events which ever happened—the jealousies which has (*sic*) subsisted for some time among the Allies, and which alone, with the resolute behaviour of our King, has prevented a general war in Europe.

On New Year's day Lord Irwin and Sir W[illia]m Milner waited on Sir R[obert] W[alpole] with a letter from Lord Malton, to have a final resolution, whether to proceed or not, in the Yorkshire Petition. I was also at the Levee, but had not an opportunity to speak with either of them afterwards to know Sir Robert's answer. Lord Irwin looks as if he could not possibly hold it out much longer; he is so much changed for the worse that few people knew (*sic*) him. . . . .

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1736,] Feb. 5.—The King has been much out of order, and continues still ill, I believe not in danger, but so much indisposed that he has kept his bed almost constantly for this last week. Yesterday he was up about four hours. His complaint is a fever with the piles to a high degree. The Queen has not appeared in public since the King's illness, and attends him in the most careful and affectionate manner.

On Thursday my Lord Faconbridge took the oaths in the House of Lords, and his place; it was a great surprise to everybody, there not being the least suspicion of his intention even amongst his most intimate friends. I suppose this is the first step to his turning Protestant, since I hear the oath taken at the bar of the House renounces the Pope's supremacy, which no Roman Catholic certainly can swallow. Your Lordship will rejoice at this acquisition to the Protestant cause, my Lord Faconbridge being a man of good interest and fortune, and I believe the most considerable, next the Duke of Norfolk, of any amongst the Roman Catholics. . . .

Col. Sir Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1736,] Feb. 7.—I had the favour of your Lordship's, and delivered the enclosed to Lord Duplin, who yesterday took his seat in the House, and soon after Sir Charles Hotham delivered a Petition from Scarborough complaining of the return, and moved for its being heard by the Committee of Elections the third of March. Lord Duplin spoke twice, objected to the day, said the witnesses were old and the roads very bad, and moved for the tenth; he entered a little into the merits of the return, and acquainted the House he could prove by living witnesses the Freemen's poliing at Scarborough [&c.] . . .

There are two cooks from Paris, one for the Duke of Newcastle, and the other for Sir Harry Liddel, at a hundred guineas a year each. I have not tasted any of their cookery. Sir Harry asked me twice, but I happened to be engaged; he lives as I am told at a great expense. This winter Mr. Pelham, who brought them both from Paris, told me the

wages were not so extravagant as was the general opinion, for that several gave it in Paris; so your Lordship may judge the trade of cookery is as much encouraged now as it has been in most ages.

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1736, Feb. 17, London.—The King has not yet appeared in public, but 'tis said he is so much better that it is not likely he will be much longer confined. After the fatigue he suffered, a much younger man than himself would probably have felt the effects of it. Your Lordship will I believe rejoice in our new convert, my Lord Faucolnbridge; the Roman Catholics, 'tis natural to suppose, are discontented at a man of his fortune and consequence leaving them, and throw on him as much reproach as they can. Where interest bends so strongly on the side he has taken, he only can answer to his mind, what were the motives that prevailed with him to make the change. I hope they were such solid ones as will be a lasting enjoyment to him. . . .

[Lord Carlisle] to Col. the Hon. Charles Howard.

[1736,] Feb. 20, Castle Howard.—Dear Colonel,—I have received yours, wherein you acquaint me that there has been a meeting of the Yorkshire Gentlemen, at which a new subscription was set a foot (&c. This letter refers to the expenses of the Election Petition).

Copy, not signed.

The Earl of Carlisle to [ ].

[1736,] Feb. 22, Castle Howard.—Sir,---I have this day received yours of the 17th giving me an account, that yours, and Sir Miles Stapleton's lists have been given in. You say Sir Miles's is very defective, and I suppose not pursuant to the orders of the House; if so, should not a complaint thereof have been made to the House? But to be sure you gentlemen upon the spot were the best judges, what was fit to be done. You also acquaint me with a meeting of the gentlemen in the Whig interest, and that a new subscription is set a foot. I wish that meeting had been in the country, according to your first resolution, and more general, before a few gentlemen unknown to the rest, without their approbation and concurrence, had taken upon them the conduct and direction of this affair. In that case, if these gentlemen have proceeded upon a good foundation, as I hope they have, I don't in the least doubt but you would have had the general concurrence of all the gentlemen concerned; there had then been no room left for objections, and you would have been safe; you would have known at least upon what foot you had stood.

I will deal plainly with you. I did expect to have had some notice given me, some reasons offered for this change of measures; your first resolution being (as you told me at London, and which I thought was right) to appoint a general meeting of the gentlemen, as soon as you came into the country. I am quite in the dark as to your present proceedings. I hope you are upon a good bottom, and that you have good reasons for what you have done, but I don't know them, and I suppose it was not thought necessary or proper to acquaint me with them. I have therefore subscribed to the second subscription with restrictions, for the reasons I have there, and here, given. If the Peti-

tion is attended with success, which I think depends upon its having been duly considered, and prudently managed, my subscription will come in aid of it ; if it falls out otherwise, those who advised this method of proceeding without taking the approbation and concurrence of the rest of the gentlemen concerned, and without giving them an opportunity of considering the present state of the Petition, which perhaps in several respects has varied from the situation it was in last year, will be looked upon as answerable for the miscarriage. If it had been carried on by a joint concurrence no one particular person could have been found fault with; in this alone lies the difference, therefore I am a little surprised that this easy and natural method was not pursued. By the last post I sent Col. Howard my subscription to deliver to you.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1736,] Feb. 26.—. . . . We have had two days about the Yorkshire Petition ; Tuesday a debate till ten at night, whether the poll-books should be admitted as evidence ; the Division for allowing them, two hundred and one ; against it, one hundred and sixty-four. The question today was whether we should admit parole evidence to the disqualifying a freeholder that had swore (*sic*) to his freehold. The debate lasted for six hours ; upon the Division, for the admitting parole evidence, two hundred and six ; against it, one hundred and fifty-two. I am really so tired with being every day this week kept so long in the House, and am going to get some victuals, that your Lordship will excuse further particulars till another opportunity.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1736,] Feb. 28.—(A long account of protracted debates in the House of Commons on the County Election Petition.) . . . Lord Delawar is to go in a few days with a message to the Princess of Sax Gotha. Sir Robert yesterday in the Committee of Supply said the current service of the year would come to two millions three hundred thousand pounds. His proposal for raising it was : the Malt at seven hundred thousand ; the Land Tax, at two shillings, a million ; and six hundred thousand out of the Sinking Fund. Sir John Barnard moved, that instead of taking the six hundred thousand pounds out of the Sinking Fund, to take the whole surplus, and apply that million to the payment of the four [per cent.] Annuities ; and then borrow the six hundred thousand pounds at three per cent., and mortgage the interest of the Sinking Fund for the payment of it ; which the Committee consented to, and which is a leading card to the lowering interest to three per cent. I send your Lordship the Chancellor's letter, which I received last post.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1736,] March 1.—I gave your Lordship a short account of what passed in the House of Commons ; last Friday Lord Carteret made the same motion in the House of Peers, and was seconded by Lord Gower. The debate I am told was better than what we had in our House ; the Chancellor and Lord Scarborough's speeches I have heard much commended, and Lord Chesterfield spoke very finely in support of the Motion. The Division was pretty extraordinary : seventy-nine against

the Address, twenty-eight for it; proxies against it, twenty-four; for it, twelve. Lord Oxford, Lord Strafford, and Lord Northampton voted with the majority; Lord Foley, Lord Windsor, Lord Shaftesbury, and Lord Darnley went behind the Throne, and did not divide. None of that nicety was shewed in the House of Commons; Mr. Shippen and all the Tories went very cordially into our question.

I hear the Princess's jointure will occasion another debate; that the King proposes thirty thousand, and that those gentlemen who were zealous for the Address will not be satisfied with less than fifty, which was the settlement on the present Queen when she was Princess. Lord Faulconbridge divided with the majority; Lord Westmorland with the minority, and spoke for the Address strongly.

I am glad to hear your Lordship has been at York; I hope you have been entertained. Mr. Bright has applied to you I suppose for a couple of hounds, for he sent me word he designs running fox, and proposed asking you to assist him; he certainly has a just claim on you, for we have had a great many hounds from Badsworth, and good ones. If your Lordship gives him two, I think you should order him a couple that are not bad ones, and to be returned when he leaves off fox-hunting.

I can give your Lordship no better account of my leg; I have a great coldness in my foot, which gives me great uneasiness.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1736,] March 9.—(Proceedings in the [Yorkshire] Election Petition.*) . . . The Committee came to two strong resolutions yesterday, of twenty shillings per gallon duty to be laid upon all spirituous Liquors after the 26th of June, and fifty pound licence yearly for anybody that vends them. Everybody is fully apprised of the pernicious consequences of Ginn, and equally zealous to prohibit it. At the same time two hundred and ninety-two thousand pounds per year, which these Liquors brings in, is a consideration that I wish don't meet with some difficulty in what shape to make it good to the revenue, and if anything can make it miscarry, that will; but I hope ways will be found out to accommodate it, so as to suppress an evil which every day cries more and more for a remedy.

The attendance here is much worse than any Sessions I remember. Tuesdays and Thursday[s], which are our County days, they sit till eight at night; which is now understood by both sides. This makes a good deal of business in the House of other days, [so] that we are seldom up till six or seven a clock.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1736,] March 20.—(Particulars of the examination of the Yorkshire Election Petition, and Mr. Osbaldston's Petition.) . . . There is a Bill in the House of Commons in favour of the Quakers in relation to their tithes. I believe there is nothing contained in it that can give any offence to any reasonable person. I shall be sure to give it my attendance, as knowing your Lordship will wish it success; and as far as I am capable of judging, it will pass both Houses into a Law.

My sister Irwin is just come to town. I am confined by being on duty, so can't see her till tomorrow.

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* Some other letters on this subject have not been noticed here.

THE EARL of CARLISLE to [SIR ROBERT WALPOLE].

1735[-6], March 22, Castle Howard.—A long letter on "the Bill for suppressing spirituous liquors," or the proposed "Act for suppressing the gin-shops," and on gaming licences.

Copy.

LADY A. IRWIN to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1736,] March 23, London.—I was today at Court, and having desired an audience I thought I should have been able to have told your Lordship something certain in relation to myself, but the Queen had business, and could not see me in private; she has appointed me to attend her on Wednesday. Both she and the King received me very graciously, and made many enquiries after your Lordship; the King talked to me a good deal about the mausoleum [at Castle Howard], the fame of which I find has reached this place. I believe it is pretty certain I shall be appointed to attend the Princess. . . . .

The wedding 'tis said will be in five or six weeks, quite private, which I rejoice at; some say at Greenwich, others, the night the Princess gets to London, in the King's closet, and nobody to be present. Report does not so much as flatter her with beauty; she is said to be low, fat, and marked with the smallpox, not above 17, too young to have any character but a good disposition, which has been carefully preserved by a strict retirement, her mother, with whom she lived, having secluded herself from the world for some years, being a widow. She neither speaks French nor English, but what she has learnt since this match was in treaty, and therefore she will I suppose for some months remain in a state of being dumb; but women, your Lordship knows, will always find a tongue in one language or other. . . . .

COL. THE HON. SIR CHARLES HOWARD to LORD CARLISLE.

[1736 ?] March 24.—I went to Mr. Vernon this morning, who is a Commissioner of Excise, but did not meet with him at home. . . . I spoke likewise to Mr. Woodcock in favour of Mr. Goodman. . . . Mr. Woodcock, who is the most active and has the most power at the Board, told me that though they used to have the appointing their own officers, yet upon the renewing the Commission the Treasury would nominate them all, so that I must apply to Sir Robert Walpoole. If I was zealous of Mr. Goodman's success, I could not very well do that, having divided against the renewal of the Duty; so that I was very sure no favour would be shewn to any recommendation of mine in that Commission; but Sir Thomas Robinson has taken his name, and says he will give it to Sir Robert, as recommended by your Lordship, and [by] that channel I suppose he will meet with success. . . .

COL. THE HON. CHARLES HOWARD to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1736,] April 1.—As to the Quakers Bill, it's appointed to be heard next Monday by council of both sides. I have had some conversation with my brother [Lord Morpeth] since I had your letter, and he was from the first of the opinion that it was reasonable and right to prevent their being harassed in the spiritual court, and at the same time to secure the payment of tithes. I think, with submission to the Clergy, they take a greater share in the question, and are much more alarumed, than there is any necessity. Is there not a great property of tithe in lay hands as

well as theirs ? and must not this law, if it takes place, equally affect them ? and yet I hear of no apprehensions from any quarter but the body of the Clergy. I am thoroughly persuaded, if it does pass, no man will be put to any difficulty to recover tithe. The Quaker indeed will be freed from the Bishop's court. I shall take an opportunity of speaking to the Baron [Hylton],* though I fear he won't much relish it. If the Court does not oppose it, which nothing will incline them to do but this great alarum the Bench has raised—if they do not, I find by most people I converse with, it will pass. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle.

1736, April 2, Albemarle Street.—I have the honour of your Lordship's letter, wherein you ask several questions about our Yorkshire Petition, which I will answer in the best manner I am able.

I am told few or none of the Lords in town have subscribed, but that 'tis expected they will.

Our managers within doors are Sir William Young, Mr. Winninton, but chiefly Ned Thompson, &c. ; without doors, one Buck, a young attorney at Rotheram, and Wilson, another in the same profession at Pomfret.

As to my opinion how 'tis likely to end, not being in any secrets, I can only judge from reason and the outward appearance of things, and if a judgment is to be formed from those foundations, there appears an impossibility of going through one tenth of the work, before the usual time of the rising of the Parliament ; and surely the proceedings of our generals surpasses (*sic*) all human understanding, for some of them, and many of the ladies, to this hour, see no difficulties, but by a strange sort of infatuation imagine everything proceeds as could be wished, while the unprejudiced part of mankind think us all mad, nor can guess at our schemes, for some 'tis thought we have, but what they are, the wisest men in the nation can't divine. Lord Scarboro' asked me the other day, if Lord M. had no one friend left in life to open his eyes ; that he had made a calculation, by which, supposing the House of Commons sat the whole summer, our Petition might probably be brought to a conclusion by next Candlemas ; and go where you will, jokes are pretty plenty from all quarters and parties ; but within these few days an English word has been made use of which any person would be called a Tory or Jacobite for letting fall 2 months ago, viz., a retreat, and I believe some people's thoughts are now employed, how to make a proper one on this occasion.

Our calculation, at the general meeting in town, was to get all over in 2 months ; 6 weeks are now over and we have only spoke to a third of the enemies we have objected to, after which they are to make these votes good, then to attack above 2,200 of ours, and afterwards our reply to them, and experience shows us about 130 votes a week is as many as can be gone through with, provided there be no rubs or sporting questions interfering. However, my Lord, the tediousness and impractibility of our Petition shows how deficient laws are as to County Elections, and that whoever can get a return of a sheriff, may make justice above so expensive and difficult, that no private person can venture on the undertaking ; [so] that whatever be the fate of this Petition, it is to be hoped it will be attended with some general resolutions and

* His colleague at Carlisle.

regulations, so as hereafter to make it feasible to obtain justice before the House of Commons in County Petitions, as well as in others, and not to leave it solely in the breast of the sheriffs, who in former times have been the low creatures, and are always the officers nominated by the Crown.

As I said in a former letter my real fears on this occasion, I will not repeat them now. My patron [Walpole] has been a good deal out of order with the gout, but is so well recovered as to hunt last Saturday in Richmond Park.

It seems now to be a question among some of our heroines who shall have the reproach of pushing this Petition, and each are (*sic*) endeavouring to saddle their neighbour with the burthen.

Money begins already to grow scarce; I have not yet paid my second subscription of 50*l.*, but have it ready for the call, and few of the gentlemen in the country have subscribed again.

P.S. Mr. Osbertson has had three nights at the Committee, and has shown a very good cause, yet there are not those wanting to espouse his antagonist. Surely those who vote for my Lord Duplin could not accuse us of acting in an arbitrary manner to put the short question on Sir Miles [Stapylton]. Were I in the House, I think I could justify to reason and my conscience the voting for the last question, preferable to the other.

Lady E. Lechmere to Lord Carlisle.

1736, April 3.—'Tis said the Princess of Wales will be here in a month. I believe London on this occasion will show more finery than it has ever before done; all persons who have anything in their purses will open them, and those who have not, will run in debt, to express their satisfaction, [so] that it will be a general scene of gold, silver, and fine equipages.

Lord Morpeth to [his father the Earl of Carlisle].

[1736,] April 3.—I am very glad to hear by my sister Irwin that she left you so well. My brother told me you desired to know my thoughts in relation to the Quakers Bill. As to my own particular, I have always declared that I thought it might be made a good Bill, and I think it is of advantage to the Parsons as well as to the Quakers that they should be restrained from vexatious prosecution for small sums, which puts themselves as well as the Quakers to great expense. But I do not see that the Clergy are only concerned in this, for all those who have the great tithes (and I believe you have a considerable share in Cumberland) are just in the same situation with the Parsons. I am told that though the Court had promised and engaged to the Quakers that this Bill should pass, yet since the Bishops have sounded the trumpet so loudly all over the kingdom, they have changed their resolution, and the Bill is not to pass. Whether this is true or no, next week will show. I send you a paper that is writ by the Bishop of Salisbury, and is reckoned the best for the Clergy. The spring is very backward.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1736,] April 6.—I must acquaint you that I have the honour to be appointed Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales; as yet no

other person is appointed, so by being first declared, I am the first Lady to the Princess; 'tis an honour, but no profit, but some privileges in appointing the waiting, which is of great consequence to me, as it will give me a longer recess in the country. I have not kissed hands yet, nor shan't I believe till the rest are appointed; but the Queen sent me a message yesterday by Mr. Walpole, who with great kindness promised me (provided I made proper use of it) that he would give me all the instructions he could, that I might conduct myself so as to give satisfaction in my new office; which will be a particular advantage to me, since he is frequently with the Queen, and I believe means me well.

He told me, not as a message from the Queen, but he believed certainly it would happen, that I should be appointed to go to Holland to receive the Princess; so I shall have two sea voyages in less than a fortnight; thank God I'm well, but it will be a great fatigue to pass and repass the sea in so short a time. I fancy the yachts will sail in about a week.

The articles of marriage are come from Gotha, signed, and a messenger goes tomorrow to hasten the Princess's journey; 'tis thought she will set out the 14th or 15th, and may possibly be here the end of the month. She is to be married the night she arrives. I think after a sea voyage, neither she nor her attendants will be fit for the ceremonies they are to undergo.

I'm under a good deal of apprehension of not behaving right, since I shall be the first person in waiting, and the ceremonial to remain with me (*sic*); but the Queen I believe will give me her instructions in every particular, which by observing strictly will secure me from erring.

The Earl of Carlisle to the Prince of Wales.

[1736, April.]—The writer speaks of his age and infirmities, and asks to be excused from attending at the Prince's marriage. He recommends Lady Irwin, who is to be placed in the family of the Princess [Augusta].

Draft, in the Earl's hand. Endorsed by a later hand: Some hints for a letter (&c.).

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1736,] April 10.—(Proceedings on the Yorkshire Election Petition.) . . . Yesterday we sat till nine a clock at night in filling up the blanks of the Bill to prohibit Geneva. The replacing the Duty that arises from these spirituous Liquors to the King, occasioned a debate of three or four hours. Everybody professed themselves great friends to the Bill, but many disliked the method proposed of securing the Duty to the King.

As these duties ceased when this Bill took place, the gentlemen in the Administration proposed taking the account of the last eight years back of the produce of these duties, and so giving the King, upon an average of the whole eight years, his surplus out of the aggregate fund; that is, the eighth part yearly payable from that fund, which he loses by these Liquors ceasing.

The gentlemen that disapproved of this proposal, their arguments were—you take this Duty from a time that these Liquors have been increasing to the abuse they have now come to, and of course necessary to stop; if you would do justice to the public, you should go back to the year twenty.

They were told, in answer to that, these duties were given to the King upon his coming to the throne; you take it back as far as that time; and it would be great injustice not to replace an equivalent security to him for what he had given his consent you should take off. The Division: for the eight years, two hundred and one; against it, one hundred and eight. . . .

Col. Sir Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1736,] April 15.—(Scarborough and Yorkshire Election Petitions.) . . . I spoke to Baron Hylton in relation to the Quakers, but I fear he will be for continuing the spiritual courts; it's appointed for tomorrow, but won't come on till next Wednesday.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1736,] April 15.—I was today a little while with the Queen in private, which gave me an opportunity of delivering your Lordship's letter. . . . She bid me to tell your Lordship, instead of your thanking her, the thanks was due of her side to you for sending me to Court. . . . Others that pretend to this honour are every day at Court, many labouring in vain, and none but my Lady Torrington and me sure of success. Tomorrow I believe the whole thing will be decided. I'm told we are to kiss the King's hand. I hear nothing of myself or any other persons going to Holland; therefore I fancy no lady will be sent. . . .

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1736, April,] Tuesday morning, 10 a clock.—I am in a good deal of hurry, being to go aboard the yacht at twelve, but I can't go upon such an expedition without acquainting my dear father. I did not receive my orders till Sunday night at ten, which was very short warning, being to sail today at noon, but the King loves to have everything done in a hurry. The Ladies appointed to the Princess of Wales are my Lady Effingham, my Lady Tor[r]ington, and myself; another, they say, will be appointed soon. My Lady Effingham, as a Countess, is the first Lady, which my friends told me was a hardship upon me, and what I ought to contest for, but I have no notion of making a demand for favours; but last night, being alone with the Queen above half an hour, I asked her, in a respectful manner, if I was not to be the first, since I had received the honour of her message some time ago, had kissed her hand first, and was to go upon this expedition. She told me, with great goodness, no; that my Lady Effingham, as a Countess, must have the preference in rank, but that was all; that it would be no detriment to me in any future expectation either as Groom of the Stole or Mistress of the Robes, which were always chose by inclination or interest, and not by eldership. She added that she wholly depended upon me in regard to the informing the Princess of the conduct that was proper she should observe; that whatever she had a mind she should know should always be communicated by me; that as for the other two ladies, they had no share of her confidence or opinion. Above all she desired me in the strongest terms to recommend to the Princess to avoid jealousy, and to be easy in regard to amours, which she said had been her conduct, and had consequently procured her the happy state she had enjoyed for so many years. Upon this she embraced me

in a very affectionate manner, and wished me a good voyage. I repeat to your Lordship verbatim what the Queen said, not out of vanity, but believing you will be glad to know everything that relates to myself, since I am persuaded my interest is dear to you.

Mr. Walpole has been here almost every day this last week; he tells me I am engaged in a ticklish post, but that I come in with so much advantage over my sisters, that he does not doubt of my succeeding very well. He, my Lord North, and Mrs. Clavering, the Princess's bedchamber-woman, go aboard the yacht with me.

I am, thank God, very well, the wind fair, the accommodation good and I'm under no sort of apprehensions of the voyage. I hope in a little time to write to your Lordship from London.

[P.S.] I beg my service to my sister. Dr. Shaw has a little box for her and another for Mrs. Draper. I beg your Lordship to excuse the mistakes and writing of this.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1736,] April 22.—Yesterday we were in a Committee on the Quakers Bill; the only dispute was about the clause relating to the ecclesiastical courts, which occasioned a debate and a Division. The question was for leaving the Chair; the numbers for it, eighty-eight; against it, one hundred and ninety-four. They went through the Bill without any other Division, and ordered it to be reported next Wednesday, which will be the first day of our meeting after the holidays.

My brother Morpeth was strong for the Bill. Baron Hylton did not attend, which I believe was in complaisance to your Lordship. There were some words that past between Mr. Shippen and Sir Will. Wyndham in the debate that occasioned a little surprise. His opposition has not been so strong this Sessions as formerly, which has made various reports that he was coming upon terms, and yesterday it seemed to have some little appearance of it; but as I am out of all secrets and know no facts, I write it to your Lordship only as a speculation, though possibly there may be no grounds for it. . . . (Proceedings upon Election Petitions.)

Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle.

1736, April 24, Albemarle Street.—I have the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 5th inst., wherein you desire to know whether Lord Malton is for or against the Quakers Bill; in answer to which, I am credibly informed he is very strongly for the Church in every shape, and as an instance of it, he last Tuesday delivered a petition from the Propagators of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, against the Mortmain Bill; the Bishop of London had before delivered one from those concerned in the Queen's Bounty for augmenting poor Livings, and the Bishop of Salisbury another from the sons and widows of Clergymen; and each petition concluded with desiring to be heard by counsel, which occasioned a long debate, the Lords who were against it desiring they might be laid on the table; and as several remarkable expressions fell in the debate, and being accidentally present at it, I shall take the liberty to recount some of them to your Lordship.

The Bishop of London, in opening, said those concerned in his petition wanted to be informed as to the Law, &c., which gave a handle to the Duke of Argile to say that as his Lordship was at the head of those concerned in that petition, and was author of that memorable work

called Codex, he was surprised they should pretend to be ignorant of the Law, having so able an instructor, and whose other works in politics and divinity were also by this time near 2 v[olume]s in folio more; and in answer to that of the Bishop of Salisbury said, it put him in mind of what was done in parallel cases in his own trade, viz., two men out of each troop and company in the whole Army were reduced to make way for the provision of officers' widows, without putting the nation to an extraordinary expense for that head, and he recommended it to the Rev[eren]d Bench, and he did not see why two parsons of good livings might not be reduced out of every county in England, to answer that purpose in the Church.

Lord Hardwick said he thought there was already a just proportion of the property of the nation for the maintenance of the Clergy, but thought 'twas unequally and partially distributed; and if pluralities were taken away, and other regulations made, which he hoped to see done, it would create preferments for those who were now the real objects of distress.

Lord Harvey made several very judicious calculations, and among others said that supposing lands to be bought at 25 years' purchase, to make all the poor livings (according to the list of the Clergy) up 50*l.* a year, six millions more of the property of the nation must be laid out in land; and added that one of the greatest intentions of the Bill before them was to prevent the erroneous judgments of dying cowardice, to prevent persons on their death-beds making their families miserable, from the mistaken notion of saving their souls, by donations to the Church. In short, I think there was a spirit of liberty against Church encroachments [which] must give a pleasure to every true lover of his country.

In a former debate on this subject, the D[uke] of Argile finished his speech with these words,—that he thought a rich clergy was inconsistent to the precepts of Christianity and to Liberty.

The behaviour of the Bishops relative to the Quakers' Tythe Bill has raised a just and great spirit of resentment in these parts, so soon forgetting what was done on their accounts in the Test Petition, and as a return of gratitude to endeavour to raise on false principles and suggestions a flame and a spirit through the whole nation, both against the Government and the Ad[minis]t[ratio]n. If your Lordship has not read the pamphlets for and against this Bill, I beg you would let me know, that I may send them to you, as also the Complaints of the Children of Israel, all extremely well writ.

Last Thursday we finished our side of the Yorkshire Petition, which took 18 days hearing, and in that time we spoke to 768 votes, 56 of which we allowed to be good; so our counsel concluded with saying that we had disqualified of theirs 712 votes, and Sir Miles [Stapylton] having a majority on the poll of 197, Sir Rowland [Wynne] had now an undisputed one of 515 votes.

Next Thursday the enemy begin their defence, and 'tis thought the House will fume (?) a little, as we gave in 1,609 bad votes, and only spoke to 768.

I was very sorry on your Lordship's account for poor Mr. Hawksmoor's death, and as in my opinion nothing will more add to the grandeur and magnificence of your Lordship's Mausoleum, than a proper out-wall and court round the building, I hope he had drawn a design for completing the necessary work before his death.

I hear much commendation of your Lordship's improvements in your out-works at Castle Howard since I had the honour of being there, and

hope some part of the summer to get time to make a short visit, while I am in the North.

Lady Lechmere desires her duty; is, thank God, extremely well and cheerful; we both desire to be remembered to Lady Mary.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1736,] Easter Monday [April 26], Greenwich.—As I paid my duty to your Lordship a few hours before I embarked for Holland, 'tis my inclination to do it as soon as I'm returned, though I'm in a good deal of hurry. . . . We have made the quickest passage both to Holland and back that I believe was ever known. We weighed anchor on Tuesday at Greenwich at four a clock in the afternoon, and with an extreme fair wind, but yet not blowing weather, arrived at Heyelversluys (*sic*) on Thursday evening.

The next morning we set out for the Hague, where we met the Princess, returned on Saturday morning to Helversluys (*sic*), went on board immediately, weighed anchor at four in the afternoon, and arrived at Greenwich on Sunday at twelve. We had blowing weather back, and though the wind was for us, I think it was a storm. The Fubbs Yacht, in which I went over, struck upon a sand, and it was with great difficulty it was saved. I was in the Yacht with the Princess, and so escaped that danger, but my Lord North and my small equipage were on board the Fubbs; for I was only allowed to have Nany Jackson with me, for fear of incommoding the Princess.

The wedding is to be tomorrow, in the evening. We stay at Greenwich today, and tomorrow the Princess goes to St. James['s] before dinner. The Prince came down last night, and the Prince and Princess supped together in public, where I had the honour to enter upon my office of carving and waiting at table; in the evening I made tea for the Prince and Princess in private; the Prince seemed vastly pleased, and embraced the Princess I believe ten times while I was in the room; and afterwards with great civility kissed me, and thanked me for the care I had taken of the Princess.

I think the Prince has great reason to be satisfied, to speak without the flattery of a courtier; she's a very agreeable woman, very affable in her behaviour, a good deal of address, and her person what may be called a pretty woman; she speaks not one word of English, French tolerably, and though I speak it intolerable, with her good humour and civility I have made myself understood by her.

The Prince dined here today; and this evening, which is a very fine one, we are going upon the river in barges, with all the music that can be got for the short warning. I have writ today no less than six letters (which I own has confused my head a good deal), having had twenty different orders from St. James['s], and the salutes at sea and land are still in my ears; the Park is full of people, and the huzzas and rejoicings are prodigious, which I own I'm glad to see; let this excuse the mistakes I've committed in this.

Seal of arms.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1736, April ?] Tuesday night.—I believe you will be surprised when I tell you the Yorkshire Election was this day given up without anybody being the least apprised of it. Lord Malton and Lady Wynne with several others were in the Gallery, and as Sir Thomas Robinson

informs me, who went to them in the House after Mr. Winnington had moved for the putting off this cause, that they did not know of the Motion, which appears hardly credible, and it was as extraordinary to let Sir Miles's [Stapylton] counsel open, and inflame by mentioning warrants granted by several justices of peace to the high constable of the divisions to return those that they thought would not vote for Sir Rowland and Mr. Turner, and to endeavour to persuade and threaten I think others in order to gain votes; which warrants were granted in the East Riding; the originals of some of them, and copies of others, they then had in their custody.

They took notice how weakly the evidence was supported in several particulars in relation to the objections we had gone through; and since this Petition was not to be gone on with, why this Motion did not come before the two learned gentlemen had abused our evidence, and inflamed in other particulars, is the astonishment of everybody; but as this was begun in a Secret Committee, so it has finished completely so, for I think nobody seems to own they knew anything of it today. For my part I am astonished which way they ever thought of going through with it, and though I was determined never to speak my opinion while it subsisted, yet as far as I could judge, I very soon saw it was impracticable, not from any incidents that happened but what reasonably might be expected. It was put off by an extreme short speech by Mr. Winnington, who don't belong to the county; who gave no other reason than the Sessions being so far spent that gentlemen must be sensible this cause would not admit of coming to a conclusion; and therefore, not to put the sitting Member to unnecessary expense and other gentlemen to unnecessary trouble, his Motion was for the further hearing of it that day sennight. Mr. Sandys seconded it, and that was all that was said.

The Duke of Rutland I am told has resigned the Duchy employment. I hope to hear tomorrow from Mr. Lewis that your Lordship is recovered. . . . .

Seal of arms.

Lord Morpeth to the Earl of Carlisle.

[1736,] May 1.—The Quakers Bill I think is made a reasonable one for the Clergy, and therefore I hope, when they come to understand it, they will be satisfied. We have had two or three divisions upon it in the House of Commons, but it has always been carried by a very great majority, and, as I am told, the Court will not suffer any alterations to be made to it in the House of Lords, so that there is no danger from the Bench of Bishops.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1736,] May 4.—I have yet continued well after enduring a good deal of fatigue; I hope I shall now not feel it, though this week will try me, being entered into close waiting; we are as yet too few for our duty, but I believe our number will be increased soon, and till it is, 'tis much the best policy to do our duty cheerfully and without complaints. I find we've an uphill game to play; we are all come in without the consent of the Prince, and consequently not with his inclination; but I don't despair of making myself in time agreeable to the Prince, who already treats me with more regard. As for French, I wish I could speak it better, but I'm the best amongst the Ladies. The Princess begins today to learn English, and we are desired to talk that to her

rather than French; but to be sure French is the only language for some time I can make myself understood in. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1736,] May 6.—I writ your Lordship an account last post of the burial of the Yorkshire Petition. . . . Yesterday we agreed to the amendments sent down from the Lords about the Bridge.* It occasioned a long debate amongst the men of order; they treated the Bill as a money bill, and therefore were for not agreeing with the Lords. Upon the Division, for the amendments, one hundred and sixty; against them, one hundred and six. We expect to be up by the 18th. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1736,] May 15.—I imagine your Lordship would be surprised at the fate the Quakers Bill met with in the House of Lords. The Chancellor and Lord Hardwick, joined to the Bench of Bishops, attacked it so strongly that they would not allow any part of the Bill to be drawn up with a sufficient correctness so as to pass into a law. The debate was whether it should be committed, and they put so much slight upon it, that upon a Division forty-five were against it, to thirty-six; it's my opinion they will have another next year.

The business of both Houses is now dispatching with as much expedition as possible, that we may rise on Thursday, the King being to go next Saturday. . . . .

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1736,] May 20, London.—The King goes on Saturday to Gravesend; the Queen goes that day to Richmond, and our Court to Kew. As soon as the account of the King's landing arrives, we are all to assemble at Kensington, and remain there all summer. The King has given the Prince 50,000*l.* per annum, which, with his Cornish estate makes 60,000*l.*, for it does not come in above ten clear. This appointment disconcerts the Prince a good deal. A message has been sent to him that he must not lie one night out of the Palace while the King is abroad, which, joined to his having no share in the Regency, mortifies him much. I hope these discontents won't break out into any open breach, but they certainly breed ill blood.

The King two days ago turned out Mr. Pitt from a cornecy (*sic*) for having voted and spoke in Parliament contrary to his approbation; he is a young man of no fortune, a very pretty speaker, one the Prince is particular to, and under the tuition of my Lord Cobham. The Army is all alarmed at this, and 'tis said it will hurt the King more than his removing my Lord Stairs and Lord Cobham, since it is making the whole army dependent, by descending to resent a vote from the lowest commission, which may occasion a representation in Parliament to prohibit all officers of the army from sitting there.

I was the other day [at] a party in the country with the Prince and Princess, and coming home in the coach the Prince began to talk of the Yorkshire Petition. He said he had heard your Lordship had not been one of those who had been for pushing this affair. I told him it

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* Westminster Bridge.

was true you had not entered with that violence that some of the zealous had done into the Petition, since you judged it unlikely from the beginning to succeed, and that you thought pushing anything with only zeal to support it, without probability of success, was hurting a cause instead of serving it; that you had contributed both in your purse and interest to bring in Sir Rowland Wynn, and that the Whig interest was not so low in Yorkshire as some might imagine, since this Election was wholly lost by the defection of the Whigs.

The Prince replied, he thought you in the right not to let zeal take place of reason, which was making a bad compliment to the cause you espoused. He said Lady Bell Finch told him my Lord Malton has spent 15,000*l.* and Sir Rowland Wynn 6,000*l.* I said I did not doubt but they had both spent a vast deal, but that every gentleman in the country [county] had contributed a proportion, and more than they had ever done upon the same occasion, or I believed ever would again.

Upon the whole I'm glad the Election has turned out as it has; my Lord Malton was to have the whole credit—let him bear the disgrace. Your Lordship has not been treated as you ought, and I'm glad your opinion of the affair has been justified by the manner it has turned out. Nothing has been more ridiculous than the ladies upon this occasion, particularly my Lady Malton, who has carried it with so high and assuming a manner, that she has been the jest of everybody; and I believe, if the truth was known, it is chiefly owing to her ill judged zeal that this Petition has been conducted as it has.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1736, June 8, Albemarle Street.—As I propose setting out this day sennight for the North, I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship therewith, that if you have anything to be brought down, or any commands for me here before I leave the town, I may obey what you desire.

I writ your Lordship a long account of our Yorkshire Retreat. Sir Miles is now gone down, and has closed his accounts with every one, and paid the whole demands on this occasion. Last year it cost his friends on account of the Petition 900*l.*; and this year 4,700*l.* more. The subscriptions of this year was 100 guineas each Lord, and 50 each Comm[one]r, and to make up the deficiency, each subscriber paid a 4th more than their subscription, so that this petition has not cost the sitting member one shilling out of his own pocket. I wish our champion comes off as well, though when I saw him last, he had as little notion of a deficiency on this head, as any danger or disappointment (to the very last) of his not carrying his point at the Bar of the House.

Lady Lechmere and the Col. with Mrs. Rotheram set out together the 24th, but as I am obliged to be back the latter end of the next month, I am unwilling to stay a day longer here than is necessary.

I shall bring down a young painter for history and landscapes (recommended to me by the Walpole family); he is of great expectations in his business, and in all probability will be very famous in his profession. I have agreed with him for to do a picture of my seat at Rookby; if your Lordship like his works, I hope you'll employ him either in your Temple, or in other business at Castle Howard. Col. Howard and myself shall desire your Lordship's permission for his drawing us some pictures of Rea Wood, &c., for I think no seat I ever saw has so much scope for a genius to exert in this way, and where the original is a favourite and gives great pleasure, surely it must be very agreeable to possess a good copy.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1736,] June 26, Kensington Palace.—I . . . have only time to assure you of my duty and affection, being to go upon an expedition with the Prince and Princess, which I believe will engage us for 24 hours. We are to dine at London; from thence the Prince and Princess goes (*sic*) in full pomp to the Tower with all their coaches. When they have seen that, they take water and go down to Greenwich, walk in the Park, and sup at G. Towirers (?). The barge is the finest thing I ever saw; not Cleopatra's upon the silver Cydnus was more elegant; there is to be a vast number of instruments; the day is fine; the entertainment will be sumptuous; [so] that upon the whole I believe the party will be pleasant, and I shan't regret the sacrificing some hours from sleep upon such an occasion. I have hitherto kept pretty good ones, and am, thank God, very well after my long waiting, which is now almost finished. . . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle.

1736, Aug. 11, Albemarle Street.—The reason of my not sooner writing to your Lordship, proceeded from not having 'till this day had an opportunity of delivering your letter to the Queen. On Monday I was at Court, but found it in mourning for the Princess of Portugal, so myself and many other ignorant persons in colours were obliged to return home. Yesterday I made a second attempt, and her Majesty ordered me to come again today, and was very gracious to me, and enquired a great many questions about Castle Howard and your Lordship, and desired her compliments to you.

While I was at Wentworth, Lord Malton often expressed how much he was obliged to your Lordship for his new terrace, which was entirely finished last spring; but that end where the bastion was, after the very first flood, came every stone down again, Mr. Turnicliff having built it neither with cramps nor throughs, nor indeed any part of the terrace wall, which my Lord is now securing, as well as he can, and rebuilding the bastion. This disappointment has given the family great concern, not so much for the loss, though that is above 200*l*., but as it has hindered his laying the foundation of the Hall this year, all hands being now employed in the other work, and finishing a rotunda of the Ionic order at the other end of it; and when the whole is completed, I think it may vie with anything of the kind in the nation.

Mr. Flitcroft is not to be down there till about Michaelmas; I have met him since I came to town, and told him your Lordship's desire to see him for a day or two at Castle Howard. He told me he did not know whether he could contrive his affairs so as to get over thither, but if possible he would, for at that time of the year, his business in town called on him to a very strict attendance.

The State Lottery for the Bridge, which is to consist of 125,000 tickets, has already only 12,000 of them subscribed, so 'tis thought there's an end of that scheme for raising the money; 'tis owing to the citizens being unanimous in not putting into it, and influencing all they can others being concerned in the affair.

Since I came to town, the Board of Customs and Excise have attended the Treasury, on a very nice point, relative to some of the taxes under our management, and 'twas an agreeable pleasure to me to see with what clearness and judgment Sir Robert Walpole spoke on every point, and I really think [he] knows the business of each Board

as well as the most experienced Commissioner; he, thank God, is extremely well, and prodigious hearty and cheerful.

As I have given to Lady Lechmere in two letters the news of this place, I have nothing farther to add.

Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle.

1736, Nov. 20, Albemarle Street.—We have had a vast deal of trouble about the Ginn Act. 'Tis inconceivable the various ways have been taken to evade it. I don't know what the opinion of the world may be of our proceedings, but I think we deserve their approbation, for we have acted with so much impartiality, vigour, and resolution against all sorts of offenders, that I believe before Xmas we shall entirely break the drinking of it. I should have been very glad to have attended the Ladies to the Bath, could I have been spared at this time, but my affections will follow 'em throughout. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle.

1736, Dec. 2, Albemarle Street.—Mr. Lewis of Hampshire, lately dead, has left his vast estate of 8,000*l.* a year to his grandson Lord Plymouth, a sickly minor of about 4 years old, and for guardians, Sir Robert Walpole, his brother Horace, Mr. Baron Fortescue, and Dr. Mead, with legacies to each of 3,000*l.* And if my Lord dies before 21 years of age, the whole estate to Sir R[obert] W[alpole] and his heirs. This may prove a great donation, and is now the subject matter of conversation here. I beg my compliments to the Colonel, to whom I shall write soon. . . .

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] Jan. 1.—To my brother Howard I hope this year will prove more fortunate than the last. I writ him an account of the distress the King has been in; the wind continues still against him, and whether he may be here by the time appointed for the meeting of Parliament begins to be doubted. There are abundance of jokes and ridicules upon his stay. The disgust of the people in general appears great at his going abroad, and though now the King can't help the delay, many pasquinades are made upon him. The following one is handed about with approbation, though I think there is not much in it.

The King, this summer having spent
Amoribus in teneris,
Desires his loving Parliament
To meet him Die Veneris.

I go into waiting next Sunday, and am appointed to an honour the Thursday following which gives me a good deal of uneasiness. The Prince has told me I must play at hazard; I remonstrated, as far as I durst, how improper I was to undertake such an honour; but the thing is not to be avoided, and to make it as easy to me as possible the Prince has directed all the Ladies of the Bedchamber to join; we put in fifty pound a piece, and the Prince adds 200. I'm afraid both of my conduct and fortune, but I must put a good face upon the matter, whatever my fears are. . . . .

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1737,] Jan. 11.—There was a dreadful fire last week at the Temple, which has destroyed a vast number of chambers, with manuscripts and writings to a great value. The Prince [Frederick] stayed from 12 at

night till 6 in the morning, directing the soldiers and encouraging the firemen to work both by his presence and money, and 'tis said he did great service. He need[ed] not this to make him popular, for the King being obliged to delay his journey, the wind being still against him, makes the unreasonable populace so extravagantly angry that 'tis not to be imagined the outrageous things that is every day spoke against the King, and on the other hand how exceedingly the Prince is caressed by all ranks. I hope his prudence won't suffer him to go any lengths improper upon this occasion, or take advantage of a mad multitude's caress: I believe it won't, since he has lately given a great instance of his temperance; and whoever judges reasonably, I think must look upon the King's interest and the Prince's as the same. . . .

There was no play at Court on Twelfth-day, the King not being here.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] Jan. 22, London.—I designed last post to have thanked my dear father for the favour of his last letter, but it being the Prince's birthday I had no time to attend anything but the ceremonial. We had a vast crowd at Court, but not much finery; the Prince's family was all new and well drest, but the rest of the company came in old clothes. My brother Morpeth was there, and everybody without distinction paid their compliments upon the occasion. . . .

The poem your Lordship sent me of Mr. Pindar's I think an exceedingly good one; the expression is beautiful, and the thought excellent. I shall endeavour to serve him by showing it to some people of good taste, who may possibly convey it to Mr. Pope for his approbation, and if 'tis liked I will take the properest method I can to get it printed. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1737,] Feb. 1.—I had the favour of yours, and delivered your proxy to Lord Effingham. The King has been so much out of order for these four or five days that he can't go down to Westminster, but the Parliament is opened by Commission* ; he has had a pain in his head, and a feverish disorder, which has confined him to his bed, but Sunday was blooded by leeches, and is much better. . . .

Sir Robert let me in one day that was not his levee, and by the conversation I had with him, he did not give me the least reason to hope; he said he had not mentioned me to the King, but that he would give my name in upon the list; that any recommendation of military preferments were (*sic*) so uncertain, that though he wished me very well he could give me very little assurance. . . I told Sir Robert, as to my parliamentary attendance, I was ready to come when they wanted me; he said that was all that could be desired or expected. . . . (Mentions the Duke of Newcastle.)

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] Feb. 19.—Yesterday the same number of Land Forces were voted in the House of Commons. My brother [Lord Morpeth] moved the question for twelve thousand. The debate lasted till nine a clock, and a good many bitter things were thrown out. I can't say the Administration laid any great stress on foreign affairs to induce the

* See H. L. Journals, vol. 25.

House to keep up the number, but the disaffection, the ill spirit, the numbers of riots that have showed themselves within these six months in different parts of the kingdom, were the chief arguments for the continuing the present force; and really I sincerely think, had I been ever so independent, as an honest man I should have given my vote for them at this time; for though your Lordship is of opinion that the dissatisfaction is of little consequence and in few hands, yet I think here they look upon it in a different [light], and apprehend it greatly too general.

It is with no small concern that I acquaint your Lordship that next Tuesday the Prince will apply to both Houses for the allowance of a hundred thousand pounds, the most unlucky and the most unfortunate measure in my poor opinion that ever came into Parliament; as a well wisher to the family, pray God send no ill consequences attend it.

The King came out last Thursday, and with much difficulty I kist his hand, though I was not able to make any attempt to kneel.* Yesterday I paid my duty to the Prince, and attended the debate, [by] which I suffered a good deal, both from pain and my leg swelling.

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[P.S.] The numbers of the Division yesterday were: for the eighteen thousand, 246; for the twelve thousand, 177.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1736-7,] Feb. 22.—My brother Howard has given your Lordship an account of the terrible affair that is this day debating at Westminster. There was yesterday an attempt made for a reconciliation, but it ended in nothing; the King sent the Privy Council in a body to the Prince to offer him 50,000*l.* per annum, and that he would consider of a jointure for the Princess. To this the Prince replied, the affair was now out of his hands, and it was not in his power to agree to the terms offered, which indeed is nothing, since the King already allows the Prince 50,000*l.* per annum.

I hear nobody who has a regard for the family that is not heartily concerned at the misfortune, and look upon this affair as a thing that will be attended with the utmost ill consequences. The distress amongst people is undescribable; there is not a person who has not been solicited for his vote, which when given must disoblige either Prince or King. All, even the King's people, agree the Prince has not a sufficient support, but are much concerned at the method taken to obtain more. It is thought it will be the nearest Division that ever was known, and the fullest House; the Prince has many personal friends, which, joined to the reasonableness of the attempt, will influence many.

The affair is to be opened today by Mr. Polteney, who is to propose that an Address may be drawn up to his Majesty to increase the Prince's allowance to a 100,000*l.* per annum; and Sir Joseph Jekell is to move for an Address to the King to settle a jointure upon the Princess. 'Tis thought the House will sit till midnight, so it will be impossible for me to give your Lordship an account of the result of this unhappy affair. My Lord Cobham and my Lord Chesterfield are thought to be the chief promoters of it.

The King is gone down to the House, I suppose to show he is not in a dangerous state of health. I own I'm in terrible apprehensions

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* The writer's leg had been broken by accident.

of what will be the event; whether it mayn't end in a separation of Courts and an absolute quarrel is at present matter of debate.

Mr. Pindar's poem I have given to the Prince, but this unlucky circumstance of affairs has so filled his head that he han't spoke to me yet about it. I have showed it to two or three, and will contrive to let Mr. Pope see it when this bustle is over. . . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1737,] Feb. 24.—The last bell is going about, and I have only time to acquaint you, that Mr. Pulteney made a motion last Tuesday for an Address to the King to settle on the Prince of Wales the allowance of one hundred thousand pounds per year, and was seconded by Sir John Barnard. The debate lasted till near one; for the Address, two hundred and four; against it, two hundred and thirty-four. Never was more solicitation or more anxiety about any vote in Parliament, and highly disagreeable it was to me, and many gentlemen I dare say, to see things come to that extremity, and to be obliged to take a share upon such an occasion. For my own part, I think it was a lucky day for the Tories, and they seemed to rejoice and laugh much at it; not one of them spoke in the debate. Tomorrow it comes into the House of Lords, where it is very sure to meet with the fate it did in the Commons. What the consequence will be God knows; I heartily wish the wound healed.

Seal of arms.

Lord Hardwicke to Lord Carlisle.

1736[-7], March 1, London.—Replying to congratulations on his appointment [as Lord Chancellor]. His first act of office in the way of disposing livings happened to be a testimony of his respect for Lord Carlisle.

(There are other letters of this writer dated 1737 and 1740.)

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] March 1.—I writ your Lordship a long letter this day senit [se'nnight] upon the affair then depending in Parliament, which I hope you received; my brother Howard the next post gave you an account of the event in the House of Commons, which, though lost there, was on Friday brought into the House of Lords, where it was carried against addressing the King by a great majority. The House sat till nine, and the debate much finer and more entertaining than in the House of Commons. The Duke of Bedford moved for the Address, and spoke long and very well; my Lord Westmorland very pointed at Sir Robert, daring him to make the worst interpretation he pleased, which he knew he would do in another place.

My Lord Carteret drew a sort of comparison between Edward the Black Prince and the present Prince of Wales—said that this Prince was like him in his humanity and virtue, and he wished him in every respect such as he was, excepting the shortness of life; that Edward the Third was so far from envying him that he retired from the battle on purpose to give him an opportunity of reaping the glory. He went on and showed the indep[end]ent provision that was made, first for Edward the Black Prince, and after that to every succeeding Prince of Wales, which, in proportion to the Civil List, was near a fourth part

of the revenue, and the provision made for this Prince not above a twentieth part; the Duke of York, when only heir presumptive, had revenues settled upon him to the value of near 100,000*l.* per annum, and the Civil List was then only 400,000*l.* per annum; Queen Anne, when Princess of Denmark, had 50,000*l.* per annum; and sure, he added, 100,000*l.* could not be thought too much for this Prince of Wales for his present family, and the hopes and prospect of an increasing one.

My Lord Scarborough pleaded as strongly for the King, and said, if he had heard by way of letter of this proceeding in any part of Europe, he should expect the next account would be that the Crown was taken from the King's head, and placed upon the Prince's. My Lord Islay said, those who had advised this motion at this time had a mind to shake the King's hour-glass and spill the sand. My Lord Stafford diverted the House with a true account of his situation, declaring he was bad with the last Ministry, worse with this, and he did not doubt but he should be worse with the next, should he ever see another; therefore, as an unbiassed man, he gave his vote for the King. My Lord Oxford and Lord Northampton did the same. Lord Windsor, Lord Shaftesbury, [and] Lord Clifton did not vote; Lord Faconbridge for the King.

Upon the whole this was looked upon as a stroke at the Ministry, and no pains or money was omitted to defeat the intent; it is said more was given to baffle this Motion than would have answered the demand made for the Prince.

His Royal Highness bears his disappointment with great temper; he is civil to everybody that voted against him, and last Sunday showed an instance of great good nature. My Lord Crawford, who[m] the Prince has been particularly civil to, voted against him, being forced to it; and the Prince, hearing he was chagrined upon it, sent for him, and assured him of his friendship, and that he should look upon him in the same light as he ever had done.

The Prince and Princess go to Court as usual, but I believe the Prince has not been spoke to since. A terrible disgust and coldness must ensue, but I believe no separation of families, or any resentments shown in displacing any people for voting. The Prince's own Secretary, Mr. Pelham, voted against him, and is still in his office.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] March 3.—Mr. Polteney said in the House of Commons, upon the debate relating to increasing the Prince's allowance, that he had in his hands abstracts of the Civil List as it was settled in the time of my Lord Godolphin, Lord Halifax, and Lord Carlisle, drawn up under their own hands; that my Lord Carlisle's was the largest provision, as being the last, and even* all that was thought proper in his time, and even with the addition of the late King's funeral, was five hundred and twenty thousand pound per annum.

The Speaker declared, though not in the House, that he looked upon it as a real misfortune your Lordship was not now in town, since nobody in England was so proper to interpose in this unhappy difference between the King and Prince as yourself. Everybody agrees, even those that voted against the Prince, in wishing him a 100,000*l.* per annum, and make no scruple of saying it; therefore 'tis plain the only reason that kept 'em from voting it was their dependency.

* "Even" appears to be superfluous.

The Prince's behaviour, now the affair is over, must gain him many friends; and whether 'tis the effect of good nature or policy, 'tis highly prudent, and becoming a generous mind. His Highness enquires often after your Lordship, and has upon this occasion said, should he desire your Lordship['s] proxy, would you send it him?

Before I dismiss this subject, I can't help saying something more which Mr. Hedges, the Prince's Secretary, fully proved to the House—that the establishment the King had made for the Prince's family in salaries, tables, and stables amounted to 63,000 per annum, and that the Prince's income was only 58,000 per annum, including Cornwall and Wales; therefore it fell short of the King's establishments (*sic*) 5,000*l.* per annum, allowing nothing for the Prince's private expenses, charities, and bounties.

I hear my Lord Chancellor has given Mr. Sawry the living your Lordship recommended him to in a handsome manner upon the first reading your letter. I can't help being a good deal mortified Mr. Pindar is not the object of this good fortune. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] March 15.—I had a letter by the last post from Mr. Appleby, to let me know he heard Mr. Musgrave was to succeed to a Lieutenancy. . . . . There are at present seven Regiments vacant. I own I think I have very little prospect or hardly a chance, as far as I can judge, of having one, though there are so many to be given away.

As to Parliamentary affairs, I hope most of the debates and long days are over in the House of Commons. I think this scheme of Sir Robert's is not quite adjusted, of the payment of the South Sea Annuities, which possibly may occasion another long day to settle. Your Lordship finds they alter a duty which was one shilling per gallon upon what they call Sweets, to four pence, which alteration it's thought will bring in near thirty thousand pounds yearly. That duty being mortgaged, and the Sinking Fund the security, with the Malt and the Land Tax, raises the Supply for the year, so that a million will be paid off from the Sinking Fund.

Last Friday there was a long debate whether the Bank or the South Sea Annuities should be paid: carried upon a Division by fifty-nine for paying off the Annuities.

Today the Lords are upon the Mutiny Bill, and to-morrow the Scotch affair comes on again. What will be the conclusion I can't tell, for all sides universally condemn the behaviour of the Magistrates [of Edinburgh], and there were some extraordinary letters of Moyle's read in the House of Lords.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1736-7,] March 15.—The affair between the King and Prince continues just as it was; appearances are just saved, but barely saved. The Prince goes to the King's Levy, the Queen's Drawing-room, and Church, but I believe has never been spoke to by the King or Queen since the affair happened, or even the Princess by the King. The Ministry I'm afraid are not desirous to reconcile this unhappy difference; Sir Robert said publicly, not in a speech, but in the House, that the Prince would not carry his point in regard to the increasing his allowance; and 'tis generally thought the King is more moderate in that affair than either the Queen or Ministers.

I had this from my master [the Prince], with whom I had a good deal of conversation upon this topic some days ago: he seems mighty cheerful, and says the affair must do (*sic*) at last, it being resolved to give it the Ministry every Sessions till some increase be made to the Prince's* allowance, which, upon the strictest enquiry I have made, amounts to no more than 55,000*l.*, inclusive of Cornwall and Wales. The King indeed allows 50,000*l.*, but the fees paid at different offices reduces it to 46,000*l.*, and his own from Wales and Cornwall comes in 9,000*l.*—together 55,000*l.*; and the establishment for the family is 63,000*l.*, exclusive of his own private expenses.

I believe less than 100,000*l.* per annum would be accepted by the Prince; 80,000*l.* would be thankfully received; but the Prince won't bait one farthing of the Princess['s] jointure, which he expects should be the same the Queen's was when Princess of Wales, and the Queen 'tis said makes a point of the Princess['s] jointure being less than hers. 'Tis unlucky that such things should be made points, which 'tis most likely will never happen; it being more probable, if the Princess ever enjoys a jointure, it should be as Queen of England rather than Princess of Wales. I believe she is certainly with child, but 'tis not yet publicly owned: till she is quick the Prince told me he would not have it publicly spoke of, for fear of a mistake. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1737,] March 26.—Sir Philip Musgrave desired me to recommend to you Mr. Christopher Patinson, of Carlton Hall, near Penrith, to be put into the next commission of peace. . . .

Yesterday was sennit Lord Lovel moved for the sending up for the Lord Justice Clerk, and the Duke of Mountague seconded him. It being then eight o'clock, the Duke of Argyle moved an adjournment; which Question they divided upon, and carried it by six.

Last Monday the Duke of Newcastle made the same Motion for bringing up the Lord Justice Clerk and two other Lords of the Sessions; which went without anything being said to it. Mr. Wade, in his examination before the Lords, gave strong evidence of the Magistrates being apprised of the intention of the murder [of Porteous] without taking any steps or precaution to prevent it; and everybody agrees that their inclination, and not their knowledge, was wanting.

I believe his Majesty will have no thoughts [of Ha]nnover; whether he will review or not, I can't tell, and when my leg will be in a situation of repaying my duties I can't guess. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] April 2.—Yesterday there were a good many questions moved in the House of Lords in relation to this examination that has been before them of the Magistrates: that the Lord Provost [of Edinburgh] should be incapable of any place of trust or profit, and that he should be imprisoned for three years, for having been negligent and, I think, wilfully remiss in discharge of his duty; that the gates of Edinburgh should be pulled down, and the city guard taken away.

These motions were my Lord Delawar's, and, as I take it, are to be done by way of Bill; for the Duke of Argyle opposed all bills of pains and penalties, and said it was his opinion they were always wrong;

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* "Prince's" is interlined.

they were founded in heat and warmth, and generally diverted justice from its right course; upon which he divided the House. The minority was seventeen to eighty odd, for the peers of North Britain voted with the majority, which, I think, seemed a little extraordinary.

The Bill now depending in the House of Commons, about lowering Interest to three per cent., has given great alarum; it has sunk the Stocks, and made a great outcry. What the conclusion will be I can't say, but as far as I can judge, I think the Bill will not go.

The Duke of Bedford, I hear, is married today to Lord Gower's daughter; and I am just told our countryman (Ned Thompson) is to be married to Miss Moore of Ossulkirke; she is in town, and they say everything agreed on. I sent for Mr. Shipton, the surgeon, since I writ last to your Lordship, for his opinion in relation to my leg; . . . (he) repeats what Mr. Chiselden had told me before, that I have been very ignorantly and badly treated. . . . Sure never anybody that ever pretended to be a surgeon was ever so little knowing in these cases as Daws. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1737, April 7, Albemarle Street.—In the last letter Lady Lechmere received from your Lordship, you take notice that 'tis a great while since you heard from me, which makes me fancy my last letter never came to hand, that not being a very long date; and I can truly assure your Lordship, whenever I am silent, it never did, nor I believe ever will proceed from any other motive then the wanting materials to make a letter entertaining. For in my present station of life, where my whole mornings are always taken up by a very close and severe attendance at our office, I have not that opportunity of knowing what is stirring either in Parliament or among the idle part of mankind as formerly, and little is to be picked up from men of business, worthy to be communicated to those who live in the country, and retired from the scene of action.

A very material point to this nation is now the subject of public discourse here, viz., the reducement of the National Interest of the Funds to 3 per cent., and matters run so high in the City that Sir John Barnard is now the most unpopular man in it, and they seem determined not only never more to elect him their representative, but to oppose his being Lord Mayor, which by right he ought to be the next year. So we [see] in a short space of time the man that was their idol is now their public scorn, and only for attempting what I believe the unprejudiced part of mankind think a right and necessary action, to be done either this or the next year, though 'tis most people's opinion nothing will be done this year; and the Stocks begin to rise again, but the run still continues on the Bank, and they pay in silver all demands above 50 pounds.

The person your Lordship recommended to me for a foot-walk would have had one lately, if his time of service in an out-ride would have justified such an advancement, but when it can be done consistent with our rules it shall.

My time of coming into the North this summer is now fixed for July and August, for as I am the youngest Commissioner at the Board, I shall always think that deference due to my seniors there, as to make my time of absence tally to theirs, and go when I can best be spared from the attendance on my duty there.

I fancy ere this your Lordship has begun to work again on the roof of the mausoleum. I heartily wish you your health, that you may

have pleasure in finishing that or any other favourite work at Castle Howard. Lord Malton writes me word he has now collected his whole strength, to go vigorously on with the Hall part of his new design, which alone is a vast work, and if he lives to see the whole completed he will not die a young man.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] April 16.—The two Courts are much upon the same foot as when I writ last—an appearance of correspondence, but none in effect, and I believe it ever has been so between the King and Prince. I was yesterday at Court with my Lady St. Quintin, who was highly honoured by my master in the notice he took of her, which I don't doubt but will be published in Yorkshire. I paid my compliments to my Lady on Monday at my Lord Mayor's feast, which I believe was took kindly. Mr. Pindar's poem is now printing; it has been corrected and altered; the printer, who is a very noted one, would not take it unless it was altered in the manner his friend has done it; if it sells he has promised me he will make a present to the author, but would engage for nothing till he saw the success of it. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1737, April 16, Albemarle Street.—We have had two poems lately published here, which are greatly commended, one an Essay on Happiness, dedicated to my Lord Chesterfield, and the other a poem in blank verse, called Leonidas, writ by one Glover, a Hamborough merchant. I believe your Lordship will not repent the reading of them. The former was writ by Mr. Nugent, who has lately married the widow Knight (Mr. Craggs' sister), who gave him 50,000*l.* on the day of marriage, the same sum to her son, and says she has still 100,000*l.* more in her own power. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1737,] April 21.—I have been for three or four days with Lord Albermarle (*sic*) in the country, and hobbled about the garden, and hope my leg mends as to the coldness. This morning I was at Sir Robert's. . . . . He desired me to attend to the Three per Cent. Bill, which is to come tomorrow, and I find he is determined to throw it out; and it can't arise from any other motive but the shock and convulsion it would give in this part of the world; otherwise he would be, without all doubt, greatly glad to have it past and over. The Bill, I hear, is to be read a first time tomorrow, and debated on Wednesday. . . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] April 30.—Yesterday there was a debate that lasted very long, whether the Bill for the Reduction of Money should be committed. As I continue so lame and so great an invalid, and the House was so terribly hot, I was obliged to keep most part of the day in the Speaker's rooms, so that I am not capable of giving your Lordship the heads of any of the speeches.

Sir Robert treated the Bill as a very crude, undigested—not practicable, if committed, to be formed into any shape, so as to be able to make its appearance in the world.

The speakers for the Bill going to a Committee were Sir John Bernard, Lord Baltimore, the Master of the Rolls, Sir Will. Windham, Mr. Sandys, Sir Edmund Bacon; against it, Sir Robert Walpoole, Sir Will. Younge, Col. Bladen, Mr. Sloper, Sir Charles Wager; and I believe some others of both sides which might escape me, for the debate lasted till ten a clock. The numbers for the commitment, one hundred and thirty-three; against it, two hundred and forty-nine.

The Flint Election [Petition] lasted the day before till near nine a clock at night. . . .

I hope the debates and long days of this Sessions are now over, and I believe, now the fate of this Bill is determined, there will not be another full House this year. Common report says the Scotch Bill is to drop, but I never heard it from any sort of authority, and I own I should be sorry it should. If it does, no doubt the Sessions will be much shorter.

There was a very warm debate about a week ago about the inserting a clause in the Land Tax Bill to exempt the Prince of Waleses allowance from paying any fees. This Mr. Pulteney treated as done without direction of the House, and by surprise, and was extremely heated; that there was an end of Parliaments, and he would cease his attendance; and a great many warm expressions, as I was informed, was made use of. Sir Robert said he thought nobody would have any objection to the allowance being clear of deductions, and the mentioning it might have raised another disagreeable debate on the subject. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1737, May 5, Albemarle Street.—As Col. Howard was at the debate about reducing the National Interest of the Funds, he has I suppose given your Lordship the particulars of it. There was a very great majority against Sir John B[arnard's] scheme, viz. 115. Sir R[obert] W[alpole] spoke exceeding well against the Bill, but not one word against the thing, so 'tis to be supposed on a proper occasion he will bring on a well digested scheme, such as will suit both the creditors and debtors of the public; and I think he has taken a very right step, for his opposers were for forcing on him a raw, undigested Bill for him to mend and put forward, and then to have all the merit of the success of it to fall on another set of men, who I believe now see their error, and allow no one man in the kingdom understand[s] these matters so well as Sir R[obert]. And yesterday Sir John B[arnard] was so very scurrilous and rude in the House against those who had opposed his Bill, that he was twice taken down to order, and very near being sent to the Tower.

'Tis thought the House will be up the latter end of this month, nothing being now on the anvil of consequence but Porteous's affair. Lord Effingham gave your Lordship's proxy against what was in the question called the Court, and which lost it by 11: 'twas whether the Scotch Judges should be examined at the Bar, or at the Table, and 'twas carried for the former. . . .

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] June 11.—This morning Lady Irwin put herself into the power of Col. Dowglas, who I hope will think he has great obligations to her for acting contrary to the opinion and advice of every relation and every friend she has. Lady Mary and I declined being at the

wedding, as your letter intimated you thought it the most proper part for us to take. Sir Thomas and my sister Lechmere were there, and are gone with them to Windsor, where I think they propose staying some time. Pray God send she may be happy; I wish it sincerely. I don't doubt but she acquainted you how favourably the Prince received it, and gave his approbation to it; told her he thought she did very right. This comforted her very much, for your Lordship's not being willing to receive her yet at Castle Howard, which she is very desirous of.

I certainly shall not leave London till the vacancies are disposed of, which I take for granted will be at the rising of the Parliament, and I find by a letter I had from my brother [Lord Morpeth] he has thoughts of coming to Castle Howard about the same time we propose.

We had a very long debate on the Scotch Bill last Thursday, whether it should be committed, and after many terrors thrown out from the gentlemen of that country of the consequences that would attend the passing this Bill, about eleven we came to a Division: for the commitment, one hundred [and] twenty-four; against it, one hundred and eighteen. As the majority is so small, I take for granted the Bill will either be lost or entirely altered in the Committee. I think the whole examination has turned out the highest insult on Government, the greatest neglect of the magistrates, and the least inclination to prevent it, that ever happened in any period of time. When this Bill has met with its fate all other business is over.

Lady Mary continues Islington waters, and still complains of being very much out of order. . . .

Endorsed by a later hand: Charles Howard, June the 11th, 1737.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] June 16.—I never had any thoughts of leaving London before these vacancies were disposed of, which I have great reason to believe will be in a very few days, everything being supposed to be now fixt, and expected to be declared this week. Mr. Lewis I think has a better chance for his guinea than he had, though I say it from no authority, yet everybody tells me I am one, and from pretty good hands I had it this morning at Court; so I am in hopes so universal a report could not prevail without foundation. The secret is very close kept by the few that knows (*sic*) it; all the candidates are in the same ignorance as myself, but a little time will clear it up.

I believe Mr. Arundel will go from the Board of Works to Mr. Conduit's place in the Mint; Mr. Henry Fox to the Board of Works, Mr. Earle to the Treasury. Lord Tankerville has given up the Buckhounds, and I hear this morning, from pretty good hands, Jennison [is] to have them, and not to go to New York, as he thought he should; Lord Delaware I believe now is resolved to go.

A hogshead of claret is to be put on board next Saturday, and Mr. Wright gives the strongest assurances that's possible he never had better; I own I think it is good, as far as I am a judge.

We sent up the Scotch Bill to the Lords today; we have had five or six long days about it, very hard battles, and very near Divisions; last Monday we had five Divisions, two within three; one, a hundred and thirty to a hundred and thirty, and the Chairman's vote determined it. The Bill is now quite altered from what it was when it came down: the imprisonment of the Provost is taken off, and he is incapaci[ta]ted to serve in any office; the gates and the guard remain as they did, and

the town is fined two thousand pounds. The Lords read it tomorrow, and I believe will agree to it with these alterations. The fine is to go to the widow of Porteous. The Parliament it's said will be up next Tuesday. My sister Irwin and the Colonel [Douglas] I think design staying about ten days longer at Windsor. My horse is come up, and I shall send the boy back by sea in a day or two.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] July 19.—I passed a fortnight at Kew very agreeably; the Prince lives there quite in private, without form; passes his time wholly with his family, who[m] he treats in so obliging a manner and with such an easy familiarity as makes the attendance very agreeable. I believe your Lordship will be glad to hear I was well received. The Colonel [Douglas] had the honour of breakfasting with his Royal Highness, and was very obligingly invited to stay and dine at Kew, which he excused, having not then kissed the King's hand. Sir T. Robinson was with him, and stayed. . . . .

My Lord Scarborough has been in a very dangerous way for this last week, occasioned by an overturn in a coach, and continues still in great danger.

The Duke of Richmond to [Lord Carlisle].

1737, Sept. 5, Hampton Court. — Touching the payment of [racing?] money to Mr. Adams, clerk of the stables in Craven Street, and referring to the method adopted by the Duke of Newcastle at Lewes, "which is to give a certificate to the persons that win the plate of their having won it," &c.

[Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.]

[1737,] Sept. 20.—As yet things remain in the situation they were; nothing has been explained in relation to the servants. 'Tis a disagreeable uncertainty, but I believe at this time affairs of much greater importance engage the higher powers, and what relates to us is rather postponed than determined.

The Duke of Norfolk, I hear, has offered the Prince his house in St. James's Square, which I'm told his Royal Highness has accepted. In general this affair has cast a damp over the whole Town, and I wish every day it mayn't increase the uneasiness and distress of people. . .

The enclosed is an authentic copy of the message sent by the K—— to the P——. I was desirous your Lordship should see it, and therefore venture to convey it to you; but as letters at this time are frequently opened, I omit putting my name to this.

Enclosing—

George II. to [Prince Frederick].

[1737, Sept.]—Charges him with concealing from the King and Queen the condition of the Princess, with removing her from the place of the King's residence, concealing the birth of the young Princess, and again removing the Princess and her child from Hampton Court. These

actions, and the Prince's conduct for a considerable time, compel the King to order him to leave St. James's with all his family, till he withdraws his confidence from those by whose instigation he is encouraged in such behaviour.

Copy, in Lady Irwin's hand, 2½ pages.

Col. William Douglas to [Lord Carlisle].

1737, Sept. 24, London.—This serves to thank you for yours of the 18th, and to acquaint you that since my last, my Lords Effingham and Torrington have thought it proper that their Ladies should quit the Prince's family, conceiving it very improper (when they are resolved to vote in Parliament in a way that may be disagreeable to his Royal Highness, if anything relating to the present differences comes in next Session) to have their Ladies continue in his service. This is the reason they give for what they have done. As my situation, as to that, is very different from theirs, I did not care to follow the example, and therefore waited for a further explanation of the order, being indeed a little shy and delicate of obliging my Lady Irvin (*sic*) to give up, without absolute necessity, what my fortune could make her no recompense for.

I have now, from pretty good authority, reason to believe that your Lordship's conjecture in the close of your letter is perfectly just, which indeed I always had some notion of myself; and, therefore, though we have had no further explanation of the order, I am resolved that Lady Irvin shall go into waiting tomorrow at Cue [Kew], and I think myself very certain, that I shall not disoblige by so doing. I can see what it is to be an old courtier; you have made a righter judgment of things at a distance than most people, and those of consequence too, have done here.

As to the two Lords that gave up: their reasons are very plausible, nay indeed I think very just; but your Lordship will probably judge that they might have had a little patience, till those terrible votes came a little nearer, and then surely what they have done would have been highly proper; till that time they might have trusted to the chapter of accidents. I don't hear they met with either praise or blame for what they did.

As to my notion of things, in our particular affair; as my apprehensions have vanished of one side, I own they increase from the other. You will know what I mean.

I thank your Lordship sincerely for approving the resolutions we had taken; it shall always be my constant endeavour to take none but what I think will be agreeable, and never without taking your advice, if there is time for it. . . . .

[Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.]

[1737,] Oct. 11.—Lady [Ladies] Effingham and Torrington had no intimation I believe from the King's Court to resign; the uneasiness of their Lords I believe was the chief occasion of that step, who, both having such great employments from the Court, and apprehending the disagreeable votes that would of course happen this Sessions, were determined, as they should vote with the Court, not to have their Ladies engaged on the other side. This principally, with some other reasons 'tis impossible for me to give you at this distance, made them resign.

'Tis much to be wished this unhappy breach was made up, but who has authority to undertake such an office? I know nobody but your Lordship and Lord Scarborough that are proper to undertake it; an

attempt of that kind is meritorious, though it should not be attend[ed] with success; and if successful, what happiness and credit to the undertaker, and what infinite good to the country, especially if this could be brought about before the Parliament meets, when it is apprehended, unless something be done, great misfortunes will ensue. Your Lordship is in good esteem with the King, and I assure you not less so with the Prince; how finely would it be closing your public scene of life to accomplish such a blessing! The breach is certainly not so wide as in the last reign; the Prince speaks with great regard, nay even fondness, of the King; nor is the King so angry at him, as I am told; but the interest of some and the dignity of the persons concerned perhaps keeps them at a distance, when if proper means was used this affair might be made up. . . . .

LADY A. I[RWIN] to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1737,] Oct. 30, Kew.—As to the Colonel's situation and mine, I have reason to be easy; the King has distinguished Col. Douglas upon this occasion in a very obliging manner, and I had no less kind assurances from the Prince in relation to myself; but this I beg may be a secret; it might forfeit all the advantages we hold, if known. Col. Lumley and Major Madin are now both in waiting, and I believe will be under no necessity of resigning either of their posts. A reconciliation in the Royal family is the part of every honest man to wish, and only of some few to endeavour; but I'm of opinion there will be none so considerable as your Lordship to bring that happy work to bear.

I really think there is some transaction of that sort going forward at present, but I speak by observation, and not from any knowledge. The Prince is moderate in his measures, and has ordered the Princess's birthday to be kept here, his servants only to be present, that he may show he does not affect popularity. Tomorrow we are to celebrate the King's with fiddles, bonefires, &c. We live mighty agreeably, the Prince and Princess wholly conversing with their servants, and so of course we are admitted to share all their diversions, viz., music, play, walking, and whatever amusements can be thought of in the country in a large family of men and women. My waitings indeed at present come too often. . . . The Prince is not well in his stomach; he has been ordered to the Bath, but at present he contents himself with drinking the waters here; he enquires much after your Lordship, and upon hearing that you have put off your journey thither, bids me tell you he hopes he shall meet you next spring there; he adds that he longs to converse with one so well acquainted with King William's Court. . . .

COL. WILLIAM DOUGLAS to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1737,] Nov. 12, Saturday, 7 a clock at night.—'Tis with great concern that I now acquaint you that the Queen, who has been very bad ever since Wednesday last, is at this time in so very dangerous a situation that many are afraid she can scarce hold out another day. Her distemper till this day was said to be the gout in her stomach, and medicines have been given her that were proper to remove that. But we now are informed that her disorder proceeds from another cause, which she has been afflicted with for some years past, but always carefully concealed.

She has taken leave of the King and of all her children that are now at St. James's with the utmost tenderness, but at the same time with great resolution and a thorough resignation. Though in the general there are very little hopes of her, yet some are still sanguine enough to hope the best. She has made a will last night, and left her jewels and as it is said a considerable sum among her children.

The Prince ordered Lady Irvine to go this day and enquire how her Majesty was, as in general he ordered all his servants. He is in town at Carleton House, waiting the event, in the utmost concern. Whether he has desired to see her and take leave I can't tell, but I don't hear that he has seen her. This, I thought, was proper your Lordship should be acquainted with, which I have been obliged to do in some haste, the post just going away.

[P.S.] Sir Robert Walpole was sent for, and I hear is arrived in town tonight.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] Nov. 17.—The Queen has lain in a most deplorable state ever since I writ to my sister ; her death was expected yesterday every hour. All sorts of operations have been tried, but without success, nothing having passed through her these eight days. She is perfectly sensible, and begs to die in quiet, without being tormented with applications ; but that can't be the case, for as her life is of great concern to the King and her family, she must undergo all kinds of operations, though there be but a bare possibility of success. Today they send word she is better, but 'tis thought absolutely impossible she can recover. . . .

Col. William Douglas to [Lord Carlisle].

1737, Nov. 19, London.—You will no doubt be surprised (after the melancholy account I last gave you of the Queen's condition, which was then the universal opinion) to hear that she is still alive ; though I am much afraid there are no hopes of continuing so long, and that her situation is such, that the most favourable wishes of her tenderest and best friends are to wish for an easy and quiet riddance from the excessive misery she now suffers. At the same time that I give you this account, I am told that she has had a tolerable easy night, as indeed she has always been a little easier every morning for some time past, and worse towards the evenings. The circumstance that is thought the most desperate in her case, is the want of passage in the natural way ever since her illness, which I am told none of the physicians pretend to say she has had in the smallest degree.

Your Lordship judges extremely right in your opinion that she will be much missed, and a very great loss to many, and particularly to some in very high stations, and no doubt from her many good qualities must be generally lamented. I am afraid some confusion may ensue upon her demise, and therefore, as there are still some people sanguine enough to hope she will get over this, I wish very heartily I could see any good reason to make one in that number.

You may be assured that I will not fail in punctually complying with your Lordship's desire, in the close of yours.

There is one thing more, which though it cannot fail of being disagreeable to you, I think there is some sort of obligation on me to

apprise you of it, I mean the unhappy state of health, that poor Lady Lechmere has fallen into. . . .

[Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.]

[1737, Nov. 30, Kensington].—(A loose leaf containing a postscript to a letter.)* It has been universally reported for these three or four days past that a reconciliation is on foot, and likely to be concluded. The terms are said to be so different that I think it better to mention none. 'Tis likewise said the declaration of this happy union won't be made till the Prince returns from Bath. I believe there is some truth in this report, and I hope a few months will show this happy event. The Sessions 'tis said will be very short, and nothing contested. By some 'tis thought Sir R. has a mind to resign, and will then own his marriage to Mrs. Skiret, which most believe is so.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] Dec. 1.—The Queen 'tis said will be buried privately on the 2 or 3 [and] 20 of this month. Nothing can be more dismal than St. James['s], all clothed in black. The general mourning is put on the 4, and 'tis then hoped the King will see company. I go into waiting that day at Kew, and by what I hear the Prince will stay out of town till February. . . .

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] Dec. 3.—I take the liberty of troubling you with a letter this post upon the subject of mourning, having seen one you writ to Mr. Jackson upon that occasion. The order for putting peers' coaches in mourning is general, but I believe will not be universally obeyed. It has occasioned so much disgust that many here they say will not comply; but those I believe who are most complaisant to the Court will not think of doing it in the country. But if they should, the directions your Lordship has given is [are] quite opposite to the order, your coach being to be covered all over with black, without nails or arms, like a widow's. This vehicle will make a sad appearance either in dusty or dirty roads, and in my humble opinion there is no occasion for your putting your coach in mourning in the country. The hire of one will be 40 pound at least for the year, and one lined with grey can't be had; it must be made on purpose. If livery servants are put in mourning, to be sure your upper servants must be the same. Lord Effingham writes to your Lordship tonight upon this subject, but as the order is issued from his Office, and my Lord is punctual in matters of form, 'tis possible he may enforce this a little stronger than is necessary. I beg pardon for troubling you so long upon this subject, but I thought the caution might be useful. . . .

I go tomorrow to Kew for a fortnight. The Prince has behaved mighty properly upon the Queen's sickness and death. The enclosed are verses† that were made during her Majesty's illness, and I think so good that if your Lordship had not seen them I thought you would be pleased so to do.

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* Possibly a letter dated Kensington, Nov. 30.

† Not found.

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1737,] Dec. 19, Kew.—The Prince lives retired, seeing no company, so that his whole time is passed with his servants, which makes us of both sexes that are upon duty in constant attendance. We have a new amusement here, which is both very entertaining and instructive. Dr. Desagulier has a large room fitted up at the top of the house, where he has all his mathematical and mechanical instruments at one end, and a Planetarian at the other; which is an instrument he has invented that is much superior to the Orrery, and shows the motions of the heavenly bodies in a plainer and better manner. The Doctor reads lectures every day, which the Prince attends diligently. I have gained some credit by the little knowledge I have in astronomy; but without being vain or saying much for myself, I may venture to say I know more of that science than all the Ladies here. This is no commendation, for ignorance in all parts of learning, both in men and women who belong to the Court, is as universal as affectation, neither of which I would willingly be infected with; and in order to avoid it I always bring down Mr. Pope, Mr. Addison, or some other good author, who[m] I look upon as good antidotes to preserve me from the contagion. . . .

I beg pardon for having given my opinion in relation to the mourning. I believe your Lordship judges that matter aright; a black coach is quite unnecessary. The Prince I believe won't make use of that sort upon the road, but a lacquered coach lined with grey.

Col. William Douglas to [Lord Carlisle].

1737, Dec. 24, London.—The King saw for the first time on Wednesday last the Queen's Ladies, Bedchamber women, and Maids of Honour in Princess Emilia's apartment: I am informed it was a very melancholy scene. The Ladies were all with the Princess, who was entertaining them, when the door opened and the King entered, and making some steps towards the Duchess of Dorset with design to talk to her, he all of a sudden burst into a flood of tears, and without speaking went hastily out of the room. Some little time after, thinking himself recovered, he returned, and covering his concern as much as he could, he went up to the Duchess again, and in some confusion began to say something very civil—of his great regard for her—the rest of the Ladies—excellent servants—much in the Queen's favour—when he again burst out into tears, and so went out of the room leaving them all in the same condition, except Miss Williams, whose youth, health, and native cheerfulness, it seems, preserved her from joining with the rest, in that tender scene.

The next day the King was prevailed upon to see some fine horses in his garden, some brought from Turkey by Lord Kinnoul, and three of the finest of Hampton Court breed, from Childers, which are going to Hanover. He viewed the horses very curiously, and I thought kept his countenance very well. If a man can look with pleasure and curiosity upon fine horses this week, I think the transition will be very natural and easy, to look with something more of both, upon fine women the next: which I dare say your Lordship still thinks the much more elegant view.

I wish I could give your Lordship any hints about our politics, but there is at present an absolute stillness as to them, and not so much as a single word spoke about the unhappy difference in the Family: everything is quite asleep at present. . . .

Col. William Douglas to [Lord Carlisle].

1737–8, Jan. 19, London.—Two days ago the Prince sent a letter to the King, acquainting him that from conversation with her physicians and Mrs. Cannons, the midwife, he had no room to doubt of the Princess's being again with child; and therefore took this early opportunity to notify it, not inclining to give offence a second time by doing it too late.

You will probably have heard before this that my old friend, my Lord Morton, died lately at Edinburgh as he was preparing to come up to Parliament.

The King sees company every day at his Levee, but still looks thin and dejected, and it seems to be with some difficulty that he gets out a few general questions to some of the principal people in the circle. I have observed some few of late that go to both Courts—Lord Foley, Lord Gage, for examples; and others talk of taking the same liberty. But I believe these will be few. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle.

1737[–8], Jan. 24, Whitehall.—Yesterday 176 of our friends met at the Cock-Pitt, which is within five as many as ever met there (the night preceding the opening of the Sessions) during this reign, among which were all the Prince's servants except Mr. Littleton; and 'tis thought 'twill be a quiet Sessions, and there is great talk of a happy reconciliation between the two Courts: 'twould be the highest satisfaction to me could I acquaint you 'twas done. . . .

Lady A. Irwin to [Lord Carlisle].

[1738,] Jan. 30.—I have been in such close waiting for this last fortnight that I have not had an opportunity of paying my duty to your Lordship in this manner, which I hope you'll excuse. The Lady Augusta being left at Kew, the Prince and Princess go thrice a week to see her, and sometimes stay a night or two; she comes on very well, and I think is now likely to live. The Princess is in a fair way of increasing the Royal family; she lies in, in July, goes to the Bath in March, and has given me leave to be absent from that time to the end of June. . . .

The Prince has lost a servant he had a particular kindness for, and who was beloved by the whole family—Mr. Townsend, who died last Saturday. My Lord Townsend will be in great affliction, he being his favourite child. . . . The Colonel [Douglas, the writer's husband] begs your Lordship's acceptance of his duty.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1738,] Feb. 7.—I had the favour of your Lordship's letter last week, and was prevented giving you an account as I designed the last post of the debate of the Army, which was very languid and flat for the first three or four hours, but towards the latter end it begun to warm when the great guns were fired. The Opposition complained of the number being unreasonable (*sic*) burthensome on the people in a time of peace, when the King in his Speech had intimated no dangers from abroad; and Lord Noel Sommerset moved twelve thousand, and Mr. Berkeley seconded him. Those in the Administration did not insinuate

any dangers from abroad, but laid the stress upon the licentiousness of the people, the spirit of resistance of all magistrates and law, the riots and mobs that happen on every occasion; so that they thought the King and this nation was not safe with a less number; and though the case is bad, I am apt to believe it is very true.

The speakers for the lesser number were Lord Noel Sommerset, Mr. Berkeley, Lord Cornbury, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Pitts, Mr. Heathcoate, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Watkin Williams, Sir John Hind Cotton, Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Windham; for the eighteen thousand, Sir William Younge, Mr. Cornwallis, Mr. Moor, Mr. Selwin, Col. Mordaunt, Mr. Danvers, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Rob. Walpoole. We came to a Division about eight: for the number proposed, two hundred and forty-nine; for the lesser number, one hundred and sixty-four. So the majority was eighty-five, which was as strong as any I remember of the late Sessions. I forgot to mention the Master of the Roles and Mr. Plummer spoke in the debate, for the twelve thousand.

My sister Mary writes me word your Lordship has ordered me a hogshead of strong beer, for which I return you my thanks, and the sooner it is sent the more acceptable it will be. The Prince's journey to Bath is put off; he is gone to make some stay at Kew upon the account of the Princess Augusta being ill, which they apprehend will be the measles. I hear you have sent for lodgings to the Bath. . . .

[P.S.] I am just now told Mr. Pelham has thrown out Sir Robert Hillyard, and that they have recovered the Spaw at Scarborough.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1738,] Feb. 16.—I had the favour of yours by the last post, and we still continue to have very easy attendance at Westminster, nothing having yet been started to raise passions or occasion any bitterness. The Ministry is getting the business as forward as they can; the Mutiny and the Malt Bill will both be ready next week, and I believe it's thought with reason the Sessions will be over sooner than any has been of late. The Merchants' Petition I hear is not to come in, which would have taken us up some days, and I find it is everybody's opinion we shall hear nothing of the Prince's allowance this year. The mildness of the Opposition, with these circumstances put together, makes me inclinable to give credit to what I have heard, that the schemes of those who are in the Minority are very much divided and broke this winter.

As to the news you mention that my sister Irwin sent you, I wish I could say I ever heard anything that inclined me to believe there was any foundation for it.

The King is much recovered in his looks of late, and goes next Sunday from Chapel into the Drawing Room; and Mondays and Fridays there are to be Drawing Rooms at nights as usual, and in the mornings of those days the Princesses are to see company in the Queen's apartments.

The King has given the Garter to Lord Essex and Lord Walgrave, and next Monday there is to be a Chapter.

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1738,] March 2.—Lord Archibald Hamilton, I am told, is turned out of the Admiralty, and Lord Vere Beauclerck succeeds him. The Duke

of Kingston is in town, and has taken the hounds at Sherwood Forest, not under the Duke of Newcastle as I hear, but with the same appointment as the King's Buck Hounds in Windsor Forest.

The Speaker was well enough to come to the House yesterday, and tomorrow the Merchants are to bring their Petition. The Ministry as I am told, will be far from giving it opposition, but will countenance it, and I hear there are nine guard-ships ordered be manned to their full complement. Everybody seems to think the Cardinal past all hopes of recovery; what alterations his death may make is very uncertain. It's said with great confidence Sir R[obert] is married, and that his Lady is to be presented at Court the beginning of next week.

Endorsed by a later hand: Col. Howard,* London, March 2nd, 1737.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1737[-8], March 16, Whitehall.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter, and am extremely glad Mr. Garret's designs meets (*sic*) with your approbation. I have since introduced him to Lord Derby, for whom he has drawn some plans, and who is also greatly pleased with his works; he is to wait on him next summer in Lancashire, in his way to Yorkshire. In short, all those who[m] I have recommended Mr. Garret to, have thanked me for doing it, and I believe you can't employ a properer in your works at Castle Howard.

Lady Lechmere is, thank God, perfectly recovered both in her health and memory; I expect her home very soon, it being now near eleven weeks since she went; and I am very sorry your health should make it necessary for you to leave your favourite place at this time of the year, but hope the Bath waters will re-establish your constitution, and answer the end of your journey thither.

This day the affair of the Spanish merchants comes before the House of Commons, and is of vast consequence to the nation, and I don't doubt but the proper steps will be taken about it.

Lady Lucy Morris's affair has been before the House of Lords; I had the curiosity to attend the trial, and 'twas very surprising one so young, and possessed of so worthy a man for her husband, should act so scandalous and infamous a part as it now appears she has long done.

All the well wishers to Sir R[obert] W[alpole] have been to wish him and his Lady joy on his change of condition. I did it to both with great sincerity. Everybody gives her a very good character, both as to her understanding and good nature, and I hope her future behaviour will never give him cause to repent the great obligations he has bestowed on her.

The third Earl of Carlisle.

[1738.]—A few poems and sermons in his hand. One of the former is entitled, "A Riddle made upon the Game called Quadrille; that "Game being made partly from Ombre and partly from Wisk did so "prevail, that the other two games were in a great measure laid "aside." It begins—

My Father's birth proud Spain does claim,
My Mother from fair England came;
Of high renown, of ancient race,
Both much esteem'd in either place.

* He was Colonel of the 19th Regiment of foot 1738–48. (Dictionary of National Biography.)

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER to [THE FOURTH EARL OF CARLISLE].

1739, Nov. 8, Kimbolton.—I am just arrived here, and take this first opportunity (on being informed that your Lordship is returned to England) to beg the favour of your interest for Mr. Mitchell at the ensuing election for the county of Huntingdon.

M. RIDLEY to [LORD CARLISLE].

1740, July 1, Heaton near Newcastle.—The villainous riot that has lately happened at Newcastle has without doubt reached Yorkshire ere this—I mean the account of it, for I pray you may never see or feel the like of it. They have destroyed all they possibly could lay hold of, that belonged to the Corporation, and have robbed the Treasury of £12,000. They had not begun with private property when a party of General Howard's Regiment marched into the town, upon which the mob (which chiefly consisted of keelmen) surrendered or fled. The prisons are full of them, so we hope peace will continue, especially as all the men concerned in the collieries are gone to work.
. . . .

R. KNIGHT to [LORD CARLISLE].

1740, July $\frac{9}{20}$, Paris.—As to the back of a chair, which I sent addressed to Mons. Bussy, the French Minister at London, he wrote me word two months ago, that he expected it with his baggage every day, and that he should deliver it to your order. I am very much concerned to find that wheat, hay, and meat of all kinds is so dear in England. . . .

COL. THE HON. CHARLES HOWARD to his brother LORD CARLISLE.

[1740,] July 20, Newcastle.—Upon further consideration the General laid aside his thoughts of seeing Mr. Asalbie's till his return, so we got hither last Friday. The Town Hall looks very desolate and ruinous, and the people have hardly recovered their fright, so that at present there is nothing they are so fond of as the Buffs. We are to dine with the Mayor tomorrow, and I set out the day following for Edinburgh, having no hopes of my other company's coming to Berwick. Mr. Blacket was at Scarborough, and Mr. Fenwick being to write to him, enclosed your letter, which I thought was as well as returning it to you. The wine is forwarded some time since to Hull, so I hope you will soon get it.

COL. THE HON. CHARLES HOWARD to LORD CARLISLE.

[1740,] July 29, Edinburgh.—I had the favour of yours, and since Lord Morpeth is embarked as a candidate for the county, I most sincerely wish he may meet with no trouble or opposition.

General Clayton saw my six companies this morning; they did their business very well and gave the General satisfaction and me much pleasure. They march next Wednesday for their quarters in Scotland; so I have nothing further to do here, but shall go the latter end of the week to Berwick, and shall make some little halt in Northumberland; should be glad to hear of your motions towards Morpeth, directed for me at Newcastle. The Captain desires his compliments to you.

Seal of arms.

LORD THANET to [LORD CARLISLE].

1740, Aug. 9, Hothfield.—I did not return from a tour I have been making both in Kent and Sussex till yesterday. . . . I hope Lord Morpeth's fall from his horse will be attended with no farther bad consequences. A stumble at the first setting off of a candidate would sometimes be looked on as a bad omen. . . . We are to meet the gentlemen of West Kent on Monday at Maidstone, and if they are as unanimous as we are in this division (which I have no reason to doubt) the two candidates fixed on will be chose for the county of Kent.*

COL. WILLIAM DOUGLAS to [LORD CARLISLE].

1740, Aug. 14, Kew.—You'll permit me to congratulate you on the lucky escape my Lord Morpeth has had, and his getting so easily over a dislocation, which, upon first hearing, we were afraid might have been of worse consequence. I think there is reason likewise to congratulate, as he is pitched upon by the gentlemen of your large County to be one of their representatives next Parliament, and that you think it will be without opposition, which indeed is a very material point, and without which, I am of opinion the ground for rejoicing would be but small. . .

Your Lordship has no doubt heard that there are two more Regiments ordered on board the Fleet; as Sir John and Cathcart are both supposed to be sailed, I judge they can only be designed for Channel service. The late great rains we have had here have laid our camp in some places under water, and made our canvas houses very damp and wet. Your friend Lascelles thinks, if they continue, we'll have no need to go out of camp to shoot snipes.

[PRINCE FREDERICK] to LORD CARLISLE.

[c. 1740.] 4 a clock.—My Dr Lord,—I am commanded by the Princess to desire Ldy Dye Howard's Company at the Hay Market, Thursday next, to dance with us in a Private Room. Ld Inchiquin, her late Partner, will be in Town to attend her; in case she has no Tickets, I'll send her one Thursday morning. I am sorry we can't have the Pleasure to see Ldy Carlisle there. I long for good news from her. Adieu, my Dr Lord,

F. P.

Holograph.

COL. THE HON. CHARLES HOWARD to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1741,] May 4, Carlisle.—I could not acquaint you how affairs stood till I had been here a few days. If they (*sic*) are not very much deceived, the majority will be sufficiently strong, but I fear our being so long here before the Election will make the expense rise high. The writ is just come; when the Election will be, is in their power. By the time this reaches you I hope Lord Morpeth is quietly chose. . . .

COL. THE HON. CHARLES HOWARD to LORD CARLISLE.

[1741,] May 9, Carlisle.—The Mayor and Corporation gives (*sic*) all the trouble and expense they can to your interest; they have kept

* There are many other letters relating to elections in York and Cumberland in 1740 and 1741, including two from the Duke of Portland.

off the Election as long, if not longer than they have power by law. They have just now proclaimed it at the Cross for next Wednesday at one a clock, by which they design to have as long and expensive poll as they can. I think that seems in my judgment to be their chief intention, for if we can form any opinion or promises are to be depended on, our majority is sufficiently strong. I am very glad Lord Morpeth is in possession of the county.

Lady A. Irwin to her brother [Lord Carlisle].

[1741,] May 9.—The Town has been surprised with an opposition at Westminster which started up but two days before the Election—Mr. Edwin joined to Admiral Vernon. Poor Mr. Edwin's name at first turned the thing to a farce, but the poll has been carried on with great vigour and expense on both sides since Saturday; it is chiefly meant against Lord Sundon, and some people think he may lose his election, and that the two Admirals will be chose. But Mr. Edwin having neither chance nor pretence his part is ridiculous enough, and those who really wish the Prince well are vexed there should be an opposition made with so little prospect of success, and by a man of so little eminence. My Lord Carteret is very angry, and Mr. Polteney I hear will give no assistance. The King went yesterday; the town is very empty. . . .

Endorsed in a more modern hand: Private letters, 1740, 1741.

Lady A. Irwin to Lord Carlisle.

[1741,] June 4, Kew.—The Prince bid me tell you that he has had uncommon success in the Elections in Cornwall; out of 44 he has carried 27, but I fancy some of 'em will be attended with petitions. I am sorry Baron Hillton has had such injustice at Carlisle; his case is exactly the same with the Westminster Election, that poll being closed when there was numbers to vote. Mr. Edwin is resolved to try it; so the success of that Election, if it comes on first, will be a way to judge of the fate of Carlisle, since the case is exactly parallel.

The Prince has met with a great disappointment in regard to Norfolk House; upon making some repairs the workmen found the house in a dangerous condition; upon this it was examined by two or three head builders, who report the front to the square to be in a falling condition—several cracks and failures in the wall. Upon this the Prince has left it, and proposes being in the country all winter, and the Princess and himself to come now and then to Town, and lie at Carlton House. . . (Refers to the illness of Lord Morpeth.)

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1741,] June 6, Edinburgh.—Your last letter, which I received at Perth, gave me I assure you great concern about Lord Morpeth. I hope to God he is better, and you delivered from those fears and anxieties which I know you must suffer for him. . . .

I came here yesterday, having been round all my Regiment in their quarters, and I have received an order from the Lords Justices for them to go to Berwick upon General Howard's and Cornwallis' being ordered from the North for this encampment in Essex. I shall stay here I believe about ten days longer; shall give you notice from Berwick of

my motions when I come to Yorkshire; shall not fail waiting on you at Castle Howard to thank you for all favours.

The Elections of the Commons have gone here more against Lord Isla than was expected.

T. Bootle to [Lord Carlisle].

1741, June 16.—Sending the Prince's congratulations on Lord Morpeth's recovery from an indisposition.*

Col. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1741,] July 1, Berwick.—The last accounts from Mr. Turner of Lord Morpeth gave me great satisfaction. . . . I hope to see you in about a fortnight or three weeks, in case my Regiment continues here. I shall have no occasion to stay much longer with them, but in the present situation, the motions of us military people seem to be very uncertain, and every day may occasion alterations. I knew nothing of my being ordered out of Scotland till the route came, and I think not unlikely now, but I may go further.

The bad news from Carthegena (*sic*) is a very unlucky stroke, and what I was most heartily sorry to hear; very possibly more troops and a strong reinforcement will be sent.

[P.S.] Sir Thomas [Robinson] I am told is desirous and not unlikely to succeed for the Government of Barbadoes.†

Articles for Constables.

1741–2, March 3, Hovingham (York).—Articles to be inquired of and answered in writing by the high constables in every hundred, and the petty constables and tything men of every parish, town, and hamlet, in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

They relate to Popish recusants, felonies, and robberies, the watch, vagabonds, cottage-building, taverns, weights and measures, forestallers of corn, brewhouses, petty constables, servants; bridges, causeys, and highways; stocks, apprentices, bastards, profane cursers and swearers, riots and affrays, &c. *Signed*, Fran[s] Taylor.

Broadside, printed at York by Thomas Gent, who advertises some of his books.‡

Order of the Thistle.

1742, Aug. 2, n.s.—Order of the Ceremonies observed at the Investing the Right Honourable John Earl of Hyndford with the ancient and most noble Order of the Thistle, by His Majesty the King of Prussia, by virtue of a Commission from His Majesty the King of Great Britain for that effect, at Charlottenburg.

The particulars follow. (This paper was enclosed in a letter of Sir W. Musgrave dated 22 Dec. 1767, which see.)

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* There is another letter from the same, dated May 25, 1744, stating that he had heard no more about "the Garters."

† He was Governor of Barbadoes, 1742–7. (Haydn.)

‡ There is a similar paper printed at Malton by Joshua Nickson, and signed by F. Taylor, in 1755.

THO. FENWICK to ———— (Dear Sir).

1744, July 14, Barbadoes.—After obtaining a collectorship, he was displaced on the arrival here of one Mr. Dinwiddie, a Scotchman, in quality of Inspector General of these Islands, who gave the place to a young gentleman he brought. Gives a description of "this little island" and its inhabitants. Since the French war commenced, more than 30 French and Spanish vessels have been taken among these islands by English men-of-war and privateers.

SIR THO. ROBINSON to [LORD CARLISLE]. "Triplicate."

1745, April 23, Pilgrim House, Barbadoes.—An express is sent to the Duke of Newcastle, giving an account of our dangerous situation; the French have now a vast force in the neighbourhood. The fatigues day and night I have gone through have left little of me, except my spirits. Fenwick has at last got his deputation, by Treasury warrant of Dec. 1743, but the deputation was not made by the Commissioners of the Customs till 4 July 1744, for want of paying fees at the Custom-house, and came to him on 26 Feb.

Original, signed.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from William Mathew, St. Christopher's, 4 April 1745, to the Hon^ble^ Commodore Knowles, giving an account of the French ships, forces, and preparations.

ROBERT ORD* to [LORD CARLISLE].

1745, July 30, Cary Street.—By way of variety I'll tell your Lordship a piece of news from Vaux Hall. It seems there was a box painted with a gentleman pretty far gone in liquor, two ladies of pleasure with him, and his hat lying by him. A certain Marquis thought this so like himself that he chose to appropriate the box to his own use, and for that purpose had the hat taken out and a marquis's coronet painted in its place; and now if any company chances to go into that box, they are immediately acquainted that it is the M. of Gr.'s [Granby's ?] box, and that they must quit it if he comes. . . .

ROBERT ORD to [LORD CARLISLE].

1745, Aug. 1, Cary Street.—Our Governors are most terribly alarmed with accounts they received two days ago from several parts, that the Chevalier's eldest son is gone to Scotland, and that a scheme is concerted that, as soon as he shall be able to appear there, a body of French forces shall be sent up the Thames to land as near London as they can, and a body of Spanish forces from Ferrol shall be landed in the West. The chief of these accounts, I understand, is from Van Hoey at Paris, and that he particularly writes that the Chevalier's eldest son embarked on board the Mercury at Nantes for Scotland, with a twenty-gun ship to attend them; that these were the ships that were engaged by the Lyon, and that the Mercury could have taken the Lyon, but as she had fought so desperately durst not board her for fear of blowing up or other accidents; so she went off, and as they suppose has landed

* He was M.P. for the borough of Morpeth in the Parliaments of 1741, 1747, and 1754.

her charge in Scotland. This news seems not yet to have reached the City, I mean the particulars of it, for they have a notion of some bad news, and Stocks are fallen upon it; but there is a Proclamation to come out tonight or tomorrow morning for a reward of 30,000*l.* for apprehending the Pretender's son, and this may probably increase the alarm. . . .

LORD WINCHILSEA to [LORD CARLISLE].

1745, Aug. 6.—Gives an extract from Captain Talbot's letter to his owners, touching naval operations against the French in the East Indies.

ROBERT ORD to [LORD CARLISLE].

1745, Aug. 29, Petersham.—As to the Pretender's son being in Scotland, it seemed to have lost all credit, and the Stocks were regaining theirs pretty fast, but I hear that by some news which came from Scotland on Tuesday it began to be believed again. His Grace of Argyll, who I believe I told your Lordship was at Roseneath (a little place of his upon the Glasgow River over against Greenock, half-way between Edenburgh and Inverrara), when he first heard of his landing did not go on to Inverrara, but returned to Edenburgh, and is set out for London, and expected there in three or four days. This causes some speculation, and arguments are drawn from it on both sides of the question: from what I have formerly heard from some of his Grace's friends, I am inclined to conjecture that he does not care to act with some, with whom he must necessarily join, if he should intermeddle there at all in this affair. . . . . .

GEN. THE HON. CHARLES HOWARD to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1746,] May 31.—I hope this will find you and my Lady and Lady Die well after your journey at Castle Howard; you have been lucky in your weather for travelling.

The Rebel Lords are arrived at the Tower, and everybody agrees they are to be tried in Westminster Hall. I find the Bill for the better regulating the Highlands is to begin in the House of Lords.

The present topic of conversation here is peace, and it gains credit in the City, though not much owned at this part of the town. I heard this morning Lord Chesterfield was to go to Paris. If the first is likely to happen, the latter I think is very likely to follow. . . .

There was a report this morning there were a great number of Rebels in arms and the Duke [of Cumberland] was to march in quest of them, but I can hardly give credit to it, and that it was not known whether the Pretender was gone or not.

[P.S.] I forgot to tell you I had a most melancholy letter from Sir Thomas [Robinson], and went this morning to Lord Mountford to talk to him; he told me two or three of the articles against him which I should be sorry were true. Sir Thomas's defence is not come over, but he says he can answer and justify himself in every article. I hope he can, or he is undone.

GEN. THE HON. CHARLES HOWARD to [LORD CARLISLE].

1746 ?] June 7.—The last letter I writ to you was all peace; this post breathes nothing but war. Four Regiments were yesterday

ordered from hence, viz., Graham's, Howard's, Dowglas's, and Johnson's; Sir John Legonier to command them; myself Major General* and Brig. Dowglas Brigadier; three to join us from Scotland, Royals, Sempell's and Pulteney's, under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt. Thus are we tossed about in our way of life, and, instead of passing my time agreeably at Castle Howard, are we sent, when we least expect, to a life of care and anxiety, and what is more hard don't come in for my share of the good, though I get all the ill, of that profession; what we are to do I can't pretend to guess. I write to Mr. Cleaver to desire he will send me up my brown horse.

My compliments attends Lady Carlisle and Lady Die, and if they or you have any commands to those climates we are going [to], I shall be glad to execute them.

[P.S.] I believe we shall not be on board for a fortnight.

Gen. the Hon. Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1746?] June 14.—I hope this will find you and your family safe arrived at Castle Howard. I know nothing new stirring in these parts since you have left us. War seems to threaten more than ever, both nations commissioning all the ships they can fit out, but I think the female part of the town is more engaged about the jewels stole from Mr. Chad's, and have named some of the highest family and fashion, and who I should think as unlikely as myself. Mr. Chad told me yesterday he believed the Lady would be known in a few days; I said it was very necessary for him to have it fixed. . . . (Reports the illness of Lady Mary and Lady Dye.)

Robert Ord to [Lord Carlisle].

1746, June 28, Cary Street.—Yesterday I went to the House of Lords, to see what resolutions they would take about these trials, and I found the substance of the Report from the Committee to be at least 20 days' notice to every Lord having a right to vote in Parliament to attend under pain of incurring the highest displeasure of the House; that the usual way of giving this notice was by the Chancellor's writing to all the absent Lords by the post, and publishing it in the Gazette, and affixing it to the doors of the House of Lords and in Westminster Hall; and that no excuse for not attending should be allowed but upon the oath of two persons to be examined at the Bar of the House touching the indisposition or other reason preventing their attendance.

Nobody opposed the agreeing to this Report, and then Lord Delawar moved that the trials might be in Westminster Hall on Monday the 28th of July. This was agreed to without opposition; and then he moved, as a thing of course, an Address to his Majesty to appoint a High Steward, and to give directions for preparing Westminster Hall. After some time Lord Berkley moved for the opinion of the House whether the Bishops should be summoned. This produced a private debate round my Lord Chancellor of near an hour; at last the Duke of Newcastle spoke, but very doubtfully, and of which side of the question I could not discover. Lord Cholmondeley spoke against summoning them, and the debate was adjourned to Monday. There were but three Bishops

* He had been appointed Major General of all his Majesty's Forces, both Horse and Foot, on 4th July 1743. (Home Office Military Entry Book, No. 17, p. 259.)

there, and not one of them said a word; Gilbert was one of them; I did not know the other two.

I am sorry to tell your Lordship, that it is now generally thought that the same spirit which has been thus exerted to carry these trials into Westm. Hall, and to have the Lords summoned contrary to the inclination of our Governors, will exert itself in compelling as full an attendance as possible; and my Lord Bath told me particularly that I must let your Lordship know, that all Defaulters would be fined, and the Fines estreated and levied. I had no opportunity of speaking to Lord Harrington about it, but from what has already passed I think it very probable that Fines will be set; as to the levying of them I do not think it so probable, but whether it be proper to trust them or not, your Lordship will be the best judge. Upon one of the trials in King William's time, Fines of 100*l.* a piece were set upon the Defaulters, and afterwards discharged upon their application; but upon the whole, as some do think it worth while to bestir themselves to procure a great attendance, I think it is a question whether the taking a journey hither, in case your Lordship has no particular objection against it, may not be the less trouble of the two. As to what time the trials may last, I have no guess, but Lord Cromarty is certainly preparing for a defence; I believe the other two are not.

The merchants are in great fear for the Lisbon and Turkey fleets; they are said to have joined and sailed from Lisbon eleven days before a paquet which got to Falmouth six or eight days ago, and have not been heard of yet; so that there's great apprehensions of their having fallen into the Brest Fleet.

[P.S.] The Commissions for trying the Rebels in the country are now resolved to be held at Carlisle, York, and Lincoln only; that for Carlisle begins Aug. 12, and York about the 4th of Sept.

Gen. the Hon. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle.

[1746?] Aug. [3–]13, n. s., Camp, Austan (?) near Lisle.—We marched two nights and a day from our last ground, and came hither about three days ago, where we are encamped within a league and a half of Lisle. Count de Saxe is in the same camp near Courtray, which I believe is a very strong one, and he does not design to part from, but has thrown in a good many battalions on our motion into Lisle, which before had not above three, and now, if I am rightly informed, has a garrison of thirteen thousand. We have no artillery, nor the Dutch neither, so what we are to undertake or do I can't tell.

Our army, since the Dutch has joined us, is very great, and I daresay amounts to above seventy thousand. [If] people's impatience in England is as great as I hear, I hope to God whatever is to be undertaken will be executed with success and credit. Count Saxe has a very weak army since his detachments to Lisle, but so strong lines that I believe he trusts to the difficulty of our being able to attack him. Ghent and Bruges are much exposed by our march, but I am of the opinion he will not choose to visit them.

A day or two ago some of our young gentlemen went up as far as the fauxbourghs of Lisle, where a small party of the French fired out of some houses, killed a Scotch gentleman, Mr. Keneer, and wounded young Ross of the House of Commons; they took him prisoner and carried him into Lisle; his wound is in his arm, but slight, and he is likely to do well soon. Lord Charles Manners and some more were with them, but not so far advanced, so galloped back as fast as possible and saved themselves from being taken.

I think I have writ you a great deal of military news, but truth in an army is the most difficult thing to meet with, for every hour produces some idle story that the next contradicts. My best compliments attends Lady Carlisle and all the family. Sir Thomas Hay is sitting by me and desires the same. I thank God I am well after a good deal of fatigue, but it is a strange life of confusion; all the people have left their houses and taken off everything, so we find at present scarcity; I hope it will mend.

Seal of arms.

LORD SANDYS to [LORD CARLISLE].

1746, Aug. 9.—Touching the examination of witnesses and other proceedings in the House of Lords. Will take care that the King shall know Lord Carlisle's intention to attend.

LORD GRANVILLE to [LORD CARLISLE].

1747, July 11, Arlington Street.—I have the honour to return your Lordship Dr. Waugh's letter, and should be very glad, you may easily believe, to serve so good a man, especially at your Lordship's desire; but as you know how things are carried on, as well as I do, your Lordship can have no expectation of any success attending my good intentions.

GEN. THE HON. CHARLES HOWARD* to [LORD CARLISLE].

[c. 1748 ?] July 6, Bristol.—I got to this place by easy marches, and one day's halt at Mr. Frankland's, in seven days, and bore my journey better than I expected, without increase of pain or disorder. My country house here is very full of company—Lord and Lady Clifford, who still complains. I wish I could say Miss Howard's looks were as good as I expected to have found them by the accounts we heard, but I can't say the waters have done her much good yet. . . .

While you amuse yourself with Ray Wood, we have our Vaux Hall here. Charles, the French Horn, has undertook a great design; has prepared a garden and laid out a great deal of money, and was to open this night, but a combination of the people of this place being formed against him, his house is beset with bailiffs in order to stop the diversion. He just this moment sent to me to beg my protection, which I never did give, nor believe never shall; otherwise I own I should have been tempted on this occasion, partly on the principle of justice, as they had suffered him to lay out so much of his money, and then endeavour to arrest him for forty pounds, which he offered to let them take at the door, if they would forbear. . . .

LORD LIMERICK to [LORD CARLISLE].

1749, Aug. 21, Dundalk.—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter, which gave me great pleasure, as it is a fresh mark of your goodness to me.

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* Lieut.-Gen. Charles Howard was appointed Colonel of the Third Regiment of Dragoon Guards on 15th March 1748, and Governor of the city, town, and castle of Carlisle on 24th July 1749. (Home Office Military Entry Book, No. 22, pp. 48, 107.) He was made a K.B. 2nd May 1749. (Haydn.)

I am now preparing to attend our sessions of Parliament here, where I shall have affairs both of a public and private nature to transact and solicit, in which I have the greatest probability of succeeding; I am therefore very unwilling to quit this pursuit in order to attend in a place where I see no possibility of my being able to do any public service. This is a fair state of my situation, but as I can never forget what I owe to your Lordship, if you please to call upon me to cross the sea, I must postpone all other considerations to that of obeying your summons. . . . .

LORD LONSDALE to [LORD CARLISLE].

1750, July 19, Byrom.—I have this moment received the honour of your Lordship's letter, with a Petition to the House of Commons for making a road at the public expense from Newcastle to Carlisle. I have been told it was under consideration the last winter in what manner application should be made to the Parliament for money for this purpose, it being, as was said, a matter of some nicety. But I never yet heard what resolution they came to, if they came to any at all. In my own opinion I should think that this ought to be considered as a measure of Government for the advantage of the whole nation, and not as any particular favour to the two counties through which this road happens to pass. If this was understood to be the state of the case, I don't see that any petition at all would be necessary, but the demand would come before the House of Commons in an Estimate, as the other Services do. Your Lordship will forgive me for troubling you with my private thoughts, which I shall readily give up when I find that this matter has been considered, and that those who are much more able to judge of it than I am, are of a different opinion.

ROBERT ORD* to [LORD CARLISLE].

1751, Aug. 6, Cary Street.—An odd story has got about the Town of a letter wrote by Mr. L——n† of the Treasury upon the death of the Prince, wherein he talks of schemes blown up, and projects undone which gave him so much concern that he forgot to direct his letter, and so it was opened and carried to a great man, where it now remains; but somebody pretends to have got a copy of it, and it is shewn about as a wonderful curiosity.

At Richmond church last Sunday there was public notice given of a Vestry to be held for considering of their rights in the Park, and how to assert them; all the Gentry in the neighbourhood are very angry at it, for her Highness‡ has shewn the greatest complaisance to everybody. I fancy some attorney has set it on foot, for there are several there very ready for such business. . . .

ROBERT ORD to [LORD CARLISLE].

1751, Aug. 13, Petersham.—I got here on Saturday, and, by means of my neighbourhood to Mrs. Stanhope, have fallen into such company that I question whether York Races could outdo us in quality. Sunday

* The letters of 1751 are endorsed, "Lord Chief Baron Ord." He was Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, in succession to Mr. Idle. (Haydn.)

† George Lyttelton.

‡ Princess Augusta.

we had the company of a Duke and Duchess and a Lord at dinner; yesterday a Duchess and three or four other persons of quality; and today we are to have a Marchioness and five Countesses. . . .

My brother James thinks that he has discovered by some of his correspondents in the Spanish West Indias, that the great naval preparations of the French are made in pursuance of an agreement between the Courts of Paris and Madrid for supplying all the French and Spanish West Indias with negroes; for which purpose the French are to keep a sufficient force on the coast of Africa, or make proper settlements there for securing the trade; and likewise to make a settlement at Hispaniola, to be a staple for lodging all the negroes till wanted; and the trade to be carried on, and all the expenses defrayed, by a Joint Company of both nations. This, my brother thinks, will make a great uproar among the merchants, and therefore chooses not to mention it to anybody till he has spoke to Mr. Pelham or the Duke of Newcastle about it, and they are both gone out of Town for some time.

You see in the papers that Lord Sandwich has won his match at cricket against the Duke, but what I think the best part of the story is not told there. The Duke, to procure good players on his side, ordered 22 who were reckoned the best players in the country, to be brought to play before him, in order for him to choose 11 out of them. They played accordingly, and he chose 11. The other 11 being affronted at the choice, challenged the elect to play for a crown a head out of their own pockets. The challenge was accepted; they played before the Duke, and the elect were beat all to nothing.

The meeting appointed at Richmond for considering of their rights in the Park has been stopt, I fancy by the interposition of the gentry of the parish.

Robert Ord to [Lord Carlisle].

1752, May 26, Cary Street.—I had the honour of a visit last night from Sir James Lowther, and after entertaining me an hour with the praises of Mrs. Timbertoe, who dances with one leg at the playhouse in Hay Market, he told me that he heard your Lordship was setting up a woollen manufacture at Bramton. He made great encomiums upon the undertaking, but said it would be proper, if not quite necessary, to have the fine Irish wool to mix with the Cumberland wool, and for that purpose it would be convenient to get Whitehaven made a port for importation of Irish wool, which he would join most heartily with your Lordship in procuring to be done by Act of Parliament next Session, and desired me to acquaint your Lordship with; and I think I have fully obeyed his orders. . . .

Robert Ord to Lord Carlisle.

1752, June 30, Cary Street.—We were much alarmed by the fire in Lincoln's Inn t'other night, though I think not much in danger; the account you have in the papers is pretty exact. The lives of Mr. Cha. Yorke and four other gentlemen were probably saved by an old gentleman coming from the tavern, who found the porters breaking open Mr. Wilbraham's door, and with much difficulty stopt them till they had waked the gentleman above stairs, who had scarce got down stairs without their clothes when the fire burst through the door and set the whole staircase in a flame at once. . . .

Gen. the Hon. Sir Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1752,] July 23, Bristol.—His Majesty has done me the honour to appoint me to succeed General Hawley in his governments of Inverness and Fort Augustus.* The Duke [of Newcastle] recommended me in the most gracious obliging manner that was possible. My Commission not coming over at the time the others did, nor not yet come, is the reason, I suppose, they did not put me in the news.

Here is as usual a great deal of company—not very many of my acquaintance from London. Lady Charlott Edwin has just left us. Sir Thomas [Robinson ?] I suppose is with you, and I hope keeps his spirits in the North equal to the South; if so, I am sure the quicksilver is very high in this rainy season. . . . .

Endorsed: Gen^{ll}. Howard.

Robert Ord to [Lord Carlisle].

1752, July 25, Cary Street.—The congress at Scarborough is so great that I fancy there is more news there than here; at least I am sure that I cannot pick up any. The fever at Hanover among the English, I take for granted, is owing either to their eating and drinking more, or not being able to eat and drink so much as the Germans. . . .

Lord Bath to [Lord Carlisle].

1752, Aug. 22, London.—Last night I got safe to town, which I find emptier than ever it was known to be. . . . Lord Winchelsea, I am told, has taken a longer journey; Spá it is said was only the pretence, but Hanover was the true end of his travels. How the D. of N—— may like such a visit I cannot say, but perhaps W—— may aim at more than barely getting himself the reversion of P. S. after Lord G——r.† He has often talked of Lord Sunderland's abilities in stealing quietly to Hanover, and then overturning Lord Tow——d's Administration, by secret negotiations with the late K—g. I am told Mr. Pelham is to be in Town on Wednesday next from his northern expedition.

Robert Ord to [Lord Carlisle].

1753, June 16, Petersham.—Your Lordship left us in the height of Matrimony;‡ the event of it I need not acquaint you with, but the patron of it in your Lordship's house, when it came back there, expressed so thorough a contempt for his chief opponent in the House of Commons, that some of his words being reported to him that night at Vaux Hall, produced both motions and expressions much stronger than any we had in the House of Commons.

During the contest in the House of Commons it was whispered about, with some industry, that his Majesty was displeased both with the Bill, and the keeping the Parliament sitting for it, but we were soon undeceived, and strong indications given to the contrary. . . .

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* The appointment is dated 8th July 1752, in the Home Office Military Entry Book, No. 22, p. 273.

† Lord Gower, Lord Privy Seal.

‡ The Matrimony Bill; *see* July 17.

GEN. THE HON. SIR CHARLES HOWARD to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1753,] July 11, Bristol.—I had the favour of yours, and got to this place about ten days ago by the help of Lord Brook's post-chaise much better than any journey I have travelled since the beginning of my disorder, and I never treated myself with anything I liked so well. We are as full here as we can hold; I don't doubt but Scarborough, Tunbridge, and all public places are the same. It is an age of diversion, and not staying at their own habitations. The Duke and Duchess of Beaufort, Lord and Lady Jersey, Lord and Lady Dillon, Lady Charlott and Mr. Edwin, Lord Boyle and his Lady, Lord and Lady Tullamore are our chiefs, and the Bishop of Worcester and an Irish Bishop.

My letter appears to me very much like one of the Spaw Journals in giving you an account of our company. Lady Sturton is here so ill, there is little hopes of her recovery.

I find you are likely to have opposition arise both in Yorkshire and Northumberland, which I am sorry for; county oppositions are both very troublesome and expensive to whoever are concerned in them.

I take for granted Sir Thomas [Robinson] will think Scarborough waters very necessary for his constitution this summer, as I daresay many others will do, and that those will be the most in fashion.

Endorsed: 1753.

ROBERT ORD to [LORD CARLISLE].

1753, July 17, Cary Street.—I hope matters have gone at York according to your wish here we are fixing our Members everywhere upon the test of their having voted for or against the Jews; and where the candidates have not been Members I think they judge by their looks, for a man of a dark complexion is scarce safe in the streets. I don't know Sir Geo. Savil, but I think Lord Downe and Sir Conyers* may stand this test very well; and as to the other they may probably answer it as many others do, that they never troubled themselves about the Bill. There is such a spirit in Gloucestershire against Norb. Berkley upon this account, that though he is otherwise the perfect idol of the country, they are now quite in an uproar against him. Mr. Webb, Lord Chancellor's secretary, stands for Haselmere, and thought he had secured almost every vote, but upon their being acquainted that he was solicitor for the Jews Bill, the tables are turned, and the only chance he has left for it is, that his rival Peter Burrell voted for the Bill. Mr. Sewel the lawyer thought he had secured Wallingford, but his antagonist acquainting them that he drew and was council (*sic*) for this Bill, he too is like to be routed, or be at a very great expence; and it's remarkable that this same godly borough the last Parliament threw out one Birch a lawyer for being council against Jesus Christ, as they called it; that is, he had been council for one Wolston, who was tried for writing against the Miracles. I am glad the mob have not taken their aim at the Matrimony Bill; I wish they be not more affected by it than by the other; it seems to me something like the Sacheverel madness. . .

(There are other letters of the same writer, 1741 *seq.*, giving foreign news.)

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* Darcy.

Dr. John Waugh [Dean of Worcester] to [Lord Carlisle].

1753, July 25, Carlisle.—We have here, for once, the better of Yorkshire—a most prodigious fine summer, and I think great appearance of plenty. Corn everywhere looks mighty well, though the straw is short. The hay, at least about this town, is well grown, and never was better got in. . . . I wish my Lady Carlisle very good diversion at York races.

Gen. the Hon. Sir Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1753 ?] Sept. 28, Bristol.—I had the favour of yours last post, and am not a little hurt at the spirit and disturbances shewed in many parts of England against a law passed after many considerations and debates by the Legislature. What is our prospect if they are to set themselves up for judges whether we do right or wrong ? I take for granted we shall have some amendments next Sessions, but not give up the Bill. I own I suspect poison at the bottom of all these riots; otherwise they are not so sensibly affected to feel so much as they at present shew.

I have very near finished my dose of water, and shall set out for London in three or four days, where I expect to meet with an empty town, but shall divert myself between Richmond and that place till it fills.

You mention nothing of York and Scarborough, nor have I heard whether they filled, but take for granted they did, as all fairs have plenty of customers.

[P.S.] The expedition still remains a secret; good success attend them, or what will become of us ? Affairs in Germany are in a sad way.

Sir Thomas Robinson to [Lord Carlisle].

1754, Dec. 7, King Square Court.—In looking over my papers last night on the subject matter we were talking on, I found that Mr. Clark, who was only Lieut. Governor of New York, received out of the 4½ per cent., on 5th March 1746, at one payment, the sum of 4,000*l.*, and the Duke of Newcastle proposed it to the King, though his case bore no parallel to the hardship of mine.

That Mr. Shuts, Governor of Massachusets Bay, had 400*l.* a year given him out of the 4½ per cent., immediately after his recall, and the pay of his Government ceased, which is more than the 500*l.* a year given to me, three years after my recall, and the pay of my Government being stopped; calculating my life at 10 years' purchase, which was 8 years' purchase more than it was then sold for at White's; and besides, this gentleman had liberty to sell his commission of Lieut. Col. of Horse, before he went; and the Duke of Newcastle also proposed this to the King.

In short, my Lord, if it would do me any service, I can shew from facts, no one man, take all considerations into the scale, has been so cruelly used as myself; your Lordship['s] interest and friendship is the great support I build on for better days.

P.S. I know in other cases, when favours of this sort are asked of the Crown, the Minister, to induce the King's consent, has reminded him of what has lately fallen in to him, and made use of that argument to carry his point; if this be so, there are very lately two very favourable

deaths for me; large pensions falling into the Crown, by the death of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Grantham, and which I should imagine might not be an improper circumstance to mention to the Duke of Newcastle, but which however I most humbly submit to your Lordship's judgment.

Lord Granville to Lord Carlisle.

1755, Oct. 1, Arlington Street.—The Duke of Newcastle told me last night that the King has appointed Mr. Ord to be Chief Baron of Scotland, and that it was done agreeably to your recommendation, which will always have great weight with him, and desired me to write to your Lordship, which I promised to do. . . . I make no doubt but he will do great service there, in the political as well as judicial affairs. I return your Lordship many thanks, as well as to the Countess of Carlisle, for your great goodness to Mr. Thynne. . . .

Sir Thomas Robinson to Lord Carlisle.

1755, Oct. 2, Queen Square, Westminster.—I am just come from Kew, where I saw Messrs. Stone and Creset and Lady Irwin, and left all well; and underneath is the news of the times.

From undoubted authority I acquaint your Lordship that Mr. Fox is to have the seal of Sir T[homas] R[obinson]; * Lord Barrington succeeds Mr. Fox as Secretary of War; and Sir Thomas returns to his former post of Master of the Wardrobe, with the addition of 2,000 a year for 31 years on the Irish Establishment; they are not to kiss hands, or enter on their new employments, till after the Address is voted in the House of Commons, that their elections to be rechose may not come on, till their services of that day are over.

The struggles that have lately been at Court are astonishing, and the uneasiness the King has had, not to be described. He parted with my namesake with the greatest reluctance; there can't be a stronger proof, as there is no instance in our times, or I believe in any former times, for the Crown to give a subject a donation of 62,000*l.* for serving as Secretary of State for about 15 months, which, added to about 10,000*l.*, the emoluments of that office for that time, is I think playing his cards well. The D[uke] of N[ewcastle] offered to resign, but the King would not let him.

We have taken about 200 merchant ships, and 'tis calculated they had on board at an average about ten men each ship; so there are now about 2,000 French sailors prisoners in England, and if a peace be obtained before a declaration of war, the ships and men and cargos are to restored to the French.

What follows I tell your Lordship from universal report, and what is generally believed.

That the Chancellor of the Exchequer has refused putting the seals to the subsidy treaty with Russia; which is for ten years at 60,000*l.* (some say 72,000) a year. This subsidy, as also those with Hesse, Woolfenbottle, and Bavaria, will be the great question of debate from the opposers the ensuing Sessions. The strict union between Mr. F[ox] and Mr. P[itt], &c., to oppose the motion for these subsidies in the House of Commons, is supposed to be the occasion of taking off the former. The

* Secretary of State, 1754-5; afterwards Lord Grantham; not the same person as the writer of these letters.

latter is since gone to Bath, some say broke with Mr. F. on his quitting him. Mr. P.['s] great point was to be appointed a Cabinet Councillor, and [he] has worked privately with the Princess of Wales for her interest; and indeed all parties have applied to her, but she has acted, as she always does, with the greatest prudence and does not interfere. But what will surprise your Lordship, the Duke of Devonshire has declared an opposition in the House of Lords against these subsidies; and further Lord Hartington writ to his father to acquaint him that nothing could be done to quiet Ireland, except the Primate was laid aside, and all those reinstated in their respective employments from whence they had been removed in the Duke of Dorset's Adm[inistratio]n. The D. of D. acquainted the King with what his son said, and that measure is to be followed.

Admiral Hawke is returned to Portsmouth, and all the French fleet got safe into Brest; the two Captains your Lordship hears by the news are suspended, is (*sic*) Lord Harry Powlet and Captain Amhurst, who by quitting their posts gave the French squadron the opportunity of slipping into Brest; for Sir Edward Hawke had placed the 16 line-of-battle ships under him, 10 m[iles] asunder, and in so judicious a manner that they could not escape him; these Captains breaking that line and returning to Portsmouth on the most frivolous pretences, has given the French the opportunity of saving 9 line-of-battle ships and 4 frigates. The Captain of the Blandford, with Governor Littleton on board, is also suspended for having yielded to the frigate who took him, without firing a shot, though he was not much inferior in force.

In short, in my opinion everything looks gloomy. The good old King, who is a friend to his kingdoms and mankind and would do justice to all, is disturbed by private cabals in the decline of his life, which is every one's duty to make easy and happy to him.

Sir W[illia]m Younge's employment is kept open for the gazers to stare at, and the expectants to hope for; and 'tis said Lord Egmont has refused being Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Mr. L[egge?] must be out.

Mr. Doddington was sent for to Hammersmith, and came there yesterday; whether by the desire of the Patriots or Court is not known, for both think they have him. I called there this morn in my return from Kew, but he was gone out.

This is all I have picked up at present; when more news transpires [which] may either amuse or be agreeable to your Lordship to know, I will acquaint you thereof.

P.S. Permit me, after mentioning so many things of national concern, to descend to so low an individual as myself. Mr. Stone was greatly pleased with your letter to the D[uke] of N[ewcastle], and thinks it may do very great service if your Lordship will be so good as to write to my Lord Granville, and which, if your Lordship pleases, I will deliver to him myself. I shall give your Lordship's to the Duke of N. on Tuesday. Mr. S[tone?] is of opinion my affair may and will be done before the meeting of the Parliament, if properly conducted. Excuse this fresh trouble I give your Lordship; I hope it will be the last; and I shall make it the chief study of the remainder of my life to shew my gratitude for the obligations I owe you. . . .

The Duke of Newcastle to [Lord Carlisle].

1756, July 11, Claremont.—I had intended to defer returning your Lordship an answer to your letter till I could have the honour of seeing

you. . . . The moment I could with certainty acquaint your Lordship with the King's intention with regard to yourself, I did it with the greatest pleasure. I then told your Lordship that I believed His Majesty was determined as to the disposal of three of the vacant Garters, but that His Majesty was still unresolved as to the fourth; that I did hope and indeed believe, that three would be disposed of soon; and I have done my endeavour to dispose the King to it, without having had any positive answer. When I found that your Lordship and the Duke of Devonshire had fixed upon your journeys for Monday sennight, I last Friday again spoke to the King, and I was very sorry to find His Majesty less disposed to have a Chapter immediately than I had expected. The King told me that the situation of affairs abroad, and some particular circumstances at home, took up all his attention, and that he could not think of the Garter at present; I urged the season of the year and the time of going into the country; but after His Majesty had given that reason, it would not have been decent for me to have insisted longer at that time.

LORD ROCKINGHAM to [LORD CARLISLE].

1756, Aug. 16, Wentworth.—Touching York races, and a scheme for the management of the stand.*

The DUKE OF BEDFORD to the EARL OF CARLISLE.

1757, June 23, Bedford House.—Declining to remove Col. Howard from the English to the Irish establishment, it not being advisable to do so.

GEN. THE HON. SIR CHARLES HOWARD to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1758,] June 12, Bristol.—I find our armament has landed with little opposition; a good beginning will I hope make a good ending. I am not politician enough to dive into the depth of their undertaking, and am as much in the dark now as I was before we had an account of their landing, and find everybody else in the same situation, which I am very glad of.

This place is not so full as usually at this time of the year, but a week's time will get all the young ladies that are able to dance, partners. There are many invalids and pale faces amongst our society. . . .

Endorsed: 1758.

LADY A. IRWIN to her brother [LORD CARLISLE].

[1758,] June 29, Kew.—Our public rejoicings follow fast; yesterday the Tower and Park guns were fired, [and] illuminations and bonfires throughout London were exhibited upon the success obtained by Prince Ferdinand over Count Clermont. The advantage is considerable; the number of slain much inferior to what the news mentions; many officers killed and wounded, amongst the latter the Count Gisour dangerously. The King is doubly happy upon this occasion, as it is the Hanoverians that have gained this advantage, though he has no ears to hear it, and but one eye to read it, he having totally lost the sight of

* Another reference to the same subject is made in a letter of the same writer dated at Sandbeck, 21 June 1755.

the other. A large detachment of horse are going from hence to join Prince Ferdinand; Lord Granby it is said is to have the command of them; the Blues, General Bland's [and] my brother's make up the greatest part of the choir. Sure all this success will produce peace, and conclude most gloriously the King of Prussia and Mr. Pitt's campaigns. . . .

General Sir Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1758,] July 1, Bristol.—This place is now beginning to be very full. Lady Talbot and Lady Jane Cooke arrived a day or two ago. When I have drunk this month, I shall remove to my villa at Richmond, which I am not a little partial to.

I congratulate you on Prince Ferdinand's success, and find we are going to send six regiments of cavalry and two [of] infantry, amongst which number is mine; their destination is Embden. I hope the French have reason to be very sick and tired of this war, and that they [the troops?] will soon bring us peace. . . .

Dr. John Waugh to [Lord Carlisle].

1758, July 16, Deanery at Worcester.—We expect our Bishop this week. Here is great plenty, and hay was at first well got, but we have had dropping weather, and at last so hard rain that corn rises again in our markets, and we are in some danger of floods.

Dr. John Waugh to Lord Carlisle.

1758, July 23, Deanery at Worcester.—I have not been without a fire in Worcestershire for a fortnight past, and so much rain has fallen and continues to fall, that the prospect is very melancholy. Hay suffers, but corn much more, and the markets rise on the prospect of a bad harvest. . . . The Bishop of Worcester came last Wednesday from Tunbridge to this country—pretty well—but sets out for Bristol for a month on Tuesday next. . . . I hope your Lordship found the military road done to your satisfaction.*

Gen. the Hon. Sir Charles Howard to [Lord Carlisle].

[1758,] Aug. 24, Richmond.—Our great success of Louisbourgh was damped in a day or two by the unfortunate defeat of General Abercrombie; we may, however, comfort ourselves the balance is much on our side, for I look upon the taking of Louisbourgh to be of great consequence.

Lady Mary is gone to her winter quarters; Lady Irwin going into waiting next Sunday. Our weather here is delightful and the country charming, which I hope you enjoy at your chateau in full perfection. My compliments to Lady Carlisle, who will grieve with all the rest of the world at the loss of Lord Howe.

[P.S.] Draughts are going to be sent to America, and an augmentation to be made to the Dragoons, ten per troop, to the regiments at home; none to those in Germany; thirty men additional to each light troop. . . .

Endorsed: 1758.

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* There are several other letters from Dr. Waugh, some dated at Carlisle.

Sir William Musgrave to [the Fifth Earl of Carlisle].

1767, Sept. 22.—It gave Lady Carlisle great pleasure to hear of your safe landing at Calais, and I intended to have wrote by the last post to congratulate you on the same account, but being prevented I now forward to you a large packet of letters which have been left here since you went, and among the rest one from Mr. Howard enclosed to me, which I therefore took the liberty to peruse; and finding it related solely to the Election disputes in Cumberland, I have added the several advertisements which have appeared on both sides since the meeting at Wigton, of which you had some account from the Duke of Portland immediately after it was over; and also an application for your interest from Mr. Curwen and Fletcher, in respect to which, notwithstanding your letter to me, I have not ventured to give any positive directions, because I had been informed that the business of that day had been carried on in a good deal of confusion, and I waited till I could receive more clear accounts.

You will now see by the dates of the several advertisements the order in which they appeared, and that the[y] flatly contradict each other. You are now called upon in a very positive manner, both by the Duke of P[ortland] and Mr. Howard, to declare yourself in consequence of some engagements you are supposed to have entered into several months ago with the Duke, to which I am a stranger. I must therefore desire your *immediate* and *positive* directions in what manner your agents in that part of the world shall act, and I will take care to forward them with all due dispatch. I have only to observe that Sir James* has made no manner of application to you since this meeting, and that the other side have been very attentive, and seem to rely on your promise; that it is your interest to weaken Sir James's as much as you can, and that all the gentlemen who profess themselves friends to your family are at present in opposition to him, and zealous supporters of Messrs. Curwen and Fletcher; for all which reasons I think (if not both) at least one of your votes should be given as proposed by Mr. Howard. But I shall not pretend to give any directions till I receive your answer.

Enclosed you will receive Lord C[hief] B[aron] Ord's letter in answer to mine about Morpeth. I am entirely unmoved by his Lordship's tartness, and shall show the whole to the Duke of Grafton, who[m] I am to see tomorrow. In the meantime I thought it proper to send it to you, as I cannot pretend to offer to Lord C. B.'s fairness and candour any terms relating to that business which may not in the course of a contested election be liable to a course of trouble, expense, disappointment and misrepresentation. I shall however be glad if you can strike out any new lights on this subject, and I shall not fail to communicate to you by the next mail what shall appear to be the Duke of Grafton's sentiments, by whom I conclude you would choose to be guided in this affair.

I have received a letter from Mr. Potts at Morpeth, acquainting me that he does not think himself equal to the task of being sole agent in case of a contest there, so that you seem to have left your Borough in an excellent situation, without candidates and without managers. You may however depend I will endeavour [to] put it on the best footing I can, though entirely unacquainted with the people, and hating the sort of business. Mr. Potts acquaints me that Northumberland is like to be as much disturbed as Cumberland. A meeting is advertised for the 24th, and it is said Earl Percy, Lord Ossulston and Sir Fran[cis] Delaval intend to offer themselves. Mr. Dixon, a nephew of

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* Sir James Lowther; see next letter.

Lord C. B.'s, has already advertised in the Newcastle papers. The Duke and Duchess are both in town, and it seems odd enough that they should come away at such a time. Potts is very desirous to know how you mean to dispose of your interest. I have wrote to him to endeavour to prevent your tenants, &c., from engaging themselves till your inclinations can be known, and desired him to write to me as soon as the meeting is over, of which I will give you the earliest intelligence.

Sir William Musgrave to [Lord Carlisle].

1767, Oct. 1.—I wrote you a long letter last week stuffed full of election matters, and you must expect a second dose by the present packet. We have no other topics of conversation, and everybody for themselves or their friends seem to be interested about them. I saw the Duke of G[rafton] the morning after the date of my last to you, and shewed him the Lord C[hief] B[aron Ord]'s answer, and we thought it best, as he had left an opening for a treaty, to bring him to a decisive answer, by acquainting him with your terms as settled before you left England; and accordingly I wrote to him, telling him that, being ignorant of the causes of his complaints, I could only say that when you desired me to write to him, it seemed you meant to shew him the greatest attention and civility by giving his son the preference next after your own very near relation, but that your being under prior engagements to another left it in your power only to offer Mr. Ord to be the second returned if your interest could carry two members, for which he must take his chance at his own expense; and if they should decline it, they might easily suppose that many others were ready to engage on the like terms.

I have not as yet received any answer, but in the meantime, that I might safely say you was under prior engagements, the Duke of G[rafton] proposed Mr. Blake, brother-in-law to Sir C. Bunbury, to be the first member returned on your interest, and as you had directed me to take the Duke's nomination without exception, I immediately agreed to his proposal; and the Duke, who was going into Suffolk the next day, proposed sending for him and talking to him about it. As soon as the Duke returns and I have received the C. B.'s answer, I am in hopes these troublesome affairs will be settled.

I have at last learnt that this Eyre, who has given you so much disturbance, is nothing more than an attorney, and behaved in such a manner at Morpeth as to give the people a very mean opinion of him; and it is suspected that he does not mean to stand there himself, but to make the most of his influence by selling it to some nabob, &c. I have therefore been considering and desire to know whether you would have any objection to my making him a proposal on your part (in case the C.B.'s son declines) that you will not oppose Mr. Eyre, provided he will as soon as he is chosen entirely and solemnly relinquish the people at Morpeth, and withdraw all support from them, and think no more of that place after the end of the Parliament; or if he does not intend sitting there himself, then to see upon what terms he would desert the people, with whom I understand he is very little satisfied, and perhaps would be glad to slip himself out of the scrape upon the best terms he can. Either of these measures would secure to your interest the returning one member for the present, and break the schemes of your opponents for the future, which perhaps may be better than an attempt to force down two, and, in the doubtful situation of things, hazard the losing both. I shall expect your sentiments on this subject, as I

should be sorry to take any step in so delicate an affair without your approbation.

Having taken up so much room about the greater business, I shall not trouble you with any detail in regard to affairs in Cumberland, but only add to my former account that Sir James L[owther] having rejected the offer that was made him at the meeting to be chosen without opposition together with Mr. Curwen, he applied to his uncle the present member and his brother to join him; but being refused by both, he is now soliciting in favour of himself and a Mr. Senhouse, whose father has ever been adverse, and particularly of late has done every injury in his power, to your interest at Carlisle, in order to serve Sir James. There seems now to be no longer any doubt what part you ought to act. I must therefore desire you will, *immediately on the receipt of this*, write me a short *separate* letter, *fit to be shewn* on any proper occasion, not mentioning any advice I may have offered you, but only acquaint me "That you have maturely considered the many letters and accounts you have received since the meeting at Wigton from most of the friends to yourself and family in that part of the world, and upon the whole you cannot, consistently with your engagements to the gentlemen there, your honour or interest, give any support to Sir J. L., especially as he has joined Mr. Senhouse with him; and therefore desiring I will immediately acquaint your agents that it is your positive directions to them that they exert their best endeavours in soliciting all your tenants for, and giving every other assistance to Mr. Curwen and Mr. Fletcher; and so conclude with any news from Paris, and the usual compliments."

I enquired about your Ribband when I saw the Duke of G[rafton], who told me that they were not yet sent up from Scotland, and that there would be a further delay, as the Duke of Buccleuch had desired they might not be disposed of till his return to London from that country, where he has been celebrating his birthday with all possible magnificence. The Duke of Athol is to have the other that is vacant. I hope however that you will not loiter long at Paris on account of this delay, but proceed to Turin, as they will certainly be given away in a few weeks, and it would be very improper as well as expensive if you was not there when the Ribband arrives. Lady Carlisle has received both your letters, and wrote to you by the last packet. I hope our letters have come safe, as they have been forwarded from the Secretary of State's Office, and I beg you will not fail before you leave Paris to give us a proper direction to you, and fix upon some secure method of having our letters forwarded to you after you leave that place. . . .

[P.S.] When I concluded on the other side I thought I had done with election matters, but have this moment received an account that at a meeting held at Morpeth on the 24th of last month, Mr. G. Delaval was generally approved of for one of the candidates for the county. Mr. Dixon offered himself, but none of any fortune declared for him except Mr. Ord of Fenham. Earl Percy and Sir William Blacket recommended Sir Edward Blacket, and most of the gentlemen went round the town with Sir Edward Blacket and Mr. Delaval to solicit votes, &c., and by the same post I have received a joint letter from them both desiring vote and interest, &c. They have also made the same application to Lady C[arlisle], with an additional request that she would recommend them to you. I have heard nothing from the Duke of Northumberland, but conclude, as Sir Edward Blacket was recommended by Earl Percy and he has joined Mr. G. Delaval, they both stand with

the Duke's approbation, I shall therefore write civil letters to them both accordingly. I am glad matters are so settled that you can preserve your engagements to Mr. Delaval without seeming to dissent from the Duke of Northumberland. But as your agents seem to expect orders from you or your guardians relative to all these matters, I must desire you will write me such answers to mine as may enable me to say that I have your positive directions for such instructions as I may find it necessary to give them.

Sir William Musgrave to Lord Carlisle.

1767, Oct. 16, London.—As my letters are forwarded from the Secretary of State's Office, I am not scrupulous about loading them with enclosures. Among the present you will find a copy of my last letter to the C[hief] B[aron Ord] and his answer, where the thing now rests, and I should think, by the smoothness and civility in his, he remains satisfied. The other paper enclosed is a copy of the terms upon which I am labouring to prevail on some persons to support your interest. You will see that I engage largely for you, but it is not till your candidates have first spent 6,000*l.*, which alone I hope will be a sufficient fund for the purpose; and in case your interest should return but one member, your candidates are to pay 4,500*l.* before you will be called upon to make good deficiencies. All the persons that have hitherto been named have objected to engaging in an *unlimited* expense in support of an interest not their own. By these terms they hazard no more than 1,500*l.* if they do not succeed, and are only to pay 3,000*l.* for their seat, and a fund of 6,000*l.* is provided in support of your interest, which is the great (*sic*), for if the Borough should be broke in upon, I am afraid your interest would be gone for ever; and yet I think that sum will be more than sufficient to answer every purpose. However I must desire your sentiments on these terms, because if you do not approve of any part of them I will alter them accordingly.

I have no other business now in town, but waiting on the Duke of G[rafton], and trying to fix your affairs at M[orpeth] upon some tolerable footing. Mr. Blake, who was mentioned when I wrote last, has engaged himself in a contest at Sudbury, where it is thought he will be drawn into great expenses without success, so that he will not do for us. I saw the Duke of G[rafton] yesterday, and he named Mr. Fitzwilliam, son of the Viscount, and promised I should hear further from him today, but I suppose he has either forgot it or been prevented. In all business, though ever so closely followed, delays are unavoidable, but procrastination is inexcusable, as it throws everything into confusion, and there is not time to recover the right course again, when once let slip. Most people who wanted to come into Parliament have engaged themselves before this time; however I will get you the best candidates I am able, and pick up some better managers than you have hitherto had.

The Duke of Northumberland has consented that his agent, who is the cleverest fellow in that part of the world, should assist us, and I have the pleasure to tell you that the Court has been held with all the success we could wish and the *mandamus* men were not sworn in, and we have an open field for obtaining a new trial. Neither Boldero nor any of your council (*sic*) are yet in town. It is a clear case if these men can be prevented from being sworn in before the election; it will otherwise be a very hard run contest. I have been obliged to apply to General Monckton in your name on behalf of an old man, one Thomas Clark, that is a freeman at Morpeth and holds a small place under him as

Governor of Berwick; he has very obligingly promised to pay some arrears that were due to the poor man and to continue him as long as he lives. If you could find time to write a civil letter of thanks it might be taken well, as I had no acquaintance with the General nor any pretence to trouble him on such an occasion; if you enclose it to me I will deliver it. I am told that Lord Holland sets out today and will take Paris in his way to Nice; it may therefore very probably be within your plan to travel with him, but I must absolutely insist that you do not stir till you hear from me again, as I am not yet sure whether the people at M[orpeth] will not expect that the candidates, *when we know them*, should be recommended under your own hand.

I have settled matters relating to Cumberland with the Duke of G[rafton], who has no objection to your giving your interest as you proposed, and thinks it a sufficient answer to any person that though you wish very well to Government, yet in this instance you have done what you thought most for your honour, and the advancement of your own family interest. I therefore wrote last night to Cleaver, who is luckily there, to take the necessary measures and say something civil from you to the Duke of Portland, whose letter I suppose you never answered.

I have held two consultations about you seal with Mr. Deard, and hope it will be most complete, as he assures me I shall be satisfied. There is no prohibition against Mr. Selwyn's coach, but it is impossible to say what duties it will be liable to till it arrives and the officers see the degree of wearing it has undergone, &c. In general the duties on these things are not very high, and seldom rigorously insisted on when it really appears that they are imported for no other purpose than a gentleman's own accommodation in travelling. It is imagined the Q[ueen] will come to fix in London on Sunday for her lying in. The King was most seriously grieved for the loss of his brother,* and literally almost cried his eyes out. The Princess of W[ales] it is said was also affected. According to custom all the world are now employed in sounding the praises and *virtues* of the deceased, and the mourning is general. An offer as direct as a Princess can make has been made to Lady Ann† to be Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess Amelia, but [I] am afraid your sister does not accept it quite heartily on account of some other views she may have. But this is tender ground, and I must insist that you do not mention it, as they will conclude I have put you upon it.

If I had not lately met with several people who saw you at Brussels I should not have known that that town was in the road to Paris. I suppose the visit you mention to have made was to some friend at that place. Pray make my compliments to Mr. Selwyn.

Sir William Musgrave to Lord Carlisle.

1767, Oct. 29, London.—I have this moment received yours of the 25th inst., and am very happy to find you approve of my endeavours to establish your interest at Morpeth. For this purpose I have now been in town several days attending on the Duke of G[rafton], to fix the candidates. Couts, the Banker in the Strand, will certainly be one, and I think there can be no other objection to him than his being a Scotsman; but as the people who are in opposition to you chose Lord

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* Edward Augustus, Duke of York.

† Lady Anne Howard, daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Carlisle.

G[arlies] at the last Election they have no ground to raise any clamour now. The Duke has hopes that Mr. Blake may be induced to quit Sudbury and engage on your interest, but I have just been dining with Lady Hervey, where I saw Lady Sar[ah] B[unbury], and she thinks that Mr. Bl[ake] is too far engaged.

Boldero, with his usual dulness and dilatoriness, is not yet come to town, though the term begins on the 6th of next month, when the other side will certainly exert themselves to the utmost; and till he is here I can do nothing with your council (*sic*). In the mean time I must desire you would in your next send me *two* separate ostensible letters; the first to me signifying—That you are sorry to be informed by my letters that Mr. Lisle and Mr. Potts are unwilling to take upon themselves the *entire* management of your interest at Morpeth, and therefore you think some *additional* agents should be employed to assist in conducting this intricate business; and as you have heard very good characters of Mr. Forster, agent to the Duke of Northumberland, and Mr. Gibson, the town clerk of Newcastle, you recommend it to me to apply to them, particularly the first, and also to take in any others that I may think able to advance your interest.

The other, directed to Christopher Fawcet, Esq.—Thanking him for his endeavours to serve you, and particularly approving of his conduct in refusing to admit the men who brought the *mandamus* causes against you; and as you are informed that there are several persons who are duly elected by their Companies, who did not join in those suits, you think it right, both on a principle of equity and justice as well as good policy, that these men should enjoy every advantage that others have been endeavouring to extort contrary to old custom; and therefore you desire and direct him to admit all those persons who did not join in the causes as soon as ever he shall hear that the others have obtained peremptory orders from the Court of King's Bench for their admission, &c.

These two letters you will return to me without delay, and I am in hopes by the next mail to send you the names of both candidates, and as soon as I shall receive a proper letter of approbation and recommendation of them from you, I think I shall be invested with such full powers that I need detain you no longer at Paris. It is extremely late, and though I wish to tell you what is passing here, I am afraid the Secretary's Office will be shut and that I shall lose the packet. The Ministers think themselves very secure for the next Session, and have no fear about the success of the new elections. This, with Lord Chatham's recovery, which is now positively asserted, will remove any apprehension of changes, and I understand they have no thoughts of resigning so long as they find themselves able to conduct the public business. The account you will see of General Pulteney's legacies in the English papers is pretty exact. Adieu; present my compliments to Mr. Selwyn.

[P.S.] 2 Nov. 1767. This letter was to have been sent by the last packet, but the Secretary's Office was entirely shut up before eleven o'clock, which must give great pleasure to all friends to Government to find that the public business is so easily and expeditiously dispatched. After remaining in town the whole week I have not been able to get the candidates fixed. Mr. Blake is at Bath, Sir C. Bunbury is gone to Barton, and I am left here, though it is absolutely necessary that everything should be determined before the 6th inst. Many overtures have been made me, but I thought myself engaged by the offer that had been made to the Duke

of G[rafton], who I hope, however, will decide upon something before it is long.

I have been with your principal council today, and they are clearly of opinion that the people who occasion all this disturbance cannot by any means have a right of voting at the next election, and in that case your friends will be chosen with very little difficulty. By an accident I have heard some circumstances today that gives me reason to think that Lord Shelburn has at the bottom supported the people who brought the causes against you, but I shall know more in a short time.

Nothing new has happened since writing the former part of this letter except that the Q[ueen] is brought to bed of a Prince, and the Duke of York's corpse arrived this afternoon; so that while we were rejoicing in one part that a male child was born, they are mourning for the loss of another. Lady Frances's* Mr. Radcliffe's uncle is dead, and has left 100,000*l.* I find they are in great expectations about him.

Sir William Musgrave to [Lord Carlisle].

1767, Nov. 10, London.—I am now to acquaint you that I have at last settled the candidates for Morpeth with the Duke of G[rafton]. They are a Mr. Linwood and Coutts, both of them members in the present Parliament; the first for Stockbridge and a director of the S[outh] S[ea] Company; the other for Edinburgh and a great banker in the Strand. I shall therefore have nothing now to detain you longer at Paris, and have only to desire that you will write to me by the return of the post an ostensible letter acquainting me—"That as your "own nearest friends and relations have declined standing as candi- "dates for Morpeth, either because they do not intend serving in "Parliament at all or have secured seats for other places, you have "therefore determined to give your interest to Nicholas Linwood and "James Coutts, Esqrs., both of them gentlemen of established characters, "members of the present Parliament, where they have served with "approved conduct, and enjoying very ample fortunes; such men you "hope will prove acceptable to the people of Morpeth, as they have "been approved by every other person you have advised with on the "subject; and desiring me to write to all your agents and friends "(whenever it shall be thought advisable by Sir F. Norton and your "other council) to acquaint them with the choice you have made, and "directing them to use every means and endeavour in their power to "serve those gentlemen to the utmost, as nothing (*sic*) can be more "solicitous than you are for the success of so respectable persons."

My dear Lord, I have scarce a moment to spare, but I must urge you not to neglect sending me in the most expeditious manner the letters I formerly desired, and this which I have just mentioned to *recommend your candidates*, without which I can scarce pretend to send them down to Morpeth; and you will consider the nature of your engage- ments to the Duke of Grafton and the very great importance it is of to you to carry this election, so that I hope you will not neglect *a moment* sending me a letter to the purport I have desired; and then I think there is nothing on this side the water which need detain you a moment longer at Paris, but you may proceed with as much diligence as you please in your further progress.

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* Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the fourth Earl, was married to John Radcliffe, Esquire, in 1768.

I have been in London four days, and am fatigued very much by running after your council and establishing your affairs on the best footing. As I have no time to see anybody but people of business, you must not expect much news from me, except what is known to everyone—the dismission of Lords Buck[ingham] and Eglin[ton] from the Bedchamber, and the appointment of the Duke of Roxburgh and Lord Bottetourt in their room.

A few days after I wrote my last to you I received a letter from Sir C. Bunbury, acquainting me that Mr. Blake was so far engaged at Sudbury that he could not quit that place; upon which Mr. Linwood was determined upon, and as you may be curious to know some particulars of him, I can only inform you that I believe he was formerly a very considerable merchant in the city, but having acquired a very large fortune he has quitted business, and lives in Spring Garden in a very genteel manner. He is member in the present Parliament for Stockbridge and a director of the South Sea Company. Coutts is so well known that I need say nothing of him. In short, your candidates are as good men as could have been thought of, and as they are both known to be worth 100,000*l.* each, I think they will deter any others from disturbing you, for as to Eyre we laugh at him and *know* we can buy him off whenever we please, but wish to have such an antagonist as it keeps others from appearing. . . .

Sir William Musgrave to [Lord Carlisle].

1767, Nov. 20, London.—I wrote to you the last time in the greatest spirits, having overcome all difficulties and delays, and procured two responsible men to be your candidates, and I had planned it so that they should have made their appearance at Morpeth at the fittest time, and that every person who had any concern there should have been in motion at the same time in their support. In short, as far as human foresight could go, I thought I had insured success; but Mr. Coutts, who has been so long fixed upon, thought proper to fail of the appointment, and it is all dashed to the ground, and we must begin to build again as well as we can, and I expect Cleaver every day in town, who has passed a good deal of time at Morpeth and been thoroughly active in your cause. However, notwithstanding Mr. Coutts's behaviour, I must press you not to delay sending me, according to my request in my last, a letter recommending Mr. Linwood and him to be the candidates, and wish you would consider that in these critical times a letter delayed to be answered, or the want of proper authorities from you even for an hour, sometimes puts all your affairs to a stand, as some of those who call themselves your agents and friends, having other objects, seem glad to give me all the trouble they can. I must therefore desire you will not delay writing to me constantly, and giving me timely notice of your motions, that a messenger may always know where to find you. Indolence, inattention, and procrastination have very nearly lost you the Borough, and are the ruin of all affairs.

I have received your letters, with one to Mr. Fawcett enclosed, which has just come in time to remove his scruples and doubts, unless he has received other directions from the Lord C[hief] B[aron Ord]. It gives me much pleasure to hear from Mr. Selwyn that he left you so well at Paris.

Sir William Musgrave to [Lord Carlisle].

1767, Dec. 1, London.—You must excuse me, my dear Lord, if I expressed myself with any peevishness in my last at your not answering

my letters, for I was at that time most heartily vexed. All the letters from Morpeth concurred in assuring me that if the candidates had met and begun their canvass at the time I had appointed the Borough would have been secured with the greatest ease, but at the time I wrote I was told all was in the utmost confusion, and I could hear no account of either of our candidates for almost ten days; in short, a series of unlucky accidents concurred to destroy the fairest plan and expectations, chiefly owing to Coutts's duplicity, folly and absurdity, who had done everything to betray your interest and disoblige your friends; and when we met here in town, I found him capable of denying his own writing and retracting his most solemn promises, so that I was obliged to put an end to every transaction with him, and desire the Duke of G[rafton] to recommend some other person; and he has accordingly named Peter Beckford, Esq., who is to set out tomorrow or Thursday with Mr. Linwood for Morpeth; and though perhaps it may not be very material, yet I should be glad you would send me another ostensible letter in favour of Peter Beckford and Nicholas Linwood, Esqrs., which need only be a copy of your last, as it will suit all your candidates.

All these delays however have been very fatiguing to me, and as the Court of K[ing's] B[ench] have determined the causes against you, your antagonists have acquired spirits, and your success is now much more precarious than it would have been had my original plan been carried into execution. You may easily imagine I have been obliged to undertake for and promise many things in your name, though nothing but what you may very well execute, and therefore I must confide in your honour to perform them in due time. It is agreed on all hands that this election will be decisive either for the establishing or utter ruin of your interest.

Mr. Selwyn tells me he shall write constantly to you, and as he has much better opportunity of being informed of what passes I shall very seldom attempt to send you any news, because his intelligence must be earlier and more certain than anything I may pick up. . . .

I am told Lady S. Bunbury is an indefatigable canvasser in favour of Sir C[harles], and with the greatest success. For the greater expedition she undertakes one district while he goes into another, and the other day she alone secured 94 out of 100 voters. I am only surprised how those remaining six could withstand so charming a solicitress.

Lord Macclesfield moved the Address in the Lords, seconded by Lord Bottetourt; Lord Beauchamp, seconded by Mr. Ryder, in the Commons. T. Townshend is made joint Paymaster with Mr. Cook in the room of Lord North. Mr. Jenkinson succeeds Mr. T. Townshend as a Lord of Treasury, and Lord Lisburn (who was Mr. Vaughan) is named for the Admiralty.

The only weddings I hear of, whether true or false, are Lord Suffolk to Lady H. Somerset, sister to the Duke of Beaufort, and Admiral Keppel to Miss Wriottesly.

The Duke of Grafton desires me to inform you that Lord Murray's Ribbon has not yet been sent up to the King, but a letter has been wrote to quicken them, and as soon as it comes I will endeavour to adjust measures with his Grace for the forwarding it to you.*

Lady Carlisle is still in the country, but begins to talk of removing in about a fortnight. Lady Frances is gone again into Bedfordshire with Lady Torrington, and they persuade themselves that Mr. Radcliffe will

* This refers to the intended investiture of the Earl of Carlisle with the Order of the Thistle.

certainly declare before Christmas; when that is done I shall give it credit, but shall think him a bold man to undertake a contested election and a wife in the same year, even with 150,000*l.* in his pocket which his uncle has just left him. The christening was last night at St. James', and the young Prince named Edward.

[P.S.] People are much entertained with a motion made by Lord Weymouth to take the *state* of the *nation* into consideration, and a day is accordingly fixed, but it seems so ample a field that it will be very difficult to foresee when this consideration will end.

Sir William Musgrave to [Lord Carlisle].

1767, Dec. 11, London.—I have just received a letter from Mr. Cleaver, which informs me that Mr. Beckford and Linwood have been through the town of Morpeth and have met with as much success as could be expected, and, he hopes, have reason to be satisfied with their reception. They are not yet returned, but if anything of consequence should fall out I will not fail to communicate it to you by the next mail.

The Jockey Club met on Saturday last to expel a Mr. Brereton for charging Meynell and Vernon with cheating at play. The Rocking[ham], Bedf[ord], and Temp[le] parties have all quarrelled and are entirely disunited, which will contribute to strengthen Administration very much; and I conclude that as by this division they can no longer expect to force their way into power *in chief*, some of the sets will now be content to come in as *auxiliaries* to the present Ministers. I have been out of town since Sunday, so can say nothing about your Ribband. Mr. Selwyn, who sees the Duke of Grafton more constantly, will most probably give you the earliest intelligence when it sets out: however, I will endeavour to see his Grace and mention it again to him soon.

It is said Lord Bolingb[roke's] proceedings against his Lady are compromised; that he takes a sum of money from the Duke of Marlbor[ough], who is also to allow the lady 200*l.* per annum, and Lord Bol[ingbroke] to do the same, and no more to be said about it.

Sir William Musgrave to [Lord Carlisle].

1767, Dec. 22, London.—I shall not trouble you, my dear Lord, with the detail of your affairs at Morpeth, though I have had many difficulties and disappointments to encounter. Things seem now to be proceeding very favourably, and I have good reason to hope that both candidates will be chosen on your interest, which if you remember, when we considered that matter together, was more than we found reason to expect from the very unfavourable situation they were then in. Nothing can give me more true and hearfelt satisfaction than the serving you, whose interest I am so solicitous about.

Enclosed I send you the ceremony of investing Lord Hyndford with the Green Ribband at Berlin,* and conclude it will be sent with your Ribband to the *Chargé des Affaires* at Turin to serve as a precedent for your Investiture. I think, however, I have discovered some errors in this account, which says that Lord H[yndford] was invested by the King of P[russia] by virtue of a *commission* from the King of G[reat] B[ritain]. Having caused search to be made no traces of any such *commission* is to be found, which it is not probable ever could have issued from one crowned head to another, but only some letter, &c. It is also to be remarked that his Lordship's *secretary*

* See under date of 2 August 1742.

carried the Ensign[s] of the Order before him. This was done not as secretary to his Lordship but as secretary to the Minister, which he then was, and to whom the Ensigns of the Order were of course sent; and in my opinion the *Chargé des Affaires* or his secretary should perform the same office at your Investiture, as the Ensigns of the Order, being sent directly to them, will be in their custody, and therefore cannot be borne by *your* secretary, if you had one.

You will also apply to our King's Minister to see that the two knights of the King of Sard[inia]'s Orders who are appointed to introduce you, be men of the first rank, as in my Lord Hyndf[ord]'s case. And as soon as he receives the Ensigns of the Order, he should get the enclosed form translated into Italian for the use of the King of Sard[inia] and his Ministers. I have spoke to the Duke of G[rafton], who has promised to give me the notice you desire before the Ribband is sent away; but it is the opinion of the most judicious of your friends here that you should contrive to be at Turin *some time* before it arrives, in order to be introduced to the Court there, and also that you should continue some weeks there after receiving so distinguishing a mark of the King's favour, in order to return the civilities that will naturally be shown you there. I conclude therefore and recommend it to you that as soon as the snows cease and the roads are beaten, you should cross the Alps and wait at Turin for the arrival of your Ribband, which must now be sent in a very short time. Your seal is engraved, though not entirely to my satisfaction, and will be sent you by the same courier who carries the Ribband, and I believe the St. Andrew is in great forwardness. . . .

My paper now reminds me to conclude; I shall therefore send you a list of the changes, some of which are to take place tomorrow, and the rest towards the end of the Session of Parliament.

Lord Gower, President of the Council, *vice* Northington.
Weymouth, Secretary of State, *vice* Conway.
Hilsboro', Secretary of State *for the Colonies.*
Sandwich, Joint Postmaster, *vice* Hilsboro'.
Rigby,* Vice Treasurer of Ireland, *vice* Oswald.
Charles Spencer, Lord of the Admiralty, *vice* Jenkinson.
H. Thynne, Master of the Household, *vice* Harris, deceased.
R. Vernon, Clerk of the Green Cloth, *vice* Gray or Fanshaw.
Duke of Marlboro', the first vacant Blue Ribband.
Conway is to be provided for in the military branch.

Oswald is to have something for his son, and being very ill it is thought he cannot live long.

Jenkinson is removed to the Treasury, so that in all this arrangement Gray or Fanshaw are the only persons likely to be *dismissed*, and I suppose it will be because they cannot bring themselves into Parliament.

Sir William Musgrave to Lord Carlisle.

1767, Dec. 24, London.—I wrote a long letter to you by the last mail, and therefore shall not detain you longer now than just to inform you that on Wednesday last the King invested the Dukes of Buccleuch and Athol with the Green Ribband, and at the same time *signed* all the proper instruments *appointing* you one of the brethren of the Order, so that you are actually a Knight, wanting only the Investiture. Lord Shelburn is gone out of town for the holidays, but returns again on Wednesday, and I conclude everything will be sent about that time to

* The Right Hon. Richard Rigby. (Jesse, I., 50–57.) He is often mentioned in Selwyn's letters.

Turin. You ought therefore to lose no time in repairing thither, and I will endeavour to send you by the same courier a star or two and a piece of the Green Ribband, together with your seal and other ornaments. Mr. Selwyn is now out of town, so I am ignorant what directions you may have given him, but conclude what I propose sending you will not be unnecessary. You ought to set out directly for Turin.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1767,] Dec. 29, Tuesday, *de mon Château de Tonderdentronk.**—I received your letter of the 8th and 10th, that is, one part wrote at Antibes, the other at Nice, here yesterday, which gave me every degree of pleasure and satisfaction that a letter can give; it could never have come more seasonably, than when I cannot possibly, from the snow without doors, and the Aldermen† within, have any other pleasure.

As I am well furnished with maps, I had recourse to them to follow you in your travels, and had besides the pleasure of hearing that you were well, and knowing exactly where you are, which was an occupation for the whole morning. The Antiquities of France have furnished me with the knowledge of some places through which you have passed. Mᵉ de Sevigné did, long ago, bring me acquainted with others; and sure I am that when she was at Rochers, she could not think more of the Pont de Garde than I should have done, if I had known of your being there.

If you do me the honour to give me in future letters so much detail, I shall be infinitely happy. You may be assured that I shall not communicate a letter of yours to anyone, not even to L[ady] S[arah],‡ who hinted to me she wanted to see your last, without your leave; but as for burning them directly, I cannot in your absence resolve upon that; *je les conserverai prétieusement* till your return, and that is all I can promise without your very express commands.

The accident that had like to have happened to you and Charles§ *m'a fait glacer le sang.* I hope it was not Robert that was so heedless. But that, the wild boars, the Alps, precipices, *felouques*, changes of climate, are all to me such things as, besides that they *grossissent de loin*, that if I allowed my imagination its full scope, I should not have a moment's peace.

I shall think no more of anything that may happen unfortunately either to you or me for the next twelve months, than I do in passing from Dover to Calais of the one-inch plank that is between me and Eternity. I have assured myself that as long as the time will appear in passing now, I shall think some time hence its progress not so slow, and I will not add imaginary to real evils, by supposing it possible that I shall not meet you again.

I came down here on this day sevennight, and could I have walked out —but the deep snow has prevented that—I should have passed my time among my workmen tolerably well.

Lord Lisbourne and Williams‖ were to have come with me, but disappointed me. His Lordship was hunting a mare's nest, as they say, and fancied he should be this week nominated either of the Admiralty or Board of Trade. He is *fututo de*, and Lord Ch[arle]s Spencer is of the first, and no vacancy in the other.

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* This appears to refer to his house at Matson, near Gloucester.
† Of Gloucester. ‡ Bunbury. (Jesse, II., 171.)
§ Charles James Fox.
‖ George James Williams, usually called Gilly Williams. (Jesse, I., 121.)

Vernon has Fanshaw's place at the Green Cloth, and this Greasy Cook dismissed with a sop, but of what sort I know not; however, he thinks himself happy that a dish-clout was not pinned to his tail. March is passing Xmas between Lord Spencer's and the Duke of Grafton's. There is no Oubourn; that family has been occupied, and is now, between recovering a little of his Grace's sight, and niggling themselves into Administration.

I believe I told you of Crawfurd's preferment in my letter of last Friday sevennight. I shall return to London the end of this week, and go in search of further news for your entertainment. The journal which you suppose me to keep is no other than minutes I make of what I hear. When you come back from your travels my office of journalist will cease.

I have no one with me but Râton, but he is in great health and beauty. I'm sorry that you told me nothing of poor Rover; pray bring him back if you can, and don't let a Cardinal or any other dog stick it into him.

I find my affairs here, which you are so good as to enquire after, much as I expected them. The needy and tumultuous part of my constituents are daily employed more and more, as the time of election approaches, to find me a competitor, and put me, if they cannot, to a needless expense, but I believe their schemes will be abortive as to the main design; and as to money, I must expect to see a great deal of it liquified and in streams about the streets of the neighbouring city.

Morpeth I hope will be settled to your satisfaction for this time by the help of the Duke of Grafton, and in all future times by no means but what are in your hands. I hope as soon as I come to town to find the St. Andrew ready to be sent, and shall by this post send a quickner to Hemmins; if a courier goes before I come, I hope he will carry it. Lady Carlisle was to go and see it. I take it for granted that Sir W. Musgrave will have an eye to the courier's going. I believe, at least the papers say so, the other two Ribbands are given away; so yours must be dispatched, of course. What would I not give to see your Investiture! What indeed would I not give to be with you on more occasions than that! I know nobody but Charles that I should not envy that pleasure, but *il en est très digne* by knowing the value of it.

I shall be in pain till I hear again concerning Lord Holland; *il fait une belle defense, mais il en demeure là à ce qu'il me paroit;* I see nothing like a re-establishment. *Ses jours sont comptés au pied de la lettre.* I beg my best and kindest compliments to him, Lady Holland, and to Charles, to whom I wrote by the last post. I desired him to do me the favour to stick a pen now and then into your hand, that I might hear often from you. I shall be extremely glad to have some of your observations upon the places to which you go; but if that takes up too much time, I shall be contented to know that you are not any more within pistol-shot.

Lord Beauchamp trains on well, as they say, but *il n'a pas le moyen de plaire.* Lord Holl[an]d's criticism upon Beauc[hamp] is not just; he will get nine daughters if he goes on as he does, before me; and I thought once, it was a hard-run thing between us.

Poor Lady Bol[ingbroke], *quelle triste perspective pour elle! j'en suis véritablement touché.* Adieu, my dear Lord, *pour aujourd'hui.* God preserve you from boars of any kind, but one, which is the writer of a long letter; for mine to you cannot be short, or ever long enough to tell you how sincerely and affectionately I am your Lordship's.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1768, Jan. 5, Tuesday morning, Chesterfield Street.—Many and many happy new years to you, some of which I hope to have the pleasure of being a witness of. When I came to town yesterday from Gloucestershire, I received to my surprise and great satisfaction your letter of the 16th of last month, for this is now the second which I have had within a week beyond my expectation.

My answer to the first is now on the road to you, and will, I hope, reach you some time next week. I don't recollect in any which I have wrote that there was any expression of formality, which you seem to have observed, and which I certainly did not intend, because I know it would not be acceptable to you; and therefore don't interpret that to be formality, which can be nothing but that respect, which no degree of familiarity can ever make me lose in my commerce with you.

I was surprised to find that Sir Ch[arle]s and Lady Sarah [Bunbury] were in town, and had not been out of it. The weather has been and is so cold there is no stirring from one's fireside, and so they changed their mind. I dine with them today, when I hope I shall see Harry; I have not seen him yet. I have been absent, it is now above a fortnight. I shall not seal up my letter till I have been in Privy Garden. I was asked to dine at Lord George's today, but am glad that, it being post day, I can dine where I may be able to pick up something that will be interesting to you. I don't wish to add fuel, but it is natural to wish that one's letters are made as acceptable as possible.

I have had a message today from Sir W. Musgrave, who desires to see me tomorrow; I will endeavour to see him today, as the post goes out; I don't know particularly what he has to say. I have sent to Hemmins this morning, but he is not yet come to me.

Lord W. Gordon says he thinks his brother will ask for the other Ribband. I long to see the Duke of Buccleugh in his. I can tell you no more at present of Brereton's affair than that he is to be prosecuted. I send you his advertisement, which came out a fortnight ago. I think some answer should have been made to it; although I think the controversy very unequal, and a paper war with such a low fellow very disagreeable. But the assertions in this advertisement will gain him credit, as I live but with one set of people. I do not hear all the animadversions that are made upon this affair, but I believe there is a certain *monde* where my two friends pass but for very scrubby people; a bold assertion, and a great deal of dirt thrown, although by a very mean hand, must enevitably have a disagreeable effect.

Lord Baltimore's rape, flight, and prosecution has been the talk of the town these last few days, and the papers have related the story, but how truly, I don't know: the fact is, that a warrant from Feilding was issued to apprehend him, and he has made his escape; the girl's parents are Dissenters, and in good circumstances. They are determined to reject all offers of composition. He is mad certainly, and had a narrow escape, by a prank of the same nature, as I hear, at Constantinople.

The night robberies are very frequent. Polly Jones, my neighbour, was a few nights ago stopped, when the chair was set down at Bully's* door, and she robbed of 12 guineas, which I suppose she had been out to earn with the sweat of her brow.

Lady Bolingbroke has sent her resignation to the Queen, who wrote her a very gracious letter upon it. Bully kisses hand[s] tomorrow;

* Frederick, Viscount Bolingbroke.

the others soon after. Lord Gower is the only one who has kissed hands as yet. Fanshaw is not to be in Parliament, so there is so much money saved to him, and his pension consequently in greater security.

I am glad that there is so much care taken of Rover. I think, if he has the good fortune to survive Alps, &c., &c., and ever come to Castle Howard, that he has an establishment for life, and may be a toad-eater of Stumpy's.

I had a letter yesterday from Sir J. Lambert, who says he can contrive to send the Badge safely. I hope he sends my letters regularly. March* is still at Lord Spencer's, where he amuses himself, as he tells me, excessively.

I will write more after dinner, when I hope to be more amusing to you. I am glad for your sake and mine that they are still in town. I shall not forget to *faire valoir tous vos beaux sentimens.* I'm persuaded that I shall not be thought borish upon that subject.

Lord March's election at the Old is to be tonight, if you can call a constant ejectment an election. I thank you for your offer of a Circassian in case you travel into Greece; you must suppose me to be like the Glastonbury Thorn, to receive any benefit by it.

I am also much obliged to you for your hint about Hazard. Foolish, very foolish it is I grant you, and if anything was prevalent enough with me to relinquish so old and pernicious a practice, it would be your condemnation of it. *Heureusement pour moi,* the occasion fails me more than my prudence would serve me, if that offered. The rage there is for Quinze is my great security. Can you forgive these borish letters; can you excuse my leaving you to go and sup with Sir Cb[arle]s in Privy Garden?

My dear Lord, you have been very kind in writing so often to me; the only mischief of it to me will be, that you will have accustomed me to that which I cannot expect, when you are no longer in that state of retreat and indolence in which you have been at Nice. I owe much to your friendship and great complaisance on all occasions, but I cannot expect to interfere with what will occupy you in those places with so much reason. However, whatever you are, I hope I may have leave to assure you from time to time how truly and affectionately I am, and ever shall be yours.

I should be glad to know if all my letters have come to your hands.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1768,] Jan. 12, Tuesday morning.—I went to White's to enquire after your ticket, and found The Button with a letter in his hand, which he desired me to direct to you. It was only to tell you that your ticket was a blank: it came up the 2nd instant.

Mr. Walpole's book will not be out this month; I will send it by the first opportunity I can find. Pray let me know if you have received Hume's Hist[ory], that Lord Pembroke was to carry for you to Sir J. Lamb[er]t. The Apology for Lord B., that is, Lord Baltimore, I sent for, but it contained nothing to the purpose, and it was a title formed to draw people in.

I dined at Crawfurd's on Saturday; there were Robinson, Sackville, and R[ichar]d Fitzpatrick, who, *à la suite d'une fièvre,* has been attacked with the rheumatism, and looks wretchedly, and quite decrepid. I went afterwards and sat an hour with poor Lady Bol[ingbroke]; she

* William Douglas, Earl of March, afterwards Duke of Queensberry. (Jesse, I., 194–210.)

was very easy and cheerful, *et avec une insensibilité qui m'en donneroit pour elle;* but that cannot be. She told me she had a favour to ask of me, which was, that I would use my endeavours that she might see her children. Bully is at present out of town, but to be sure, I shall have no difficulty in that negotiation. I have supped at Lady S. several times, and last night went home with her and Miss B. from the play. *Je profite de certains momens pour vous rappeller à son souvenir*, if that was necessary; they are to dine here, but have not fixed the day. Little Harry and his French friend are at Mrs. Blake's in the country. Sir C. will make him write to you when he returns. Lady Hertford is actually (as Lady S. told me last night), Lady of the B[edchamber].

I expect Sir W. Musgrave to call upon me at three to take measures about the courier, and Hemmins has promised to bring me the Badge at two. I shall then have more to say upon those points. Parker gave us a great dinner, but the company was not numerous. I dine tomorrow at Lord Barrington's, and, I am told, with the new Ministers. I had a little supper at Lady Harrington's on Sunday, *en famille;* Lord and Lady Barrymore were there. She goes on with her pregnancy.

I found Beauc. sitting with his future, *en habit de gala;* he soon went away to the Opera, so I had a *tête à tête.* Mr. Radclif is still talked of for Lady F., but I have not asked Sir Will[ia]m Mus[grave] if it is true. He is very well spoke of, *et le nom est assez beau.*

Quinze goes on vigorously at Almack's. Lady S. says that you have fixed your coming of age as an *époque* for leaving off that and all kind of play whatsoever. My dear Lord, *vive hodie;* don't nurse any passion that gathers strength by time, and may be easier broke of at first. I am in hopes indeed that when you are *maître de vos biens*, as the French say, you will not invite Scot, Parker, or Shafto to partake it with you. Your condition of life, and the necessary expenses of it, will not allow that coalition. I never kept so long from play yet, but I frankly own I have not much virtue to boast of by that continency. I know of no good opportunity which I have resisted. St. John told me at the play last night, that you was to go and return from Turin alone. I hope that is not so; I shall be very angry with Robert, if he does not take great care both of you and Rover. I will finish the rest when I have seen Sir William.

Tuesday night.—Sir W[illia]m sent me word he did not call upon me today because he could not settle with the courier till Thursday; and Hemmins did call, and assured me that on Thursday the Badge should be ready. I scolded till I was in a fever; I believe he will not venture to put me off any longer.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1768,] Jan. 15, Friday morning.—We are at this moment in some alarm about you, which I hope to find has been given without any foundation; however, *en tous cas*, I hope this will find you at Nice, and not at Turin, where Lady Carlisle has been told there is a contagious disorder. You are near enough that place to have better intelligence than we.

I dine[d] with the Duke of Grafton the day before yesterday at Lord Barrington's, who assured me the death of Mr. Shirley would not occasion any delay in regard to you. Sir W[illiam] M[usgrave] and I have been contriving how to save you the price of the courier, which, for going and coming, is above 150*l.* I shall apply to Lord Clive through his former secretary, my neighbour Mr. Walsh. Lord Clive is going to

Nice, although I suppose by a slow progress, and can supply this courier's place, *à pas de tortuë*, that will not be inconvenient if you don't leave Nice immediately; if you do, a more expeditious method may be thought of. But I am very desirous of adding no more expense to that which this Order will cost you.

Almack's was last night very full; Lady Anne and Lady Betty* were there with Lady Carlisle. The Duke of Cumb[erlan]d sat between Lady Betty and Lady Sarah, who was his partner. Lady Sarah, your sister, and His R[oyal] H[ighness] did nothing but dance cotillons in the new blue damask room, which by the way was intended for cards. The Duchess of Gordon made her first appearance there, who is very handsome; so the beauty of the former night, Lady Almeria Carpenter, was the less regarded. We will follow, if you please, the *veteris vestigia flammæ*.

There has (*sic*) been no events this week that I know of, except his Grace of Bedford's appearance at Court. His eyes are a ghastly object. He seems blind himself, and makes every [one] else so that looks at him. They have no speculation in them, as Shakespear says; what should be white is red, and there is no sight or crystal, only a black spot. It alters his countenance, and he looks like a man in a tragedy, as in K[ing] Lear, that has had his eyes put out with a *fer rouge*.

I dined yesterday at Lady Sarah's with Mr. and Mrs. Garrick. I say as much as I can of Lady Sarah, and her name shall be in every other line, if it will excuse the borishness of my letters in other particulars.

March leaves Lord Spencer's today. He and Varcy like [lie] tonight at St. Alban's, and are to be in town tomorrow. The Northampton Election will cost God knows what. I dine today at Ossory's. Lady Sarah, Miss Blake, Sir Ch[arles], &c. &c., dine here on Tuesday. I chose that, being a post day.

I believe that the best thing I can do is to ask Lord Shelbourne for the courier's place. I should be glad of it, if it was tenable with my seat in Parliament. Sir G. Mac† sat last night at supper between Lady Bute and his future, who by the way is *laide à faire peur*. I was asking Lady Carlisle which was the most likely, some years ago, to have a Blue Ribband, *du beau-père et du gendre*.

Little Harry is not come to town. Sir Charles goes down into the country next week, but not Lady Sarah that I know of. I expect Hemmins every hour with the St. Andrew. He has so much abuse from me every day, that I believe he wishes that I had been crucified instead of St. Andrew. He swears that one man left the work in the middle of it, and said he would not have his eyes put out in placing those small diamonds that compose the motto.

Mr. Brereton is returned to the Bath, and the street robbers seem dispersed. The hard weather is gone for the present, so that London will be pleasanter than it has been, for the Jockeys and Macaronis. Garrick criticised your picture of mine, which he saw at Humphry's; he has that and Sir Charles's; it is like, but not so good and spirited a likeness as Reynolds's certainly. But I am much obliged to you for it. If you sit to Pompeio I shall hope to have a better, and with your Order.

The Duke of Cumb[erlan]d attacked the Duke of Buccleugh last night for wearing his under his coat; *son Altesse R. a une bâvardise fort intéressante il faut lui rendre justice.*

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* Sisters of Lord Carlisle.

† Sir George M'Cartney.

I should not have troubled you so soon if this alarm from Turin, and the courier, &c., had not filled my head. My best compliments to Lord and Lady Holland and my love to Charles and Harry.* Charles is in my debt a letter; I shall be glad to hear from him. Crawfurd desired me to make his [ex]cuses to you, that he has not answered your last; he gains no ground; I think he is *immaigri, et d'une inquiétude perpetuelle qui porte sur rien.*

The Duke of N[ewcast]le seems to have gained strength and life since that manly resolution which he took last week of being no longer a Minister of this country. Let what would happen, he has given a *congé* to his friends to do what they will, and it shall not be looked upon as desertion. That is undoubtedly the most capital simpleton that ever the caprice of fortune placed in the high offices which he filled, and for so long a time.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1768,] Jan. 17, Sunday morning.—We received your Badge at last yesterday. Sir W. Musgrave and I deliberated a great while about the method of sending it, and at last went together to Lord Clive, who sets out for Paris tomorrow, and will take charge of it, as the surest conveyance. The courier was rejected as too expensive, and Mr. Ward as too uncertain. I have enclosed a schedule of what the packet delivered to Lord Clive contains. It is addressed to Sir J. Lambert and Mr. Ward. If he goes to Paris today, as he intended, [he] will carry a letter from me to Sir J. L[ambert] with directions for the safest and speediest conveyance of this to you; I shall write to him again upon the subject on Tuesday.

I wish somebody had received a letter from you by Friday's post, to satisfy us where you was. This idea of an epidemical disorder at Turin has alarmed Lady Carlisle, and I have caught some of the fright of her. March returned yesterday from Lord Spencer's, and the usual company supped at the Duke of Grafton's.

Mrs. Horton sets out for Nice with a toad-eater and an upper servant of the Duke's this next week. The night robbers prove to be soldiers in the Foot Guards, which I suspected; we have not recovered our terrors, and still go home, as they travel in the Eastern countries, waiting for convoys; it ruins me in flambeaux's.

Lord Clive will not I think live to go to Nice, but I hope he will get safe to Paris, and then Sir J. Lambert will take care of all the rest. The Badge is pretty, excepting that the shape of it is too long, and the whole seems too large for a young person. But that was the fault of the sardonyx.

The Duchess of Bucc[leugh] is very far gone with child; but I believe I told you so in my last. I will write the rest when Lady Sarah is gone from my house on Tuesday after dinner.

Tuesday night.—My dear Lord, I have waited till my foreign letters came in before I would finish this, always in hopes of one from you. I have received one by this post from Charles of the 6th of this month; and he says you was answering one which you had just had from me. This gives me hope that I shall hear from you on Friday.

Lady Sarah dined with me, Miss Blake, Sir Charles, Lord March, Lady Bolingbroke, and Crawfurd. Lady S[arah], &c. went to the Play soon. She received a long letter from Lady Holland while we were at dinner, but only said that Lord H[ollan]d was well, which I was glad

* Henry Edward Fox, youngest son of Lord Holland. (Jesse, II. 264.)

to hear. We were 16 yesterday at the Duke of Gr[afton's], a very mixed company. He enquired very kindly after you.

I think I shall have both trouble and expense at Gloucester, as I have had heretofore, but that is all I apprehend, and that I have been prepared for a great while, by expectation. I am in great hopes from Charles's letter that you are still at Nice. Not that I think but, being so near Turin, if there was anything to be feared from the distemper, you would certainly hear it, and not go. Perhaps there are letters from you in Cleveland Court; I shall send to Sir W[illia]m to enquire.

The great event at Almack's is that Scott has left off play; he is, I suppose, the *plena cruoris hirundo*. I am not quite satisfied that Sir J. Lambert is punctual in forwarding my letters; pray let me know it. Those who have been to see me think your picture very like, but not a good likeness is agreed on all hands; but such as it is, I am very much obliged to you for it.

I am extremely glad to find that you are applying to Italian, but to anything is useful. You will find the benefit of it your whole life. There are lacunes to be filled up in every stage, which nothing can supply so well as reading, I am persuaded.

I find the last of mine that you had received when Charles wrote his was a month ago; that makes me afraid Sir J. L[ambert] keeps them. There [they] are no more worth his keeping than your receiving, but they give me the pleasure of assuring you, which I can, with great truth, that I am ever most truly and most affectionately yours.

Sir William Musgrave to Lord Carlisle.

1768, Jan. 19, London.—I have been prevented writing to you by your Morpeth affairs. I am sorry to inform you that Eyre after many unsuccessful attempts has at last got a Banker in the City to join him and bear all the expense. If he had stood alone, both your candidates would certainly have been chosen, but now upon the strictest examination the numbers stand thus:

For your candidates	51	For Eyre	55
	43	his friend	46.

so that I think we have little chance of carrying more than one member, and Eyre's friend with 46 votes comes so near our 51, that it will be in the power of a very few knaves by deserting us to put both our candidates in danger. The Duke of Grafton and some other of your friends here seem to think it advisable to come to a compromise for this time of one and one. For Eyre has been applied to and offered very considerably (*sic*) to give it up, but is determined to stand himself. By a compromise therefore we shall save any further trouble and expense, and perhaps avoid irritating the new men by endeavouring to force down what I see very little prospect of succeeding in. I propose consulting Sir F. Norton and the rest of your lawyers tomorrow, and upon their opinion will take the best measures I can for your service, and though the business will probably be decided before I can receive your answer, yet I shall be glad to know your sentiments. You may perhaps remember that when we first talked the matter over I gave you very little hopes of carrying more than one candidate.

Lady Carlisle wrote to you by the last mail, having been much alarmed with an account of an infectious distemper at Turin which has carried off several people, and among the rest, Mr. Sherdley our *Chargé des Affaires*, so that till a new one is appointed you cannot be invested,

there being now no person to whom the Secretary of State can send his dispatch with instructions to apply on the part of our King to the King of Sardinia to perform the ceremony. Therefore, as the time will now allow it, Mr. Selwyn and I do not think it proper to put you to the expense of 200*l.* by sending a courier, especially as Lord Clive sets out tomorrow for Paris in his way to Nice. I have therefore entrusted your packet to his secretary, who has undertaken to forward it to you in case they should send any of their servants before them, or, if they should stay at Paris, to deliver it to Sir John Lambert, who has already been wrote to by Mr. Selwyn to look out for some safe and expeditious conveyance, so that at all events I hope the packet will reach you before you can have any occasion for it.

Enclosed I send you a list of the things contained. The Ribband and Medal is that with which you would have been invested if you had beenhere, and the Medal must be carefully preserved as the very same must be returned to the King whenever your Ribband becomes vacant, though I hope you will live long to enjoy it. I find the Secretary of State has sent the ceremonial observed at the Investiture of Sir Thomas Robinson, now Lord Grantham, with the Red Ribband, but you will observe that the Green Ribband rests on the left shoulder and hangs under the right arm. You are to sign the form of the Oath, among the papers enclosed, and also the receipt for the Medal, and return them both to me, together with some account of the ceremonial, in order to be delivered to the Secretary of the Order to be preserved amongst their records. You may keep the nomination and Dispensation and Book of the Statutes.

I conclude if you heard of this disorder raging at Turin you would not leave Nice, but having received no letters from you for three or four mails I shall continue to direct this as usual to the care of Sir John Lambert, who I hope forwards our letters carefully to you. The Queen's birthday was yesterday very full, and I heard of many pretty suits of clothes, but I was not there and am sure it is not my talent to give you an account of them, but shall leave that field to your sisters. It is thought by many judicious people that Sir J. Low[ther] will lose both members for the County of Cumb[erland] and City of Car[lisle], though he is said to have obtained the grants of those lands there which have been long enjoyed by the Duke of Portland. Lady Fran[ces] is not yet returned to London, but that marriage seems to go on prosperously. The Princess Amel[ia] declares to everybody how much she is pleased with Lady Anne.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle (*in two places*) :—Sir W. Musgrave, January the 19th 1768, with a list of the things enclosed in a packet delivered to Lord Clive.

Enclosure (*found apart*) :

A St. Andrew, set with diamonds.
A triangular topaz Seal, set in gold.
A Green Ribband, with the original gold Medal.
A packet of papers relating to the Order.
A letter from Mr. Quarme on the subject.
The Book of Statutes of the Order.

In a separate parcel :

A Roll of Green Ribband.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1768, Jan. 26, Tuesday night, at Almack's.—I received last night yours of the 9th of this month, for which I thank you most heartily.

It is really so much pleasure to me to have a letter from you, that it makes me wish away five days out of seven, and at my age that is too great an abatement. I intended to have called today upon Sir W[illiam] Musgrave in consequence of it, but neither he [n]or Lady Carlisle having received any letters, (if they are come, he might not have received them) that (*sic*) he prevented me, and called upon me at three o'clock to know if I had had any account of you.

Mr. Ward did not set out the Sunday he intended, that is the 17th inst., but he gave the letter which he was to carry to Sir J. L[ambert] to Mr. Hobart, who was to set out for Paris the day after, that is, the 18th.

Lord Clive did not sail, as Sir W[illiam] M[usgrave] tells me, till last Sunday, so the Ribband and Badge, &c., will not arrive at Paris till next Saturday, or Sunday probably; but Sir J. L[ambert] will be prepared to have sent these things, by a safe hand to you either at Turin, or Nice. I shall write to him tonight again with a full explanation of all, that no time may be lost.

I conclude you came to Turin last Saturday, according to the letter which I received yesterday, unless Lady Carlisle's letter about the epidem-[ical] disorder prevented you, which was wrote the 5th inst., upon seeing Monsieur Viri* at the Princess Dow[age]r's drawing Room. According to the usual course of the post you must then have received that the 19th, the evening of your intended departure, and whether it prevented you or not, is still for me *à sçavoir*. I hope it did, all things considered. But if you really went to Turin last Wednesday, then you will have been there perhaps near three weeks before your Investiture. I hope no part of this delay will be imputed to me. You will not have passed your time, I should think, ill at a Court, where you was so announced, and to receive that distinction. I am sure, if any time had been lost by my means, I should be very sorry, when you tell me that the going so soon to Turin will accelerate your return hither. For to tell you the truth, I begin to think the time long already, and it is too soon to begin counting the months.

I am extremely glad to find that you had the Marquis† with you. I did not like the idea of your travelling alone. Your application to Italian, or to anything, is what will certainly turn to account, because, if I am not much mistaken, yours is the very age of improvement; but your growing fat must be owing to more indolence than can be salutary to you, and I hope you will take care that that is not too habitual. The inconveniences of it you may not find immediately, but they are certain, and very great, of which I could enumerate very remarkable instances; but they do not interest me as that does which concerns yourself. I find by Sir W[illiam] that you have already heard all that your family knows of Lady Fr.; your great good nature makes me not surprised at your anxiety, but there is no occasion for it, if I am rightly informed. Your monk's disinterest[ed]ness is a mare's nest; you will find he expects some gratuity that will amount to more than a certain stipend; there is no such thing in nature as an Eccle[si]astic doing anything for nothing.

As to Morpeth, the best that can be done at present is done. I'm persuaded what can be done in future times will depend upon yourself, as I hope and suppose. I do not wonder that Lady Carl. prefers

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* The Count de Viry, ambassador of the King of Sardinia in Paris, 1775. (Jesse, III. 101.)

† The Marquis of Kildare. *See* Jesse, II. 281, 284.

Reynolds' picture, but I am not sorry to have that which I have neither. It is a great likeness, though not a good one.

Your seal you will receive with the other things. You ask me about Lord Tho[mon]d and Will: all [the] party is so broke up at present that that they are *au desespoir*. The Bedfords are in extraordinary good humour; that elevation of spirit does them no more credit than their precedent abasement; the *æquus animus* seems a stranger to them. G. Greenv. is certainly ——[befouled] as a Minister, but he is so well manured in other respects that he cannot be an object of great compassion certainly.

I hear you was alarmed in the night by a violent squabble in your retinue. I hope Robert behaves well; as a native of Castle Howard I have the most partiality to him, although I really believe Louis to be a very good servant. I shall be glad to know if Rover is still in being; he shall have his picture at the *dilitanti* (*sic*), if he returns.

I hope you will not travel Eastward but upon the map. *L'appétit vient en mangeant*, but pray let me not find that in respect to your travelling; I cannot be so selfish as not to be glad that you make the tour of Italy, but I can carry my disinterestedness no further I confess; more than 18 months' quarantine will be too much for me.

Lord March is much obliged to you for your kind and constant mention of him; he is extremely well, and not plagued with Zamparini's or anything that I know of. The Duchess of North[umberlan]d according to her present arrangement sets out for Paris, or some place or places abroad, next week. If she is not constantly wagging, as I'm told, she is in danger of a lethargy. Mrs. Horton sets out for Nice on Friday.

There has been a very long debate in the House of Commons today upon a motion of Ald. Beckford's concerning a Bill he intends to bring in for the more effectual prevention of bribery and keeping out nabobs, commissaries, and agents of the House of Commons, or at least from their encroachments upon the claims of persons established in towns and boroughs, by descent, family interest, and long enjoyed property; the principle of his scheme is certainly good.

The Mayor and Corporation of Oxford are to appear at the Bar in defence of themselves, for having offered themselves to sale for 7,500*l*., They had the *honnêteté* to offer the refusal to their old members, who told them in answer to their modest proposal that as they had no intention to sell them, so they could not afford to buy them. I was not at the House, but this is likely to make a great noise. Bully's petition has been presented by Lord Sandw., and will probably be carried through this Session. Some of the Bishops intend to make speeches against it, as I hear.

Charles Boon* has married a squint-eyed, chitten-face citizen with about 5,000*l*. fortune. Sir G. Mac: wedding will be about Monday or Tuesday next. They consummate at Comb, Vernon's house. Sir Ch[arles] is returned from Barton, and Lady Sarah gone to the Opera. You may be sure that we do not pass an hour without mention of you, but, shall I tell you mind (*sic*), when Lady Carlisle tells you that she has seen her at Chapel, and when I tell you that I have dined with her, we certainly mean to please you; but do we not help to keep up a flame that, in as much as that is the proper description of it, had better be extinguished? *Crescit indulgens isti.* I am sure I shall never say anything to lessen the just and natural esteem which you have for her, but when there is grafted on that what may make you uneasy, I must

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* Or Boen (?).

be an enemy to that or to yourself, and you know, I am sure, how incapable I am of that. I have a long letter almost every week from my flame also, Me du Deffands, but these are passions which *non in seria ducunt*. She is very importunate with me to return to Paris, by which (?), if there is any sentiment, it must be all of her side. I should not be sorry to make another *séjour* there; but if I did, and it was with you, I should not throw away with old women and old Presidents, which is the same thing, some of those hours which I regret very much at this instant. You may assure Lord Kildare that I will do my best about his election at the young club.

Endorsed: 26th Jan. Mr. Selwyn.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1768,] Feb. 2, Tuesday morning.—You have now been at Turin, and well (as I hope), ever since last Saturday sevennight. I have had a letter from Sir J. Lambert informing me that he was by Lord Rochford's means, and the Comte de la Marmora, endeavouring to find out the safest and most expeditious method of conveying the Order, &c., to you; I hope it is now advanced in its progress, and will the end of this week be arrived. Shall I not be thought, by a spirit of œconomy to have retarded it? but I could not but enter my protest against 159*l.* for the courier. I shall be extremely happy to receive an account of the Investiture, [and] your reception at Turin, but particularly to hear that there has been no [ground] of apprehensions from the distemper, at least with regard to yourself. This is one of the days that I have the most hopes of hearing from you, and that which I destine also for writing to you, as long as I have your permission so to do.

Yesterday Sir T. Stapleton and Mr. Lee, the members for the town of Oxford, read in their places, by order of the House, the letter which they had received a year and a half ago from the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Council of Oxford to offer them a quiet election, and absolute sale of themselves, for 5,670*l.* sterling; the sum which the Corporation is indebted, and otherwise as they declare unable to pay. Eleven sign, of which [whom] one is since dead; all the rest are ordered to attend at our Bar on Friday with the Mace Bearer, &c. Their Regalia has been pawned for their high living. The House was excessively crow[d]ed; Thurloe and Rigby, for the Duke of Marl[borough's] sake, made weak efforts to bring them off. Some of these people are fled to Calais, as it is said, to avoid Newgate; it may be that none of them will appear who signed.

Mr. Walpole's book came out yesterday, but I got it from him on Saturday, and my (?) Lord Molyneux carried it for me that morning to Sir John Lamb[er]t to be forwarded to your Lordship immediately. I'm confident that it will entertain you much, and, what is more extraordinary, convince you; because I have that good opinion of your understanding as not to think that ages and numbers can sanctify falsehood, and that such is your love of truth as to be glad to find it, although at the expense of quitting the prejudice of your whole precedent life. I will not forestall your judgment by saying anything more of this book, but only wish it may afford as much entertainment as it has me. This historic doubter dined with me yesterday, Williams, Lord March, Cadogan, and Fanshaw, *qui m'a demandé à dîner*, at the House.

Harry seemed mightily pleased with the success which his new book has met with; nobody cavils at anything, but here and there an expression; his hypothesis is approved of from the most reasonable

conjectures, and the most indisputable authorities. I would have had Bully [to] have dined with us, but he was engaged to his brother, *qui donne à dîner fort souvent.* I told him, that if he would pay his court to Harry he might give him a lick of his *vernis,* that would do his repu[ta]tion no harm. He is in high spirits; his divorce is making a rapid progress through your House.

Beauclerck looks wretchedly, and has been very ill. Our Minister,* as you call him, goes on very well, but he is now a widower a second time; his Lady set out for Paris last Saturday. I hope he will not be undermined. The King will never have a servant that will please the public more. I dine with him often *à petit couvert* at March's. I am not desirous that my friends should become ministers; but if they are ministers, it is fair to wish they may become one's friends. He is yours very cordially. I'm persuaded he always asks very kindly after you, and seems uneasy that the Order has not yet reached you. He said the other day at dinner, *d'un ton très patétique,* "I shall be much disappointed if in four or five years Lord Carlisle does not give a very good account of himself." *Ministre, ou non ministre, qui tient des propos pareils, n'aura pas grande difficulté à me contenter sur le reste.* I have abandoned him today for Lady Sarah, at which you will be neither surprised, [n]or offended. He dines at March's, and I in the Privy Garden.

The D[uke] and D[uches]s of Rich[mon]d are in town. A young man whose name I cannot recollect asked me very kindly after you yesterday, at the H[ouse] of C[ommons]; he used to sit by your bedside of a morning in King Street; he is tall and thin.

Dr. Musgrave, the Prov[ost] of Oriel College in Oxf[or]d, cut his throat in bed the other day; he was ill, but he had taken to heart a mistake which he had made about a letter of Sir J. Dolben's, who is to be member for the University the remainder of this Parliament. A dispute with the Fellows, as they tell me, arose in consequence of it, and this seized the poor man's brains. He was reckoned very passionate, but *d'ailleurs* a good kind of man. I knew his person and his elder brother, Sir Philip, formerly very well. There is a stagnation of news just at this moment, but as soon as any preferments, peerages, or changes of any kind are known for certain, I will send you word of them.

I dined at the D[uchess]'s or Duke's, which you please, of North-[umberlan]d's on Saturday; you are a great favourite of her Grace's. She told me of I don't know how many sheets which you had wrote to Lady Carlisle, giving an account of your travels. All the company almost were of Yorkshire, or of the North; Lord and Lady Ravensw[orth], Sir M. Ridley and his father, the Punch Delaval, Lord Tankerville, &c. Her Grace goes soon to Paris, but has as yet fixed no day.

A disagreeable report has prevailed lately, but I believe without the least foundation, that Crew has lost a monstrous sum to Menil. Almack's thrives, but no great events there. I have ordered the M[arquis] of Kildare to be put up at the young club, at White's. If little Harry is come to town, he shall write to you; others should write to you if I could make them, but I am afraid those wishes are more of a courtier than a friend. I should be sorry and ashamed, by endeavouring to flatter your inclination, if I lost your good opinion, which without flattery I value much.

I sat the other morning with Miss Blake; Lady S[arah], and Sir Ch[arle]s were rode out, and I did not see them. She told me a letter

* The Duke of Grafton. *See* Jesse, II. 267, 278.

was come from Charles, and there is a rendezvous she said, somewhere, but she could not recollect where. She thought you intended to meet Charles and their family at Spa the end of the summer; if so, I shall not despair of seeing you many months sooner than I can otherwise expect it. I shall know today at dinner more particularly about it. Lord March thanks you for your frequent and kind mention of him.

I have had a confirmation of what you told me in Paris concerning young Nicolls. The maid wrote me a letter complaining of her mistress's cruel usage of her, and during an illness in which (says the girl) *elle avoit autant de besoin de ma discrétion que de mes services.* I have no doubt upon that story, but I must leave my friend to do what he pleases about it. I shall do no good, I am sure, from some circumstances which I could tell you, and without doing him service I cannot be justified in risking his friendship. I shall, however, never forget what you told me upon that subject, which was *rempli de bon sens et de sentimens.*

My new chaise comes home the week after next. I shall defer making a chariot for some time. I may, perhaps, ask your opinion about a friensh [French ?] equipage. March's great room is gilding, and when finished he is to give a dinner to Lady Sarah, and a concert to a great many more. I will finish this *au sortir de table.*

Tuesday night.—I dined at Sir Charles's. Harry came to town this morning with his French friend and Academist. He has promised me to write to you next post. Lady Sarah says that if you are not satisfied about the St. Andrew, Hemmins is to blame, not her. She could not get him to come near her; and the day it was finished, which was the day before it went away, she never saw it.

Charles, I find, is to meet you in April at Rome; and Lady Sarah the latter end of the summer to meet him at Spa. You do not return to Nice. I do not count much upon hearing from you, but by accident, when you proceed further into Italy.

Sir R. Rich died last night only, so I can know nothing of his preferments yet. Dr. Smith, the Master of Trinity, is also dead, and Dr. Hinchliff asks for his Headship. Lady Sarah was melancholy about Stee*; she hears that his lethargy increases, and thinks it probable her sister may lose both her husband and son in a very short time; that is a disagreeable perspective. They all desired to be remembered to you. Adieu, my dear Lord, *pour aujourd'hui.* I have no chance of hearing from you by this post, the letters having come yesterday; so God bless you. I am ever most sincerely and affectionately yours.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1768, Feb. 7, Sunday morning.—Although this letter cannot go till Tuesday I have an inclination to write to you this morning, which I must indulge. I shall have more to say before it goes, and I am in hopes, among other things, to thank you for a letter from Turin, which I flatter myself that you have wrote, and which I may receive on Tuesday. Yesterday it was a fortnight that you have been there, and I hope without any accident. I own I am impatient to know that you have received your Investiture, and that you are safely gone from a place of which, in regard to your health, I have no good opinion. My nephew told me last night that he had had his health everywhere but there, and that at Turin he was never well a week.

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* Stephen Fox, afterwards 2nd Lord Holland.

I told you, I believe, in my last of the Corporation of Oxford. They were at our Bar on Friday, the Mayor and nine or ten more Aldermen. They made a frank confession of their fault, and were, at the end of a long debate, committed to Newgate. Some were for custody only of the Serjeant-at-Arms, others for the King's Bench. The majority was 18 for Newgate; the numbers for the King's Bench, 111. The Duke of Marl[borough's] friends bestirred themselves much. Lady Sarah and Miss Blake were in the Gallery most of the time, and much entertained. Mr. Akerman, the jailor of Newgate, had prepared so good a dinner for them at his house that they were afraid of the other question being carried. I suppose they will be let out tomorrow, but not without further debate. The King made Lord Villiers tell him the story of it at the Opera last night, and was much diverted. He is acquainted as well as myself with Sir Thomas Munday, who served up his first dish at the Coronation.

Sir Rob[er]t Rich has died worth a hundred thousand. Lady Rich has 1,000 jointure; Lady Lyttleton 500 for life, so now she has 1,300 to play at flatts with; Miss Rich the interest of 10,000 for her life; and he settles 50,000 on Lord Delawar, in default of issue of his son. Sir G. M'Cartney and Lord Beauchamp were both married this week. The performances have not yet transpired. They say Sir G. is not to go to Russia, which is probable; some name Turin for him.

We have had drums this last week at Northumberland House, Richmond House, Lady Holdernesse's, and a ball at Lady Milton's. Lady Downe opens her house tomorrow.

The dissolution of Parliament, I am told, will be about the 12th or 13th of next month. I shall be in London about 3 weeks longer and then take the field, where at present there is no enemy that appears. Mr. Hume, at Bully's request, is to dine with me next Thursday, and Bully's two brothers, March and Ossory. Crawfurd has taken a man-cook, and gave a dinner yesterday to Lord Shelbourne. James gives one almost every day to some one or other. Dr. Hinchliff is Master of Trinity. G. Howard* has Chelsea in the room of Sir R. Rich. Lord Exeter brings him into Parliament; he exchanged it with Moystyn, who has Minorca, which G. Howard was to have had, and is 500 more, but Mr. Howard chose to be in Parliament. Conway has the regiment *en attendant mieux;* the King acquainted him with it by a letter wrote in his own hand the day Sir Rob[er]t died. Everybody enquires if Menil is to be a Peer; he looks, I think, so happy and Peerish, that I suspect there is something in it; it will not be well digested.

Sir G. consummated at Vernon's, at Comb; he is returned, and seems *glorieux* and satisfied with his exploits. Lord Beauchamp is seen out so early in a morning that it does not look as if much business was doing. I own that I do not expect to see soon his nine daughters.

Monday night, 11 o'clock.—My dear Lord, I am not disappointed in my expectations, as those never will be who ground them upon your friendship and good nature. I have received your letter tonight from Turin, dated the 27th, and begun the 24th of last month. I am so oppressed with my cold, which is inseparable from me at this season, that I had scarcely eyes to go through your letter, and one which I received from Lord Holland at the same time. I return you many thanks for it; my good fortune is singular in having the longest and most punctual letters from those I am so desirous to hear from. I went from White's, where I waited in expectation of the post, to Lady Downe's drum; I knew that no apology could be admitted there from anyone who was

* *Qu.* Lieut.-Gen. George Howard, soon after M.P. for Stamford, co. Lincoln.

well enough to stir out. So I went for quarter of an hour; had the pleasure of talking to your sister, Lady Ann, about you, and am come home and in bed. There was a great number of Yorkshire people. The D[uche]ss of Portland asks very constantly after you. Châtelet is come, but I have not seen him; he is preparing to live magnificently.

The description of your journey to Turin is very interesting; I can find no other word, for your difficulties made me shudder at every line. I hope you will have no other such journeys; sure they may be avoided. The pleasures of Italy are otherwise bought very dear. Poor Rover, it gives me pleasure to find that he is still preserved. I wish it was possible to make him conceive that he is sometimes an object of envy; but neither he [n]or Râton can, for want of rational comparison, ever know, except negatively, their own felicity. I find that I am not the only one that misses you. Lord Holland is very sensible of the loss of you, as well as his son, and of your great kindness to them both.

As to shewing your letters, I have not to any person whatever, although the manner in which some things are expressed would tempt me for your sake, but I shall with great rigour and exactness do in that as in other things what I think you would wish. . . . Me Viri has filled my head with this epidemical disorder, that, as I have said before, I shall be glad to hear of your leaving Turin, if there is anything like the account she gives of it. . . .

Today has been a delightful day in the H[ouse] of Comm[ons] to Mr. Greenville, for it was what they call a Budget day, and a great many facetious things were said upon the sinking fund, prize money, &c., that I suppose are as intelligible to nine out of ten as they were to me. I believe Lord North did well, for he had his hands full of papers, [and] a great deal of arithmetic at his command, with a true Budget face. My dear Lord, my eyes are so weak I must leave off tonight, full as my head and heart are of you and Turin.

Tuesday morning.—I shall receive your present of oil with great pleasure, and utility, for it will make me eat this next summer a great deal of salad, which I believe is the wholesomest thing in the world, and to me in particular who have had some scorbutic symptoms. I intend to send or carry to Lady Sarah today a piece of china which she seemed to admire when she dined with me, and I shall venture to add your reflections upon the beauties of Turin, which you conclude with a comparison that cannot be interpreted in their favour, whatever it may be in Lady S[arah's]. I shall certainly see her tomorrow night at Richmond House, and on Thursday at Almack's. But when I speak to her in Williams's sight, he, that has been suckled in nothing but amorous wickedness without any share of it himself, smiles, and then he calls me afterwards *Giles the postman*. To understand that phrase, you must know that this Giles was a parson in Worcestershire, who carried letters of Bully's to Lady C., which kind office he supposes me to be invested with by you. I wish poor Bully at his outsight (*sic*) in life (as Stee calls it in his advertisement) had imbibed some of those sentiments of honour and delicacy in love affairs which you have in all, instead of admiring his profligate uncle and Lord Chesterf[iel]d['s] affected systems; he would make a better figure than he does. *Decipit exemplar vitiis.* He has wherewithal to make himself respectable on every account, but will find it very difficult, if possible, to wear out the first impressions. It is a pity; he has besides very good parts, some very good qualities, and naturally no ill ones.

I am mightily pleased with Rob[er]t's remarks; if I had more of them I am sure they would be more entertaining, from the *naïveté* of the

comparison, than any in Smollet. I hope one day or other to overhear an account of his travels at Castle Howard. Miss Blake has left off kicking and pinching, but romps delightfully; she is a lucky girl in having Lady S[arah] for her friend. I believe she never yet passed so agreeable a winter. I hope little Harry has wrote to you; he promised that he would. Sir Ch[arle]s has I believe been losing at play. There is a reverse in Scott's luck; he has lost considerably lately. Shelley is at the head of that business at this moment. Fitzpatrick has turned into verse, very drolly, Stee's address to the Corporation of Sarum, but he has not yet showed it to me.

You ask me if I have received all your letters from Nice. I've received four, and this from Turin is the fifth. I do assure you that you would not grudge the trouble of sitting down to write, if you knew how happy I am when I see your superscription.

Lord Holl[an]d's letter, which I received yesterday, was a very long one, and much dispirited. He does not combat enough, I think, with what he must have always known to be inseparable from age, infirmities, and loss of power, and does not, as I wish he did, reflect upon the consolations which he may derive from his present circumstances. If I had a wife of Lady Holland['s] turn with me, and such a son as Charles, and so good a fortune and situation to leave all my children, I should not reflect with much concern that Rigby did not love me, or that the King would not make me an Earl the moment I desired it. Lady Harrington has been, and I believe is, very ill.

Today the motion is expected to be made for the delivery of the Corporation of Oxford out of Newgate, where they have been ever since Friday night. As they have not wanted good living, so, if they do not catch the jail distemper, I believe they will not think they have passed their time ill; Akerman has, I hear, kept them a good table. So I suppose they have said, "Welcome, ye fowls and bacon; welcome, my prison; welcome, Mr. Lowman, the keeper."

Lady Mary Howard took March on Sunday night into a corner at Lady Essex's, and when she had finished a panegyric upon you, she bored him for an hour about Morpeth and Carlisle. March thought that you had not let her Ladyship into all that story; however, her zeal was very kind.

I shall dine again today with James,* and then come home to write to Lord Holland, and to add to this anything that I may happen to pick up. If you have amusement for every hour of the day, which I wish you had, I must be very tiresome with these long letters; but if any hangs upon your hands, the hearing what passes here, though ever so trifling, may not be unwelcome; it is with that view that I write, for it would be too selfish if it was only to extort letters from you, notwithstanding the pleasure they give me. Whenever it happens that your occupations do not well permit it, if I have only a line from you, or by your order from Louis, to know that you are well, and that you have not, or Rover, tumbled down a precipice, I shall be glad to receive it. If the K[ing] of Sardinia continues his civilities, he will be a great favourite of mine, as well as the Q[ueen] of F[rance], who I hear is not so near her end as I thought and was afraid.

Sir William Musgrave to [Lord Carlisle].

1768, Feb. 12, London.—I have delayed writing to you for some time in hopes the negotiation for a compromise would have been concluded

* *Cf.* Jesse, III. 89.

and all your election matters quietly settled, but though Eyre is now very willing to come into measures, his coadjutor, who has money, will not decline, so that I am much afraid we may lose both on the poll, and then we shall have the trouble and expense as well as risk of a petition. The election seems to be in the power of the split votes, who appear to me to be thorough-paced rascals, on whom there can be no reliance, but if they will be artful enough to throw their votes so as to choose one of your candidates, it is my opinion we ought to remain contented for the present, and not render the new Freemen more your enemies by attacking them in the House of Commons.

Lady Carlisle or your sisters write so constantly, and are so much better informed of what passes in the world, that any news I may pick up can only be a treat at second hand. Our friend the Duchess of Norfolk had a grand assembly last night, but I sent my apology. Lady Carlisle was there. I thought Almack's sufficient for one night; all the pretty women in town were there, and most of them danced. It was whispered that there will be a subscription Masquerade there on Monday se'ennight, which I suppose will be so select as to be very dull. These things have generally been much discouraged by our sober Court. If this succeeds, I conclude some of your sisters will be there. . . .

There is a young gentleman, very plain in his person, a son of Mr. Delmé's, who has a very great commoner's estate, that has communicated his admiration of Lady Betty to Mr. Walker, with the approbation, as I understand, of his family, but Lady Betty is at present so young as to think of beauty in a husband, and does not seem to relish this overture. I think she ought not to be teased into it, but left entirely at liberty to make her own choice, though I cannot help wishing she had a few years' more experience, when she would be the more readily sensible that after the first year or two a large fortune and good settlement are necessary and almost the principal ingredients in the marriage happiness.

Mr. Selwyn has informed me of the message he has conveyed to you from the Duke of Grafton, in regard to the grant of lands to Sir Ja[mes] Low[ther] in Cumberland, and that he has also sent you a full account of the Oxford Bribery. The House of Commons are to sit again today upon a Bill to prevent Bribery and Corruption, which the Ministry pretend to countenance at this time, when I suppose the practice never was more general, and seems so firmly rooted as to be incurable. But they wanted something to employ the House upon till the Supply Bills are ready, and then the Parliament will be dissolved about the second week in March.

I have already wrote to acquaint you with the reason why a courier was not sent directly from hence with your Ribband. Lord Clive conveyed it to Paris, and Sir John Lambert had the most positive injunctions to forward it to you by the first safe and most expeditious conveyance, and I shall be glad to hear you have not been made to expect it very long at Turin, as I am informed that it is not an healthy place, and am very uneasy to learn by your letter to Mr. Selwyn that you have already got a sort of cold there, which we have not mentioned to Lady Carlisle. But I shall be very impatient for your next letter, especially as we have been alarmed with an account of an epidemical distemper there which has frequently proved fatal. The transition from Nice to that place must in regard to climate be very great, and I hope you will sometimes recollect of how much consequence your life is, and that it is well worthy of all due care.

I had almost forgot to tell you that at a meeting we had at the Duke of G[rafton]'s about M[orpeth] he declared his great unwillingness that the business should come into the House of Commons, if it may by any means be avoided; but if our adversaries push us to the extremity, he said he certainly would go as far in your case as in any whatever, not only on account of his regard for you, but also that he thought himself particularly called upon to support you in your absence.

I have just heard that the King has desired that none of his servants will go to the Masquerade, so I conclude it will soon be at an end.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1768,] Feb. 16, Tuesday morning, Newmarket.—I have just finished a long letter, which, when I came to sand, I have, *par distraction*, covered all over with ink. I came down here on Saturday with March to meet the Duke of Grafton, who by the by only stayed here that night, and then went to Bury, so that I have scarce seen him.

We are at Vernon's house, that is, dinner and supper; which he has bought of Lord Godolphin [for] 4,000. Here has been Sir J. More, Bully, and Polly Jones, Vernon's Polly, Mr. Stoneheir, who came with the D[uke] of G[rafton], Sir Charles Bunbury and little Harry, and Mr. Richmond has been here also to lay out Vernon's gardens. Sir Charles has held us a Pharo bank of a night which has cost him 200*l.*, a sum, I imagine, not so easily spared at this juncture by him.

March promised that I should be in London again today, but you know his irresolution, and the little opposition which I can give to what he desires; but it is a great sacrifice for me, for you have been so good in writing to me since I left you, that there is not a week that I am absolutely without my hopes of hearing from you, although, when I left you, I should have been glad to have compounded for once a month; and I'm the more impatient to know what accounts are come by Monday night's post, from what you told me of the gripe, and that you could not go to the French Amb[assado]r's Ball. Harry tells me that he wrote to you, as you ordered him.

Lady S[arah] is in town, and I suppose very happy with the thoughts of a Mascarade which we are to have at Almack's next Monday sevennight, unless in the interim some violent opposition comes from the Bishops. Harry has had here with him a son of Lord Carysfort's from Cambridge. Bully's affair ends with the Session; as soon as that is concluded, he will be in respect of matrimony absolutely evinculated.

There has been an Almack since I wrote, but no events. At the other shop, a great deal of deep play, where I believe Ossory has been a great sufferer; the D[uke] of Roxb[urgh] is become a very deep player also, and at Hazard. I have been, as you justly call it, foolish, but very moderately so, and rather a winner, for which I'm not certainly less foolish. But my caution at present arises from being at the eve of an expense probably for which an opposition at the Hazard table is but a bad *préparatif*. However, all things are quiet as yet, and my own private affairs *en bon train*, according to the present appearances.

The D[uke] of G[rafton] tells me that he wishes to recommend for Luggershall, Lord Garlies, and a son of Sir M. Lamb's. I wish Morpeth could have waited till you come of age. But I hope that in future times everything will be done there and elsewhere which your family consequence entitles you to wish may be done.

The Corporation of Oxford was dismissed on Wednesday last with a reprimand that is to be printed; *un discours assez plat*, as I have

heard. That affair has raised up many others, and a multitude of attorneys, who have been hawking about people's boroughs, have been sent for. It is high time to put a stop to such practices, and to check the proceedings of nabobs, commissaries, and agents.

Very luckily for you I cannot find many materials here for detaining you long, so God bless you, my dear Lord. I wish I may be able to contrive some means of abridging the time and distance which seems determined to separate me from you. I am constantly regretting that which I gave up to old women and presidents. But *il est de nos attachemens comme de la santé ; nous n'en sentons pas tout le prix que quand nous l'avons perduë.* I beg my compliments to the Marquis of Kildare; I am happy to know that you have a companion, and that it is him.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1768,] Feb. 19, Friday, Chest[erfield] Street.—If I had not been detained at Newmarket, as I told you in my last, I should not have given you the trouble of a second letter in the same week, but I did not receive yours of the 3rd inst. till Wednesday, which, when I did, I own, gave me great uneasiness. It may be borish to speak of it now, because I suppose the affair is over. You have received the Ribband, and have had one *éclaircissement* after another upon what seemed, when you wrote last, so mysterious and distressful. Hemmins was one person to blame; and it may be the unnecessary but usual delays of [the] Office [were] the second cause of your disappointment. . . .

I did not apprehend that an Order in itself so respectable, and for which I have so much veneration for the sake of those who wear it, would have any of its lustre lessened, by the manner of its conveyance. But the truth was, the Secretary of State would have sent a dispatch to Turin, usually remitted by the post, at your expense.

Potter, I take it for granted, has by this time received his credentials, and with them, instructions to ask it as a favour of the K[ing] of S[ardinia] from his Br[itannic] Majesty, that he would invest you with this Order. This Lord Shelb[ourne] assured Sir W[illiam] M[usgrave] was the case, and so I hope, and shall be impatient to hear, that it has turned out, for Sir J. L[ambert], by a letter of the 8th inst., informs me that he had some time before dispatched everything that was in his care. It was never intended that this should have been entrusted to undertakers, or Chelsea pensioners. I own I am uneasy that (your letter being wrote the 3rd) you was in the state that letter described, and should have been still more on account of your complaints, if I had not received that which by your last you have been so good as to give me. But still I'm afraid of the air of Turin, and although I am persuaded that not hearing from you so often must be the consequence of a further *éloignement*, yet I cannot help wishing you out of a place that is represented to us as so unhealthy.

I shall go this morning to the K[ing]'s Levee on purpose to see Virs and Lord Shelbourne, for further satisfaction. I believe, nay I am sure, that Lady Carlisle thought that her letter would have arrived at Nice time enough to have prevented your setting out from thence. If it had, and had had that effect, then there was no occasion for so much precipitation. I hope I have said enough, and that now you have heard enough to justify any part which I might have had in this affair. *Je voudrois ménager vôtre bourse, mais non pas aux dépens d'un contentement raisonable. Brisons là pour le present.*

The Bishops have, as I apprehended that they would, put a stop to our Masquerade, for which I am sorry, principally on Lady Sarah's account. I shall go this morning and condole with her upon it. . . . March is very pressing to know if I do him justice in my letters to you; he is not very fond of writing, and therefore deposits with me all his best and kindest compliments to you.

I thank you for saying that you would have me a few hours gazing at amphitheatres, and you for the same time gazing here at something more modern. That would not answer my purpose. I never carried my love of antiquity and literary researches to that point. I should be glad to have a view of Italy, but with you; and if you should take a trip here for *a few days*, pray don't insist upon my being at that time in contemplation of the *mazures de nos ancêtres*. The last letter which you mention to have received from me was of the 15th of last month, and you did not receive it till the 3rd of this. I hope my letters come to you, since you permit the writing of them. I shall always hereafter put them myself into the post.

A Bill was moved for on Wednesday by Sir G. Saville, that had respect to Sir J. Lowther's grant, and we postponed the consideration of it by a majority of 20 only.

I hope that what I told you a post or two ago, from the D[uke] of G[rafton], will be attended to, and the promise accomplished. May I propose to you to take some occasion of writing a line to his Grace? He always expresses himself of you with regard and esteem. The consideration of his being a Minister has no part in that suggestion. My ardent wishes are, and will be, to see Ministers want you, and not your Lordship in any degree in want of them. You must change your course extremely if the first does not happen to be the case.

Old Onslow died yesterday, relieved from a long and very painful disorder. I find Mr. Beckford is to be the Member for Morpeth. A great many French are expected here by the Newmarket meeting, among others the D[uc] de Fronsac, if an affair like that of Lord Baltimore's does not detain him; *c'est un bruit qui court.*

A match is much talked of between Lord Spencer Hamilton and Miss Beauclerk, the Maid of Honour. I hope it will not take place. There is not as much as I have sometimes lost of a night at Hazard between them both, either at present or in expectation, and the number of beggars is increased to an enormous degree. The Duke of Grafton's sister, Miss Jeffries, is talked of to succeed Miss B[eauclerk]. In about a fortnight or three weeks I suppose that I shall have other promotions to acquaint you with of different kinds.

The Speaker's Chamber, 3 o'clock.—I have been at the King's Levee, and spoke to Lord Shelbourn, who has confirmed to me, what I had heard from Sir W[illiam] M[usgrave], that Mr. Potter's instructions are the same as Mr. Shirley's were in regard to the Ribband, and that it is not meant that any person but the King of Sard[inia] himself should invest you. He seemed to insinuate that there had been too much œconomy in the sending it, but I suppose his courier is dissatisfied. However, I flatter myself, from comparing all things, that this is remedied.

I went from Court to Lady Sarah's, who[m] I found above in her cabinet, and your urn on the chimney, which she admires above anything in it. I desired her to write a line *quelconque* to you, which she has done; that I might make you some amends for the length, frequency and tediousness of mine. Therefore I shall go myself with this letter, that neither that nor its important contents may be retarded, or mis-

carry. I shall return there again to dinner at 4. Sir C. is not returned; Miss Blake, Mr. and Mrs. Soames will be all our company.

I had like to have forgot to relate all that Lord Shelb[urne] said. Speaking of the saving the expense of a courier, he told me that it was a maxim of Lord Granville's that one could not pay too dear for a pretty thing. He said that no delay could be his fault, for his Office being over against Lady S[arah's] house, he was the more *à portée* to receive her Ladyship's commands. Lady S[arah] says she hopes that when you return to England, that (*sic*) you will endeavour to retain Chavigni's cook.

As to your return, neither Lady S. [nor] I imagine it impossible but that we may see you at Spa, the end of the summer. It will not be unpleasant for me to think that, *quelque chose qui en arrive.* To speak the truth, I do (*sic*) expect that Italy will be slovenly inspected; and when I have read Smollet, which I propose to do upon your recommendation, I shall know very near as much of the *local*[*e*] as your Lordship. . .

You cannot say that *I have cheated you today.* I have given you an ample portion of what you desire to hear of. *Vous avez été bien tartufié*, as Molière says, this post. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1768, Feb. 26, Friday morning, Chesterfield Street.—. . . I have dined twice this week in the Privy Garden; we had there yesterday at dinner Lord Ossory, Bully, and his brother. Miss Blake leaves Lady Sarah today to go to her brother's house in London. Last night was the fullest Almack of all, and I believe the last that will be full for some time, for everybody is preparing to set out for their elections, and the town consequently will not be full again in some time. Lady Carlisle was at Almack's, Sir W., and Lady Betty and Lady Julian.* I told Lady C[arlisle] I should write to night, which, it may be, will prevent her from writing.

Lord Bol[ingbroke's] Bill is in the Committee, and evidences will be examined at the House of Lords today. March is in waiting, and has rode out with the K[ing] of a morning by accident. The K[ing] asked very graciously about you; if you had your Ribbon, &c., and mentioned your play. He said he believed that I should never leave it off while I lived; but I hope he is not a prophet as well as a King.

I am extremely impatient for your next letter, because I hope to hear everything in relation to the Investiture is over, and that all has passed to your mind. I was very much vexed when I received your last, although I knew it was at a thing that was past, and that soon after the writing of that letter your Ribband must have arrived.

I do not think Lord Holl[an]d will have his Earldom yet; when there is a promotion of that kind, I make no doubt, but he will be in it. I shall set out for Gloucester next week, but do not know yet the day. My opponents are not known or declared; but I'm still menaced, and consequently still uneasy. It is a very critical time with me, owing chiefly to great imprudence, both commissive and omissive. But if this Election goes over well, and the D[uke] of G[rafton] acts by me as I hope he will, my temporal affairs will not be deplorable. I shall have my last conference with his Grace tomorrow before I leave London. When I do, I shall not be able to avoid boring you from the country, from whence I shall be able to send you nothing but my lamentations of the wet, &c. I wish I may have no cause for any other.

* Lady Juliana Howard, sister of Lord Carlisle; called Julia in other letters.

Lord Cathcart has kissed hands to go Am[basado]r to Russia. I do not hear what is to be done for Sir G. M['Cartne]y; he will certainly not be on the parish. The D[uke] of G[rafton] gathers strength and credit every day. We defeated the Opposition in a personal attack upon him, this last week, by 155 to 39. Sir W[illiam] M[usgrave] tells me he is extremely pleased with the Duke's behaviour in regard to you. I told Sir W[illiam] that I shall be much embarrassed if his Grace does not act right and kindly in regard to me, for having been so obliging to my friends he will have disarmed me from making any remonstrances upon my own account. Scott's match with Miss Graham is revived, but with what foundation I don't know.

If there are any changes or promotions, or things happen when I am out of town, I will desire March to write to you. I know he will do that or anything to express his regard and attention to you. The K[ing] could not have addressed himself better than to him for an account either of your Lordship or of myself. The K[ing] asked how he came to know your motions so particularly, and March told him that you had been so good as to write to me very often, and he had the intelligence from me.

Chetwynd's father has been dying this week, but has a respite. No Peers will be made as yet, I believe. Menil talks to his friends sanguinely, but I think he may be disappointed. The K[ing] is grown very averse to promotions of that kind; it is high time to be a little chaste upon that point. In Ireland it is infamous, and the more so, because that Riff Raff, with titles resembling our own, desires to be confounded with the nobility of this country, and very often are so. It must be such a herald as myself to distinguish between an Earl of Carlisle and an Earl of Catherlough, the son of a Transport.

I dine today at Lord Beaulieu's; and tomorrow Lord and Lady Coventry dine here, with March, Williams, and Horry Walpole. Young Nugent is set out for the S[outh] of France for his health; Lord W. Gordon would not do amiss to do so likewise. My dear Lord, once more pray take care of your health. It was Lady Sarah's only request to you. I hope her letter in my packet will have arrived safe. I'm sure you cannot say that I have cheated you of your due upon that article.

[George Selwyn] to Lord Carlisle.

[1768,] Feb. 26, Friday night, 9 o'clock, White's.—I had just sealed up my letter without much expectation, but always great hopes, of hearing from you, when I received yours of the 10th. I am much obliged to you for it, but there is still wanting to my pleasure that I do not hear you have the Ribband. I believe you have it now, but the thought of the delay has vexed me, and yet you are the person in the world not [to] be vexed about upon one account, that you take nothing ill, and everything your friends do has its merit with you. . . .

I was today at the House of Lords, and heard the examination of Bully's evidence. The House was pretty full. The Bill will be gone through this Session. . . .

Address: À Milord, Milord Comte de Carlisle, chez Messrs. Paul et Pierre Torras à Turin. One shilling, single, Jolliffe.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1768, Feb. 28, Sunday morning, Chest[erfield] Str[eet].—I wrote to you on Friday morning, and at night, just before the post was going,

received the pleasure of yours of the 10th; so that what I wrote afterwards was much in haste, and from the impetuosity of my temper to make my acknowledgments to you. I was yesterday at Lady Carlisle's door, to enquire for Sir W[illiam], but he was not at home. I asked if they had had any letters from you, and being told they had not, I took the liberty to leave word that I had received one of the 10th, and that you was then very well.

I believe all the apprehensions which M^e^ Viri had filled us with, are now dispersed, and not fearing anything from cold, I hope that I shall not be so foolish as to be thinking of the consequences of heat; *cela ne finit point.* I saw Viri at Lady Hertford's at night; he was unacquainted with the particulars of the courier, &c., but only said that the King, his master, had assured him that he should invest you with that order, as his Brother* had desired he would, and that it should be done *avec toute la pompe et l'éclat dont la chose fût susceptible.* He is a stupid animal in appearance, this Viri.

I had yesterday morning my conference with the D[uke] of G[rafton]; he has assured me that I should have the place of Treasurer to the Queen, added to that which I already have (without any kind of pension), as soon as ever one could be found out for Mr. Stone, but he having been the King's Preceptor there will be some *ménagement* with him, but the Duke said, if he would not acquiesce, he insinuated force. The two places together, if I am not mistaken in the estimate, will be near 2,300*l.* per annum. I'm much obliged to the D[uke] for his liberal and kind manner of treating with me. I have succeeded better, I find, in negotiating for myself, than when I employed another; but I have this time had to deal with a person who seemed willing to comply with anything which I could propose in reason, and has even gone beyond my proposals; and I have reason to flatter myself that his Majesty has not that reluctance to oblige me, which his grandfather had, and has certainly a much better opinion of me. Then, if this Election goes off without an enormous expense, I shall be enabled to pay off much the greatest part of my debt; but my imprudences have been beyond conception. I hope that that Providence which has preserved me from the usual effects of them will be kind enough to let me enjoy some few years of ease, and to pass them with your Lordship. I will not then complain of my lot here, which, were the cards to be shuffled again, I might mend in some particulars, without perhaps adding anything to the general felicity of my life.

I went from the D[uke] of G[rafton's] to a little concert at March's, where was Sir C[harles] and Lady S[arah]. She and I went up into the rooms above, which are now gilding and repairing, and I communicated to her such parts of your letter as I thought would please her, and which I thought you would be pleased that I should repeat to her. . . .

Monday morning.—Miss Blake did not leave them till yesterday. She went with Lady S[arah] to Court, and then Sir Ch[arles] and Lady S[arah] dined at Mr. Blake's and left her there. I saw Lady S[arah] afterwards at the D[uche]ss of Hamilton's. The Assembly is there at present; Lady Harrington has not been able to see company for some time.

There is now no talk but of Elections. Lord Thom[on]d is thrown out at Taunton, and opposed at Winchelsea, and so it goes on. This is the week I am in most apprehension of, because I think next, as the Judges will be then in the town [Gloucester], there can be no treating

* George III.

nor bustle; but as yet I know of no opponent. Sackville sticks close to . . . . (*sic*). I was with her Grace most part of yesterday morning, with Lord W. Gordon. Harry St. John asks me if you have mentioned a M^e^ Château Dauphin; all Italian news interests him much. . . .

Ireland.

1768–1776.—A brief note of proceedings in the Irish Parliament, in 1768–1769, and in 1776. 1 *page*.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1769,] July 4, Tuesday night.—I have sent today for you 45 bottles of the *vin de Grave* and six bottles of Neuilly, and the same quantity is ready to be packed up and sent when I have your further commands. The reason why I did not send the whole at once, was the consideration of the weather, &c.; when this comes safe, the rest shall follow directly, and then according to my cellar book you will have had in all ten dozen, that is seven dozen and a half now and two dozen and a half before, of that particular wine, and about a dozen of Burgundy. It goes by sea to Hull. The *Knight* cutter, Thomas Savil master, Hull, at the custom-house quay. That custom-house quay may mean at London. However, this is the method prescribed by your porter, for I have been at your house to enquire. as well as my servant.

I have wrote to Françès about the *tricoté*, and will send you an account of it by next post. I have regulated the papers today, for upon enquiry at the house, I found two were sent you from thence, and the three besides from Jolliffe, which you ordered; so I bid Jolliffe look to that.

I was at Vauxhall last night with Lady Harrington, Lady Barrimore, Mrs. Damer, Lady Harriot, March, Françès, and Barker. Very fine music, and a reckoning of thirty-six shillings; fine doings. I had rather have heard Walters play upon his hump for nothing. I dined today at James's with Boothby, Harry St. John, March and Panton. Tomorrow Lord Digby and I dine at Holland H[ouse], and on Thursday Harry and I dine at Beckford's with Sir W[illiam] M[usgrave]. Rigby gave a dinner today to the Duke and Duchess of Grafton.

The Newmarket people go the beginning of next week. I shall then go into Kent, and the beginning of the week after I shall set out for Castle Howard. I long to see you *dans votre beau Château*. But where is it that I do not wish to see you? If anything is published that is not a mere catch-penny, as it is called, I shall send it directly. I believe the account of the D[uke] of G[rafton] and Nancy is of that sort, but I know no more than the advertisement.

Almack's is extinct. I am writing from White's, which I have long wished was so too.

Lord Farnham is just this instant arrived from Ireland. Lord Cholmondley has been dying of a suppression of urine, but he had none in his bladder; that is a riddle I cannot solve.

Bad news from the Colonies. The P[rince] of Brunswick has another son. The people are come from the Installation at Cambridge, but I know no more of what has passed there than you see in the papers. Harry pursues the Bladen, and March will be talked of for Lady Harriot till he does or does not marry her. I wish it decided one way or other. I own I have his happiness too much at heart not to be anxious about it, and hate to have it in suspense.

Lord Farnham has distributed four hogshead of some *vin de Grave*, which he had, among his friends, and they prefer it to that which Wion (?) furnishes us with. I cannot help that, all things are good and great and small, &c., by comparison. God bless you, my dear Lord; I will come, as you have given me leave, as soon as my affairs here will possibly permit it.

I write tonight for ten dozen more of *vin de Grave*.*

The Woodfall Case.

1770, Nov. 20.—Copy of the Unanimous Opinion of the Court of King's Bench in the case of the King against Woodfall, delivered and read by the Lord Chief Justice.

This is the judgment in the libel action respecting the letters of Junius in "the Public Advertiser." $9\frac{1}{3}$ *pages.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1773,] Nov. 27, Saturday morning, 8 o'clock, Chesterfield Street.—Now you see how early I am got up, and with a pen in my hand; the Lord have mercy upon your patience. I do not intend however to write so long a letter as that which you will receive tomorrow morning, but what materials I may find before the post goes out, I cannot tell. To speak the truth, I am not at this instant afraid of prolixity, I am fearful only lest anything material should escape me, which might be worth your notice. All that is superfluous you will erase from the *tablette* of your mind, and you will only advert to those things upon which turn the int[erest]s of this question. If these are well founded and clearly stated, there is no fear of your judgment; Charles has often told me that it was the best in the world, and so indeed I have always found it.

I received yesterday your letter, in which you suppose, very truly, that I approve of your not signing the bond; you will, before this reaches you, have received ample confirmation from me of that opinion. I retain still the same, not only that you should not sign that bond of 14,000*l.*, which was sent to you, but any other whatsoever, which takes you out of the situation of a creditor, and makes you become a debtor. If I am not more misled than I ever was in my whole life, you will not be the *first* a very great while, provided only that you act in this affair as becomes a man who thinks himself responsible to several young children, for the imprudent management of his fortune. The *last* situation you may remain in, as long as you live, without any but some very casual relief from reflection of the reciprocal obligations laid collaterally upon others.

I have not seen Lavie since my last as yet. He will be here by and by, but I suppose that he has been employed in collecting intelligence concerning this matter. What has come to my knowledge is this: that upon its being said that an objection was made on your behalf to the signing of the bond of 14,000, because you might be called upon suddenly to pay it, Fawkener informed me that it was Crewe's project to offer (by some obligation—I do not know the form of it) to find you money in that exigency, that is, from the Jews, as he told me; so then, in that case, which is a sure one to happen, it will be the Jews versus Carlisle, and not versus Fox. That is a very flimsy and (I believe) impractible idea.

I could suggest a better immediately, to a man who has such warm feelings for his friend as he has for Charles, and whose estate is in his

* *See* Jesse, III. 76, 77 (*vin de grave*).

power, as it is said that all, or part, of his is. Let Mr. Crewe borrow upon his estate ten or 14,000*l.*, and lend the money to Charles to pay you; then Charles will be in that eligible situation in which you are desired to place yourself. Let Lord Stavordale, who is now come to an age of some maturity, and not incumbered with engagements, as his relations are, join, for your convenience, with his cousin Charles in the bond to be given to Mr. Crewe for this money, which I propose that Crewe shall raise for Charles upon his estate. Nay, if you was to add your own as a collateral security, it would be doing something more like a man of business, than anything which it is now proposed that you should do.

I know it is imagined that you will be persuaded to change your mind from that very specious argument of ameliorating your present condition, which I firmly deny. If the proposition was singly this, shall Lord Carlisle pay 4 or 14 per cent., who can deliberate a moment? But I deny that to be the question. It is [a] question that regards Charles, and not you. My meaning is, that you should pay neither. What you may be obliged to do for some time I will not presume to say; but I am confident, if you are firm and put this affair out of your own determination or deliberation, and leave it to those who have the management of your business and property, you will get rid of this, and proposals will not be made to you, which I heard as sensible a man as any in England, confessedly so, and in high office, say was an affront to your understanding, and will infallibly expose and create a very severe judgment upon those who made it. I mean Powell, for our young acquaintance imbibe any proposition in this affair, which squints only towards setting Charles *free*, and making him *easy*, as they call it. The congratulations are all upon this supposition, and it is the gentlemen of the free and easy society who make them.

As to Foley being preferred to you, I do not know what to say to it; that is a tree I will judge of by its fruit. There is a partnership. There is an old indulgent father to assist with a great estate, if his son will reform. Foley may come into what agreement he thinks proper. It should be no precedent for me. I heard a friend of Charles say yesterday, "I shall be damned angry with Charles if he engages any more at Newmarket till his father dies." I am tempted to give him some credit for that, because the first meeting of Newmarket will not be till April, and Lord Holland will not live in all probability till January. But when Lord Holland is placed in that easy chair above stairs, which Bully has provided for him, will Charles go to Newmarket then? What will he carry there, the three next meetings which . . . . .

*Incomplete.**

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1773, Dec.] 7, Tuesday, Chesterfield Street.—This is the second day I am come home to dine alone, but so it is, and if it goes on so, I am determined to keep a chaplain, for although I do not stand in need of much society, I do not relish being quite alone at this time of the day. I could have dined at White's with Charles and Richard, but I did not choose it for several regions [reasons?]. March dines at the Catch Club; Sir C. Bunbury at Sir Jos[h]ua Reynolds'; and I found my own relations in so dispirited a way that I chose not to go to them again till the evening.

* It was Selwyn's custom to use a half sheet of quarto paper as an envelope, and on this he sometimes continued or added to the letter. As comparatively few of these outer sheets have been preserved, many of the letters are now incomplete.

My nephew Charles has had his second operation today; it was near the knee, and much deeper than the former. The bone is laid bare, but Hawkins does not speak of it as comfortably as it could be wished that he did. This is *à la suite d'une fièvre*, at the time I had mine, but of which I am now I think quite clear.

Lady Middleton's butler, who had lived her with (*sic*) some years, thought fit to ride out with the groom, got drunk, fell from his horse, and was found suffocated in the mud, near her own house.

The little boy has better symptoms, but preserves still a kind of stupor, [so] that I believe Dr. Heberden does not think him out of danger. I could not myself add much to the situation of the family by my own spirits, for Lavie has been with me today, and it is a most desperate account that which he has given me of your affairs, from which I see no way to extricate yourself but by some resolutions, which, as they are such as may not suit with your inclinations, are what, I believe, you will not persevere in.

As Lavie has promised me to be very circumstantial in his account to you, by this post, of what has passed in conversation between him and Powell, so I need not trouble you with a repetition of that, or of anything which I have said in my former letters, only to entreat you, as you see in what manner you are, and are likely to be, treated in respect to this affair, that you will not suffer yourself to be amused by promises or expectations of what relief you may have hereafter, but make the most strenuous stand which can be made now that Lord Holland is living, for till he is in his shroud I would write either to him or to Lady Holl[an]d, representing the state to which the confidence you have placed in their son has reduced you. I do assure you, my Lord, that as there is not a corner of this town in which this proceeding has not been talked over, so there is not a man of any degree or condition of life who has not spoke of it with horror. I know that it would be throwing away time to think how C[harles] got you into this scrape; at how many times he might have prevented it; how very lately, by a due application to his father, he might have changed the arrangements. It is worth while, at this instant only, to consider what he may and ought to do to relieve you.

But before I go any further in speaking to you upon this subject, let me ask you one question. Did you, or did you not, at any time, partake of the money borrowed upon your joint bonds? Lavie assures me that you did not, and that it appears that you did not upon the face of the bonds. For this was a question I was yesterday morning asked at Lincoln's Inn by a very eminent lawyer, and who, from the diversity of his business, was acquainted with some part of your affairs of which I have, myself, been totally ignorant, and that is, the annuities granted by yourself at a most shameful disadvantage. I assured him that it was my belief that all you had engaged for in behalf of C[harles] F[ox] was received by him and for his use only. He very much insisted upon it with me that I should speak to you about it, and press you to have that matter now ascertained between you and Charles, as a foundation of any future proceedings which may become necessary. Powell's whole language to Lavie has certainly a tendency towards establishing the credit of this, and it is not to be denied that if that fact was established it would alter extremely the nature of the story. Upon the present state of it I will venture to say that it is without a precedent, and whether Lord Holl[an]d or Charles act in this manner knowingly and voluntarily, or by the mean[s] of that fellow Powell, the effect is the same in regard to you.

I have been to enquire when Sir G. M'Cartney is expected, and I find that they are preparing his house for him, and that they think he will be here before Xmas. I wish that he was come; I shall do all I can with him, and if I find it the least probable that I shall be able to do any good, by taking a journey to the Bath with him, I would go on your account, although I have not the least inclination to go on any other. For to speak the truth, this affair has put me quite out of humour with the whole family. I don't know how much, or where to lay the most blame, but I will venture to say that in point of reputation they will never get over this as long as there exist[s] any one of them.

I shall be impatient for another letter to know what effect mine have had; what you think of my proposal of writing to Charles, Lady H[ollan]d, or Lord Stavordale; if you do not think that you have a right to know from Charles the destination of that 50,000 which is paid, without any consideration had to your engagements; why you could not have been benefited one-third at least by so enormous a sum paid for the person to whom you had showed so much friendship.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1773, Dec.]—(*Beginning wanting.*) This is the severest criticism which I have heard passed upon you. In all other particulars be assured that you have as much of the general esteem of the world as any man that ever came into it, and will preserve the highest respect from it if you will only from this time have such a consideration, and such a management of your fortune, as common prudence requires. Charles has destroyed his, and his reputation also, and I am very much afraid that, let what will be done now, they will in a very few years be past all kind of redemption. You will have been the innocent cause of much censure upon him, because all the friendship in the world which you can show him will never wipe off what he and his family at this instant stands (*sic*) accused of, which is, setting at nought the solemnest ties in the world, and after the maddest dissipation of money possible, the amassing for his sake 50,000*l.* to pay everybody but those who deserved the first consideration, and without which he could never [be] said to be *free*, and it would [be] a constant reproach to be easy. When there was no idea but of his having 20,000*l.* advanced, which sum was otherwise to have been left him, and I said that such and such persons would be paid first, you did not seem to credit it. Was I right? or not? in my conjectures? If I tell you now, that 16,000*l.* more than the present sum of 50,000*l.* will come, I cannot pretend to say from what quarter, but I mean from the Holland family; and, if I tell you also, that as much more will be borrowed for purposes which do not now exist; I must tell you that I think that these sums will be sent after the others, if you do not strenuously oppose it, and if somebody does not watch over the springs from whence these supplies are to flow.

As to Hare, you will do me the justice to own that I have not said a word to impeach his friendship to you. But I must set him aside as a man capable of transacting this business. It is not *de son ressort*, and I know that he has difficulties to combat with, if he undertakes it, which are insuperable. Now, when I talk of men of business, I will explain myself. I mean three for example: Mr. Wallis, if ever you consult him, Mr. Gregg, and Lavie. I would also seriously apply to my Lord Gower for his advice, and make him a confidant in what relates to this

business. He has very powerful motives for interesting himself in it. All others I would silence at once by saying that you had fixed upon particular persons to talk with upon this subject, and that you would not listen an instant to any other. After one or two attempts to discuss the point they would give it up, and, knowing in what channel it was, would be more afraid to trifle with you about it. Charles never opens his lips to me upon the subject, and when Hare was last at my house he did not say a single word relative to it. The bond was not so much as mentioned. To speak the truth, I had rather that they would not, for I should not be able to keep my temper if they did.

I have talked this matter over with persons of established reputations in the world for good sense, knowledge and experience, and with as nice feelings in points of honour and friendship as anybody ever had. It is their opinion which makes me so confident of my own, exclusive of the arguments themselves, *qui sautent aux yeux*.

Now, as to the expedients. The capital sum, let us call it, 15,000*l*. Let Charles pay immediately 5,000*l*. from the 50,000*l*. I will endeavour a year hence to raise you five more. Let Charles and Lord Stavordale, by their joint securities (and let Lady Holland contribute hers), try to raise the other 5,000*l*., and then this debt is paid; and when the worst comes to the worst, you will lose yourself only the 5,000*l*., which we shall endeavour to get from your own securities and resources. All this is very practicable with people who are disposed to think of their honour more than of the gratification of their own pleasure.

The Holland family went to Bath yesterday. I took my leave, and it may be a final one, of them on Monday. Charles, it is said, will follow them. What is become of Hare I know not. If you desire a letter to be shewn to Lord Holland, Lady H[olland] must shew it. I will speak to you, as I promised, without reserve. I am apt to think that he will *comprehend* what you say very well. It is not my judgment only, but I have heard it said, that a great deal of his inattention upon these occasions has been affected, and that if the same money was to be received and not to be paid, our faculties would then improve. I wish that if he has any left, he would exert them now for the sake of the reputation of his family as well as of his own; or he will add a load of obloquy to that which has been already derived (?) upon him, on account of the means by which this dissipated wealth has been acquired; and by this last act of indifference to the honour of his son he will seem to justify all that abuse with which he has been loaded, and they will be apt to apply, what he does not certainly merit, but will nevertheless carry an air of truth with it, and they will say that—

> Plundering both his country and his friends,
> It's thus the Lord of useless thousands ends.

You see, my dear Lord, with how much confidence I treat you. I have thought aloud, when I have been speaking to you, which perhaps I ought not to have done, but I cannot help it. I hope that you will burn my letters, for if they served as testimonies of the warmth of my friendship to you, they might be ill interpreted by others. . . .

Charles you say has not wrote to you. There is no accounting for that or for him but by one circumstance, and that is, that the gratification of the present moment is the God of his Idolatry. You mention his credit with Lord North. I know for a certainty that Lord North disavows that which I know he once gave him. "He will," they say, "manage this, and will settle that, with the Minister." Stuff! The Minister, whoever he happens to be, will settle this matter with Charles, and say, "Sir, I know you want me, and that I do not want you, but in

a certain degree. Speak, and be paid, as Sir W. Young was." Alas, poor Charles! *Alia promissa dederat.*

You say that you have not had a line from Lady H[olland]; have you then wrote to her? I will add more to this if I see occasion, after I have been to talk with Lavie, who really means, I believe, to serve you with great fidelity, and reasons about this matter with great *netteté* and precision.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1773,] Dec. 9, Thursday night, at Mr. Lavie's.—I received yours, with that which you enclosed for Lady Holland. It undoubtedly gives me great satisfaction that I see by what you write that you have a confidence in what I endeavour to do for your service. I will not abuse that by following the dictates of my own imagination, or by accepting the compliments which you make to my reasoning or understanding. I have the greatest zeal in the world to serve you, but every step I shall take, especially in matters of importance to you, shall be with that degree of diffidence which a man of common sense ought to have, who knows that he is not versed in business, and may be misled by many oversights, which will not escape those who have been their whole lives perhaps in a state of precaution and defence.

I am excessively happy to find by your letter to me that you are so much in earnest upon this point, that you would *boil over* if I *gave you leave.* My dear Lord, I cannot give you leave to resemble me in my defects. I am but too apt to *boil over*, which always gives an advantage against me that otherwise my adversary could never perhaps have. You have always appeared to me in a very different light, and on this occasion you will find your temper of particular use to you. You are to be zealous, cool, and resolute, and you have but one answer to make to particular persons, and it is this: That the affair is of great importance to the interests of your family. That a conversation between you and Charles or those who embrace his ideas implicitly can tend to nothing but to create animosity and heat. That you look upon yourself to be in the situation of a trustee for the property of so many orphans, and that in the management of their concerns you will talk to men who will advise you dispassionately, who have a knowledge of business, who have established characters in the world, and that your conduct will be formed from the result of their joint and deliberate advice. Charles may have recourse to the same means; and avoid when you are together the least degree of altercation upon the point, by totally avoiding the subject.

And now for the letter, which you have enclosed for Lady Holl[an]d. I will venture to affirm that if that letter was produced to the view of the world, there would not be but one opinion upon it, that it was full of as much propriety, good nature, *ménagement* of an old friend, delicacy towards the persons to whom you applied for redress, as could be in any letter that ever was penned. But there is a circumstance mentioned in it which obliges me to suspend the sending it till I have seen Mr. Greg. I am but one, of two or three, whom you have thought fit to consult upon this affair, and as it is of great importance, or indeed if it was of much less, it does not become me to act without their advice. I am persuaded of their zeal to serve you, and that they are capable of seeing the consequences of several things which might escape my observation. I went therefore first to Lavie, to talk with him before I sat down to write my letter of [to]day. I had

also a mind to have a seal of yours to seal the letter with, which I was to send to Lady Holland; and he happened to have one. I should otherwise have made use of an antique which I had borrowed for the purpose. But when I came here, and discoursed at large with Lavie upon the present state of the business, I thought that before I sent this letter I ought to acquaint him with the tenor of it. He started an objection that seems so full of reason, that it was impossible for me not to suspend the sending it till at least I had seen Mr. Greg, which I am to do tomorrow at 10 o'clock.

The only objectionable and hazardous part of it is this; you say (and I believe it was from a suggestion of my own), that "The payment of 5000 would make a diminution of one-third." It is true that that is an observation only, and a very true one in point of arithmetic. But what Lavie says is very likely to be true, that you may perhaps have 5,000 paid upon this remonstrance, and that compliance be interpreted as a kind of composition, which may debar you, in point of honour and delicacy, from refusing the proposals of the Holland family as to the settlement of the rest. If there is the least probability of that, this part of the letter must be erased; at least I would not venture to send the letter without the judgment of Mr. Greg upon it. I am the more obliged to consult Mr. Greg, and Mr. Lavie, in every step which I take in this, because I know that they proceed by a plan formed from their intelligence of what is transacting by Mr. Powell, and by Mr. Greg's knowledge of the resources which the law will furnish you with, when matters are ripe for that, and that you are advised by proper persons to have recourse to them.

At this moment, we think that Powell is endeavouring to take all these annuities by purchase into his own hands. That change cannot be the worse for you, unless it had been made by your consent and concurrence. When the annuities are there, which we hope will be soon, you treat upon different ground than you will do when you have the original contracting parties to act against. A letter to Lady Holl[an]d may, as it seems to me tonight, be postponed till this negotiation is finished, which we desire should go on. It will probably be the difference of a week only. Nothing but Lord Holland's sudden death could make this measure necessary to have been taken; we must trust to that. I shall write again by Saturday's post, as indeed I shall by every post, while this affair in in suspense, and then I will say more upon it.

Lavie's fears are also, that an immediate application to Lady Holland might postpone, if not put an end to the negotiation; and he has in his last conversation with Powell, as I find, conferred with much more temper than heretofore, on purpose that this negotiation may be concluded; from which Mr. Greg sees, or hopes that he sees, a fair prospect of your being extricated from your difficulties by an aid which the law will furnish you with, and to which recourse may be had, without the least impeachment of your honour, your friendship, or the greatest delicacy.

I do assure you, my Lord, that I never knew any persons with whom I had occasion to converse with upon business, who seemed so determined to preserve these last punctilio[s] for the sake of your reputation as these do; and it is my belief that they will restrain you upon these points, if they can, when many persons of very fair and unblemished characters in the world would give themselves great scope. I went the other day to Mr. Woodcock in Lincoln's Inn upon business

of my own. He is, I believe, the most eminent of his profession. Mr. Greg's name came accidentally as well as yours upon the tapis, but it was a satisfaction to me to hear Mr. Woodcock speak of him in the manner that he did. Having no more to say upon business, I will give you no more trouble at present.

His Honour Brudenell showed me last night a letter, which he had from Storer, and I found by a passage in it, at least I interpreted it so, that he was very ignorant of the state of this affair. There is no harm in that. There are some things which I desire that the whole world may know; there are details, which cannot be mentioned without indiscretion.

My best respects to Lady Carlisle, and my hearty love to the children. I grow very impatient to see them, and shall keep my wheels greased for that purpose. Ekins * will see that I did not neglect his commission, although I postponed my answer to his letter. Lavie will write by the next post.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1773,] Dec. 14, Tuesday night, Almack's.—To begin with an answer to your question concerning the report of you and Charles having jointly shared the money borrowed. . It was not an extraordinary idea to have received, without any other foundation than the knowledge of what is usually practised on those occasions. But Mr. Woodcock told me that it was said among the lawyers; and I have heard that when you and Charles went on one of these occasions to Westminster, there was a man who bore the name of Munro, who said that he saw the money on that occasion, or part of it, paid into your hands, and so I suppose this report might have arisen. I mentioned it to Charles, as you desired, who seemed surprised at it, and who is ready to testify what you have asserted; but it seems to be needless, because it appears upon the face of the bonds, as I am assured, that the money was all for Mr. Fox's use.

So much for that, now for Ste Fox's business. Lavie has alarmed me about it to a great degree. I knew that you had been bound for him to the amount of 3,000*l.*, and in a manner extraordinary enough; I mean the manner in which your consent to that engagement was obtained. But I thought myself sure that that engagement was cancelled, and I find that as yet it is not. I carried you a bond from Brooks last summer, which I thought had been that by which you had been bound for Ste. If it was not that bond, for God's sake what bond was it? and what is become of it? Today Lavie told me that he had seen the original bond in Powell's possession, with an assignment of the money over to Lord Holland, and that he kept it, as Lord Holland's trustee. It is part of the security given by Stee, for 4,600*l.*, paid for him, or lent to him to pay his debts last year. But both Powell and Charles aver that it was Lord Holland's intention that that should be delivered up, and so it must be, and, for fear of accidents, very speedily; for which reason I shall go with Lavie tomorrow to Mr. Woodhouse, and when we have talked to him upon the subject, Lavie will go himself or Mr. Greg down to Winterslow to get an indemnification from Stee, and to induce him to apply for the delivery of this assignment or discharge over to you. Otherwise, there would be a fresh debt, and of the same nature as that contracted by Charles; but of this

* The Rev. Dr. Jeffrey Ekins, who had been Lord Carlisle's tutor. (Jesse, III. 21.)

I have no apprehension but from neglect, which you may be sure shall not be in this affair, or in any other of which I have any knowledge, or in which I am permitted to interest myself on your account.

But now let me ask you,—Have you at any other time been bound for Ste? To what amount? when? For Powell insinuates that you have, and with this Lavie has alarmed me to a great degree. I cannot myself give credit to it. Charles, whom I have questioned about it, does not believe it neither, and I should think that if it had been so, after so much conversation as we have had together on subjects of a similar nature, this would not have been passed over in silence. Pray set our minds easy upon the point as soon as you possibly can.

Charles I have had today some conversation with, and have come more to the point with him than I thought that I ever should. I will relate what he has said, and you will pass your own judgment upon it. I went to see him today to speak to him first upon what you desired, relating to the report. I have already told you how that matter stands. There is now an end of it.

I then told him what I had heard of the manner in which Powell negotiated with the Annuitants. I said that if the 5 per cent. was refused, the Annuitants would not agree to deliver up their securities, and that the difference, which upon 16,000*l.* was only 850, he ought to get paid, that these annuities might be as soon as possible in Lord Holland's hands; that *at least* they were better there than where they are now. He agreed to this, but assured me that this affair would in that respect be finished shortly. This is what we want to have done first. He said many other comfortable things to me, which held out a fair prospect of things being better, and endeavour[ed] to explain, account for, and palliate his own conduct. He will do this himself to you. I take it for granted that you will hear him with temper, and that then you will consult proper persons about what judgment you are to pass upon these things.

But, my dear Lord, while I have been writing this letter Sir G. M'Cartney has arrived here from Ireland; we have been conversing here, us two alone, for a great while. The sight of him rejoiced me; I shall make great use of him. He will in the first place be useful about Stee; in the second, he may probably go to the Bath. I may perhaps accompany him. I certainly will, if I see any good likely to accrue to you from it, as I do just now. He assures me that he believes that Charles has granted to you bonds of indemnity; if so, when these annuities pass over to Lord Holland, these bonds will indemnify you, if Lord [Holland] is the creditor; as yet, I do not comprehend, or can be sure of that. He firmly believes that this affair will terminate better than we expect. He said very strong things on the side of my opinion, how this should have [been] transacted. He will say the same to Charles, if that will signify anything. I am greatly rejoiced at his arrival, and shall have constant recourse to him. I am sure he will be of use, if he can, and can be of no disservice.

Charles now talks of going in a day or two to the Bath. I wish that you would send me your letter to Lady Holland without the day of the month, and without the mention of the 5,000*l.*; every other part of the letter is *dans la plus grande perfection.* It shall be sent as soon as Mr. Greg thinks it proper. I cannot be [but?] think myself, that that ought to be soon.

This conversation with Sir G. has obliged me to postpone many things which I should otherwise have said by this post, and must now defer till the next. I will only add what I have said before, that I hope my letters to you will be all destroyed and never shewn to any

person whatever; for although I have been obliged to read some passages of business to Mr. Gregg, there are many things in point of opinion which I have said to you, and which it would not be proper should ever transpire *à l'ame qui vive.* I have I am sure told you nothing but what I thought to be strictly true; I have passed no judgment upon it, but what my friendship and affection to you have dictated. I have never meant to inflame or exasperate. I only have wished and do now wish that you may be serious, but very cool, upon this subject. Refer the conduct of it to the persons employed in the management of your business, and say as little as possible to anybody else. Charles may speak to you of it; you will hear him kindly and civilly, and delibe . . . . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1773,] Dec. 28, Tuesday, Almack's.—I am come here to dine, and to go with nephew Tommy [Selwyn ?] and his eldest son, after dinner, to the Beggar's Opera, and Dr. Faustus. I hope that I shall keep awake. It was a promise which I had made to the little boy. I am told that James and Hare are to come to dine also. Hare did not go with Lord Stanley; I misunderstood him; it was for some other time. Lavie told me today that the York Mail had been robbed last Tuesday. My letter was no great loss, for I hope that it was one of a few lines only, and about nothing that signified; but this accident will be a caution to me to disguise as much as I can, what I am obliged to tell you, and not put names at full length. When the letter comes into your hands, I am in hopes that it will be safe enough, and that you will destroy it as soon as possible, and suppress to the world, what I say to you always with great freedom.

I met today by accident More, the attorney, in a coach with Parson Brodie; it was stopped at a door in St. James's Street, and I went, under a pretence of asking after Lord and Lady Holl[an]d. Brodie shewed me a letter dated from Bath last Saturday, by which I find that Lord H[olland] is much as he has been, but Lady H[olland] worse. If he is the survivor, I should not be surprised. I asked a few more questions about Charles's affairs.

I find that he is as ready to blame Lavie's management, as Lavie is his. He told me that the bond which was sent down, bore no interest. He talked much of the intentions which they had of doing everything handsome by you, and of many heroic speeches of C[harles]'s; *tout cela est bel et bon; nous verrons.* More says that many of your annuitants are come into terms, and that more would, but that Lavie has talked so much of the punctuality with which you paid, and of your *pungtilio*, that the annuitants do not listen to proposals for that reason. So ended our conversation.

I was sorry to hear Lavie say that it might be a great while before you came to town, meaning more than the next month. I long not only to see you, but to have some plan fixed on for your expenses; Lavie touched upon the subject with me, and I have a general idea of it. But we must talk of it *en détail*, neither flatter [n]or exaggerate. There is no wishing upon that subject. Lavie wrote to you a long letter about it last Tuesday, which may be now upon Bramham Moor, or floating in the Trent. I shall be impatient to see Lady Holl[an]d's answer. Lavie does not seem to apprehend any ill consequences about the engagement for Ste, but some preparatory things are to be done, and papers to be copied, before the acquittal can be ready for Lord Holland's signing.

I hope that Mr. Gregg will lose no time. I hear of no news. I am very glad of that concerning Lord Gower, and particularly for Lady Louisa. It is the pleasantest thing which I have heard a great while.

I do assure [you], my dear Lord, my spirits are much below par, for a variety of reasons, and I wish that I could go from hence to change the scene. The ill treatment which I have met with from the D[uke] of G[rafton] and Lord N[orth] has been very ill timed, and the altercation there has been about it very disagreeable to me. But that is a chapter I will talk of with you, when there is a dearth of others.

They are all in great confusion, I hear, at Cashiobery, about their Play. Lord Coleraine gives up his part, and all the actors and actresses are quarrelling from morning to night. It is not only the Provoked Husband, which they act, but the provoked wife, the provoked brother, and the provoked everything.

I had got on Sunday as far almost as Edgware, and was sent for back by March, who was come to town. March has his share in this political *bisbiglio* of mine, which I am sorry for.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774,] Jan. 13, Thursday m[orning], Chesterfield Street.— . . . I am glad to find by your letter from Ste, that you can receive anything that carries the air of giving satisfaction, from that quarter. It will be a good example, which is what Ste would not be suspected of setting; and yet you know, from what I said in a late letter, that I've more hopes from him than from others. There is a strange mixture in mankind; our sensibility and indifference, our pride and our meanness, and a hundred opposite things are blended together in the same person, in a manner quite unaccountable.

I own, as I told you in my last, that I am heartily glad that the Holl[an]ds are going to be nearer my observation. I will put such a restraint on my discourse, as not to appear so adverse to them, as this behaviour has really made me. I shall, now the Parliament has met, see More, the Attorney, frequently at the House, and I shall extract from him several hints which may be of use, *sans y mettre du mien*.

Sir G. M['Cartney] and I shall go frequently to Holl[an]d H[ouse], and, when the occasion offers, support one another. I shall find out things by Lady M[ary]* before I try the ground with Lady Holland. I will press Charles about Lord Stavordale. I must be obliged to paint your circumstances to these people worse than I otherwise would, to make the stronger impression. Foley conceives great hopes that all will end well, but as his discernment is not his superior talent, so I conceive no pleasure from his saying that, till he gives me a reason for it. He seems every day to be more and more in earnest upon the subject, which will certainly aid and excuse your being so, if any excuse for that could be wanting. The terms which I mentioned in my last, were shortly these.

I will first premise that you see no possibility of avoiding the payment of 2,500*l.* a year. Then for the alternative. If you gave a bond for the capital without any interest upon it, not payable but at the expiration of five years. That you had a counter-bond from Charles of the same value, and a letter, or some strong declaration in writing from the Holl[an]d family. That this bond would be cancelled and annulled as

* Lady Mary (*née* Fitzpatrick, daughter of the Earl of Ossory), wife of Stephen Fox. *See* Jesse, III. 88.

soon as the affairs of the family permitted it, or the public accounts were passed, and that you did not pay it but as a deficiency for mone advanced for the payment of Charles's debts. Then I think, in the crisis you would be placed in, you must prudently accept these terms, because you can have no better from those who have thought proper to prefer their immediate ease, to their lasting credit and honour. *C'est trancher le mot*, but this is speaking the truth. Lavie seemed to be of my mind about these conditions; I suppose that Gregg and Wallis, or Lord Gower, would be so also; and upon mentioning them to Foley, he seemed warmed, and to think that if Charles did not do all he could to bring his family to consent to this, he would . . . . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774, Jan. 13?] Thursday night, Almack's.—I can say nothing more to you till I have told you what I have heard today in the House of C[ommons], and which, if true, is by much the best and most agreeable piece of news to me of anything which I have heard from the beginning of this affair of Charles's. Foley took me aside to relate to me a conversation which he had had this morning with Mr. Woodhouse, who imparted what I am going to tell you, under an obligation of secrecy. I have his leave to acquaint you with it, but have given him my honour that the source from whence the intelligence comes shall be a profound secret from everybody but yourself.

Woodhouse has assured him, from his own knowledge, that Ste and Charles are jointly able to make out a security which, upon Lord Holl[an]d's death, will be an absolute indemnification of both you and him; and he has advised Foley, to whose family Woodhouse is under the greatest obligations, to endeavour to obtain a bond, both from Charles and Ste, jointly, to secure him against the money which he is bound for; and Foley desires that you will do the same, being in the very same predicament.

I own, upon the face of this representation of the case, it appears to me that you may finally be no loser by this transaction. But this must be followed up, and it is *à surcroît de raison*, why I think that your presence here will be the most advisable of any other measure; and when you come we will talk over this with Gregg, or Wallis, or with whom you please.

This entirely corresponds with what I have already related to you of the conversation which I had with Woodhouse at his house in Bridewell, the day I carried thither Lavie; and I was right in my application to Woodhouse, knowing that he did not act in concert with Powell. I have just sent to speak to Lavie, but he is very seldom to be found in [of] an evening, unless by particular appointment. However, there is no haste; I shall see him tomorrow, and write to you again by Saturday's post, you may depend upon it. What I said about giving the bond in the former part of this packet, is only *en l'air*; I am not sure of the project not being still liable to my former exceptions; however, we shall talk of that also when we meet.

Lord Northington moved the Address today in the House of Lords, and did well. Lord Willoughby seconded; I did not think it worth while to ask how he did. In our House, Lord Guernsey gained reputation, but our Poor Counsellor was a long while in the mud. He took too large a field upon a dry subject, the Coinage, of which he could have but a very imperfect knowledge, and it was impossible to make

such kind of matter very palatable; so his great error was in dwelling upon it. He was sometimes out, and very dull through the whole.

The House was up by 4, and he dined with the rest of the Essex troupe at March's, where we sup also. March is come here to talk with the Duke of Buccleugh, and I to write to you. March desires to be very kindly remembered to you. I hear no more news. The room begins to fill, and his Grace of Grafton is just come in. I have not yet spoke to him, and I believe shall have very few words with him.

Adieu. I have said enough, if what I have been telling proves true, which I really believe that it will. I am in love with Foley for his very kind intentions towards you.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774,] Jan. 18, Tuesday, Chesterfield Street.—I received yesterday your extreme kind letter, while I was at Lord Gower's at dinner; which dinner, by the way, or the supplement to it, lasted so long, that I have increased my cough by it greatly, and am so unable to go this morning to Court, that I think now of putting on my clothes in the evening only, and so going, as I did last year, to the King's side, to make her Majesty my bow as she passes from that apartment to the ball-room. We had yesterday at dinner Dick Vernon and Keith Stewart only, besides Lord Gower's family.

I was going home to dine by myself *très sagement et très tranquillement, dans le dessein de me ménager*, when Lord G. was so good as to propose my going home with him; and thinking that to be an opportunity of talking more with him upon you and your affairs, as we did, I could not resist it. I do assure you, my dear Lord, it is a great pleasure to me to see the zeal with which he speaks of you, and your interests, which is not, to be sure, surprising, considering your connection, but it makes me happy that my former intimacy with him begins to revive, which it has gradually done, from the time that you have belonged to him.

Miss Pelham came to Lady Gower after dinner, and I think intends to go today to the Birthday, but such a hag you have no conception of; and a patch which she is obliged to wear upon the lower eyelid, improves the horror of her appearance. She will kill herself, I make no doubt.

The letter which you have been so good to enclose for my satisfaction, from Lady Holl[an]d to you, does not much elate me, I own; it is just that of one who is obliged to say a great deal, and finds an inconvenience in doing anything; and as to Charles's writing to you, you know best how those promises have been fulfilled. If I could direct her Ladyship's good disposition, I should make her shew your letter to her to Lord Holl[an]d; I am persuaded that his faculties are not so entirely lost as not to discern with how much force of reason, propriety, and good nature it is wrote. What he would do in consequence of it, I cannot be quite so sure. Then he might, perhaps, relapse into a state of imbecility, or affected aniility, which might deprive you of the advantage which you should expect from it.

Among other things which passed between Lord Gower and me upon the subject of Charles, to which our conversation, by the way, was not confined, I told him that your people of business had proposed that you should sue Charles for the Annuities, and how that advice seemed to shock you. He was not surprised at that, knowing your delicacy and friendship. But sueing Charles, you will find in

a short time, has no horror but in the expression. If you are shocked, you will be singly so; Charles will not be so, it is my firm belief. As soon as Lavie comes to you, he will tell you how far Mr. Crewe has embraced that idea, and what has been the consequence of it. If you will sue Lord H[ollan]d and Mr. Powell, or [for ?] them, in Charles's name, you will do your business. But I do not say that it is time for that.

What I proposed to Lord Gower was only this, and that cannot have nothing (*sic*) *rebutant* in it, to either Charles or you. It is this. To hear Charles's story patiently, but to answer or reason with him as little as possible. To desire that he would be so good as to meet you at your own house, with Mr. Wallis and Mr. Gregg; we will have nothing to do with Lavie, *pour le moment. Il ne respectera pas celui-ci comme les deux autres.* Discuss with them before Charles the means of extricating yourself from these engagements. Let him hear what they say, and what they would advise you to do, as guardian to your children; for there is the *point de vuë*, in which I am touched the most sensibly; and whatever Charles has to offer by way of expedient, by way of correcting their ideas, whatever hopes he can give, which are rationally founded, let him lay them before these people in your presence.

Why I wish this is, the [that] he must then have something to combat with, and that is, truth and reason. Without that, and you two together only, or Hare, what will follow? There will be a *flux de bouche*, which to me is totally incomprehensible, as Sir G. M['Cartney] told me that it was to him. *Il fondera en larmes*, and then you will be told afterwards, whenever a measure of any vigour is proposed, that you had acquiesced, because you had been disarmed, confounded. This happened no longer ago than last Saturday, with Foley, who related the whole conference to me, and the manner in which it was carried on. "However," says Foley, "I carried two points out of four, but I was obliged to leave him, not being able [to] resist the force of sensibility."

I confess that, had it been my case, I should have been tempted to have made use of Me de Maintenon's words to the Princesse de Conti — "*Pleurez, pleurez, Madame, car c'est un grand malheur que de n'avoir pas le cœur bon.*" I do not think that of Charles so much as the rest of the world does, and to which he has undoubtedly given some reason by his behaviour to his father, and to his friends. I attribute it all to a vanity that has, by the foolish admiration of his acquaintance, been worked up into a kind of phrensy. I shall be very unwilling to believe that he ever intended to distress a friend whom he loved as much as I believe that he has done you.

But really this is being very candid to him, and yet I cannot help it. For I have passed two evenings with him at supper at Almack's, *où nous avons été lié en conversation*, and never was anybody more agreeable, and the more so for his having no pretensions to it, which is what has offended more people than even what Lady H[ollan]d is so good as to call his misconduct. I do assure you, my dear Lord, that notwithstanding all that I have been obliged by my friendship and confidence in you to say, I very sincerely love him, although I blame him so much, that I dare not own it; and it will give me the greatest pleasure in the world to see him take that turn which he professes to take. But what hopes can we have of it?

Vernon said yesterday after dinner, that he and some others—Bully, I think, among the rest—had been driven by the rain up into Charles's

room; and when they had lugged him out of his bed, they attacked him so violently upon what he did at the Bath, that he was obliged to have recourse, as he did last year, to an absolute denial of the fact. The imagination of the blacklegs at the Billiard Table that he was gone over to Long Leate to borrow the money of Lord W[eymouth ?] had in it something truly ridiculous, and serves only to shew that his Lordship had been never trusted by them.

Gregg dines today at Lavie's; I shall go down to meet him there, and perhaps order my chicken over from Almack's, that I may converse more *en détail* with Gregg upon this business of the Annuities. I like his conversation the best, I own, because I see less resentment in it. He speaks to the matters of fact, and not to the characters of the actors, which now is losing of time. God knows how well, and how universally, all that is established.

The women in town have found this a good morsel for their invective disposition, and the terms in which they express themselves *tiennent de la frénésie, et de l'entousiasme*. Lady Albemarle, who is not a wise woman, certainly, was at Lady Gower's the other evening, and was regretting only that Charles had not been consumed in the Fire, instead of the linnets. I am glad it was no worse. I think your fears about the rebuilding of the House are not so well founded as your satisfaction might be, that you had not been drawn in to insure it. I think that you are more obliged to what he thinks upon that subject (for he said that he did not believe in fire) than to your own prudence. I am in daily expectation of the arrival of these late sufferers at Holl[an]d H[ouse]. I wish them all arrived there, I own, and that they may stay there, and that there may be no *real* sufferers by the fire, which there would be if any workmen had begun to rebuild the House. That would be a case of true compassion.

You desire me to tell you something of Hare and Storer, &c. Storer, the *Bon ton*, is still at Lord Craven's. I supped with the *Mauvais ton* at Harry St. John's last night. I do not dislike him: he does not seem to be at all deficient in understanding, and has besides *de la bonne plaisanterie*. Hare is in town, and, if I was to credit his own insinuations, upon the point of bringing his affair to a conclusion. But I think that he prepares the world too much for some change in his condition, for he drives about in an old chariot of Foley's, as I am told, with a servant of his own in livery; and this occasions so much speculation, that his great secret *diu celari non potest*. I would advise him to conclude as soon as he can this business; *sans cela la machine sera dérangée; elle ne peut aller jusques au printems, cela est sur.*

The Duke of Buccleugh has said nothing to us as yet about our anniversary dinner, but I hope that so good a custom will not be laid aside. If it is, Richard* must take it up, as it is his birthday, and so I shall tell him. I have myself, by all which I have said upon the history and fate of that unfortunate Prince, excused myself from giving any sort of fête at my own house; but I do not carry my rigour so far, as not to accept one on that day at the house of another person. *Voilà le point où ma devotion se prête un peu.* Your letter to Lord Grantham shall be sent to the Secretary's Office this evening, and some compliments from me at the same time. I wish that he was here, that I might talk with [him] for half an hour upon your subject.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774,] Feb. 5, Saturday m[orning], Chesterfield Street.—I received yours yesterday, with Charles's letter enclosed. It is not requisite to read

* *Qu.* Gen. the Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick. (Jesse, III. 22, 31.)

it over very often in order to form a right judgment of it. You do not seem yourself, with all your candour and partiality to him, to have formed a wrong one. I only hope that you will persevere in the resolution which you have taken in talking upon this subject, and then his expressions of kindness and friendship towards you will have just the weight which they ought to have on this occasion, and no more.

If he is really moved by what has passed, or by the danger which he apprehends of losing your friendship in consequence of it, he will manifest that best by his patience in hearing what your counsel has to say, I mean Mr. Wallis or Mr. Gregg, and by his acquiescence in whatever is proposed by them for the extricating you out of your present difficulties.

If, instead of that, he demonstrates nothing but passion and uneasiness at your proceeding, I must, for my own part, conclude that he has still more uneasiness on his own account than he has on yours. What he says is perfectly obliging; what he does, if he does anything, is perfectly insignificant. And as to his reasoning, or what you properly call the argumentative part of his letter, I will deal and speak fairly and openly to you, as it becomes me to do, if I act consistently with what I have professed, and tell you that to my apprehension or conviction there is not *l'ombre d'un argument* from one end of it to the other, or the least prospect of advantage held out, either at present or in future, which could satisfy a schoolboy.

I am free to own that in speaking to you of Charles, who was perhaps your first and warmest friend, who, I believe, now loves you, that is, as he loves Lord and Lady Holland, *à sa façon*, that I suffer a great deal of perplexity. I have lived, notwithstanding the disparity of our years, in great friendship and intimacy with him. His behaviour to me has been always kind and obliging. I have professed a regard to him, and have had it.

I say that, under these circumstances, it is not without much reluctance that I talk to you upon his subject in the manner in which I do. But *amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, magis amica veritas.* I must either refuse to think of, or speak to you of, what concerns you so nearly, or I must not deceive you; that is, I must, right or wrong, say all which I think of every part of the affair which you think [fit] to offer to my consideration.

I should not be ashamed of owning what I say, and will never disavow it, but the manner in which I have happened to express it, as I write *currente calamo*, as it may have some warmth in it, so I shall rely on you not to expose it. I am very confident that you will not, and am as confident that there is not a sober man in the world of your acquaintance, who, if he was pressed to tell you his opinion, would not confirm all which I have said, and it may be in much stronger terms.

I must except two or three inconsiderate people of Almack's, who have imbibed such a belief of the necessity of Charles's being the first man of this country, and of the necessity also to the well-being of this country that it should be so, that they cannot conceive there should be the least impediment to it, arising either from his own conduct, or from that of others. That if his honour has been the most solemnly engaged to prevent an evil, which the gratification of his pleasures, and his determination never to put himself under the disagreeable restraint of one minute, has brought upon his best friends; that is, in their opinion, an imprudence which such astonishing parts cannot be exempt from. That if his friends desire to relieve themselves, when no care is taken of them by him, these friends converse with attorneys and people of low mercenary ideas, [and] shew they had no real regard; and if they

won't come into proposals which are dictated to them by those who have manifested the utmost contempt of them and their interests, they deserve to be left out of a scheme which was so nobly calculated to give them relief, and they make [may] thank themselves for it.

The Messrs. Foxes must be indemnified, *coûte qui coûte*. They were born for great stations, they were educated with great indulgence, and in extreme luxury. They have been imprudent, it is true, but they must not be now deprived of it; at least, you cannot expect that if their parents may dole away their money just as they please, that they will, by a mere consideration of others who are not their children, part with it only for their advantage. No. They must have their children's company in the first place, which we know cannot be dispensed with, and these children, if they have had extravagances, must have them paid for by others. If Jews won't pay for them, the Gentiles must

Charles is to be married, and settled honourably in the world; he is to go into great employments, he is to be the dispenser of them. Ergo, he is now to be free of every incumbrance but that which honour has fettered him with, and these incumbrances may be greater or less according to your notions of honour. Every one has a right to form his own system, and if it is not to his own liking, he must then be a fool; if it is, he will very rigidly conform to it.

This is the train of thinking or reasoning, if you can call that so, where there is neither thought [n]or reason, of three or four persons; I am sure it does not exceed that number; and as absurd as this is, it is nevertheless their meaning, or what they say can have no meaning at all. That they do not express themselves in the very words which I have now made use of, I grant. But I do not adhere to the words which a man utters, but to the spirit which makes him utter them.

The letter which Lady H[olland] received from you was in *December*. She says in her letter to you, for I have a copy of it now before me, that Charles *was then with her*, and that she had *then* desired him to explain fully what she could not ever comprehend herself. Charles writes to you the 29th of January, and he says, "My mother, who is *just* returned from Bath, informs me that she has referred you to me."

Let me ask a simple question—When Lady H[olland] *just* arrived from Bath, was *that* the *first time* it was mentioned or proposed to him? If he was desired to give a full explanation of this in December, why was this so much wished for explanation reserved till ten o'clock last Saturday night, that is, the 29th of January? till people were coming from the Opera, and till we heard that you were just coming to town. For only one reason, and that is, this is a subject we neither like to talk or write upon, and it is an embarrassment, out of which Powell has undertaken to relieve us, and in regard to others, it must find its own level. For we are determined to be at our ease, and we are so perfectly so, that it is the constant observation, and consequently the reproach, of the whole world.

The things which I have to observe to you upon this letter, are innumerable; but as it is now so near the time of my seeing and conversing with you, I will not at present bore you with it. I will meet you at your last *couchée* upon the road, if I think that I can leave my house with great safety. But I have been these two or three last days greatly disordered in my stomach, from cold only, and was so much affected by it yesterday that I could not attend your Committee, but the agents for the New Navigation were with me in the morning, and I think that when the report from the Committee is made to the House, that we shall make a very good figure. I said everything to manifest to them the zealous part which you took in this affair.

I have read the poem upon Charles; it is called "Female Artifice, or Charles F. outwitted." It is a mere narrative of that foolish business with Mrs. Grieve, to which he gave ten times the attention which would have been sufficient to have settled this affair to your satisfaction with Lord H[olland], which is *now* committed to the judgment and honour of a Drury Lane Prompter.

But I do not care from whom this arrangement originated; I advert to the arrangement itself only. I do not think of persons, but of things. I do not regard former ties, but present obligations. The whole business and conduct, from the beginning to the end, is to the last degree scandalous, and all the thinking part of mankind says so.

This poem is in print, but yesterday was not published. It certainly will be so, and as Charles owns the whole truth of it, except the last circumstance concerning the pregnancy, so I am apt to imagine that the candid world will not refuse their credit to that; and what the judgment of the world will be upon this transaction, or how this judgment will operate upon the future part of his life, I will not pretend to say. I never yet knew the persons whose parts were able to counterbalance a weight of reproach like what may be the consequence of this affair, when it becomes publicly known and avowed.

The poetry is but very moderate; no imagination, or one incitement to raise a laugh, but what is furnished from the *fonds* of the story itself. Your name is mentioned only once. Mrs. G. waits upon him, and she *débutes* by saying—

> "Presuming, Sir, as times at present go,
> That friends look shy, and credit's piteous low;
> That Crewe, and Foley, and Carlisle are pick'd,
> And as *securities* genteely nick'd;
> That your old Father," &c. &c.

From this specimen you may judge of the whole *verve poëtique* of the author, who I suppose is in a very inferior station on the Parnassian Mount, and perhaps keeps a shop there. However, I will vouch for the *débit* of his performance, when it comes to market.

The report of the Navigation Bill is to be on Monday, as Lavie tells me, who has just left my room. I will send to as many as I can think of to attend it. Caswell promised me, with the Duke of Bridgewater's leave; there is no doubt of that, I think.

The 14th of this month is fixed for Lord Orford's perfect restoration to his senses. They cannot detain him any longer. He talks of going abroad, which I am glad to hear, because some mischief he will do, I make no doubt, and I had rather it was done abroad than at home. He has thanked Horry Walpole for the care which he has taken of his affairs, but approves of nothing which he has done. I think Horry's situation is not to be envied. He particularly finds fault with the sale of the horses.

Lady Holl[an]d, I believe, from what I heard yesterday, is past all recovery. A cancer is formed, as they say. I have wrote this m[orning] a letter to Ste at Holl[an]d H[ouse], to know the state of the family, and to beg to see him. Lavie wrote to him yesterday, as I desired, and received his answer. Powell desires to see Lavie on particular business next Monday m[orning]. He has asked to see the draft of the Covenant. It will not be long engrossing; so I am in hopes that that affair at least will be put an end to before your arrival here.

The Tuesday Night's Club dine today [at] the corner of Half Moon Street, but I will not venture myself among them. I will govern myself by my apothecary till I have not the least complaint. If I fall ill again this year, it shall not be my own misconduct.

Lord Stanley is so much soured by his disappointment that he is in a constant squabble at the quinze table, as I am told. He had a sparring two or three nights ago with Lord Harrington, in which he did as much as tell him that he was an universal blockhead. He and Tom Foley altercated the night after, and with more tartness, as they say. There has been a kind of riot at the Opera, and there Lord Stanley exerted his talents of speaking. He apostrophized the Inglesina from his place in the pit, as somebody told me. The thief Jeffries, as they call him, God knows for why, is dying, and old mother Holman has already played her last card.

But while I am talking of this stuff, I forget to tell you that I mentioned to Sir G. M['Cartney] my conditions upon which I think a bond might be granted. He exclaimed upon the excessive reasonableness of such a proposal, and said it was impossible that it should be refused. I own that I have a good opinion of this expedient, and add to it the hopes which Mr. Woodhouse's intelligence gives in relation to the assets.

My servant has just brought me a good account of Lady Holland, but the Duchess of Bedford said yesterday that she could not possibly live, and that I am afraid is not her Grace's opinion only. But Ste says that he intends to call upon me today, if he can, and then, if he does, I shall know a little more about your engagement for him. I hope in God that Lady Holland will live and be an executrix to her husband, and that we may not be entirely at the mercy of that fellow Powell. For whom he prompted we all know, but who will prompt him is not so certain.

I cannot while I am writing omit to tell you something of Boothby. He had heard, I suppose, a good deal of the annuities which you had been paying for Charles lately. The world is undoubtedly not silent upon the subject. I am sure what he proposed did not come from any syllable which I had uttered to him, but *à propos* to these annuities he said that he was going out of town, I forget for how long it was, but he said that he had 1,500*l.* by him, and that if you wanted [it] till he returned it should be much at your service. I said that I believed that that was not the case, but that I should certainly not forget to mention his kind offer. He said, if you did not want it, I was to say nothing, and if you did, that I was to make you the offer of it. I think that I should not be just to his kind intentions if I did not tell you what passed between us.

Lavie says that your intention is to dine on the day you arrive at your own house, otherwise I should propose some dinner to be got for you here. I must own that I shall be sorry, if you go to Almack's and meet Charles, or have any conversation with him upon the subject of your affairs, till you have discussed the matter amply with Gregg, and had some conversation with Lord Gower. I know Charles's warmth of expression as well as your feelings, and I shall be afraid of the effect of them and of your departing from your present resolutions till I see them confirmed. I grant that the *abord* is disagreeable, but I am sure that, if you are not more captivated by the name than by the substance of friendship, you will be of opinion, that the only way to secure the latter is to remove that which will be a perpetual thorn, and which you will know, by constant reflection upon what has passed, has been taken out of his side to be put into yours; whereas if he suffers becomingly your people of business to transact it for you in a way that is effectual to your relief, and will contribute himself all he can to it, your future friendship will have then a basis which it has never yet stood, and that is, reciprocity.

As this is to be my last letter for some time, so I have not spared you. I am impatient now to have you here for many reasons. The crisis makes it necessary. Powell will not propose executions to [be] carried into your house as convenient expedients; when you are in his neighbourhood, you will know if any of his arguments to Lavie are really *ad rem* or *ad hominem*. You will know how much of temper, how much of reason, &c., is mixed in their conferences. You will have Gregg to apply to immediately. Charles must make immediate answers, and give them certain appointments. A visit from you to Holland House *en imposera*. Ste you will find more ready to do what you desire him than his brother, and what he cannot venture to mention himself to Lady H[olland] he will get Lady M[ary] to mention to her. He may speak to Lord H[olland]; it is manifest, if he does, that Lord H[olland] will apprehend what he says. I intend, as Lady H[olland] desired me to do, to go and dine with Ste at Holl[an]d H[ouse]. We must all put our shoulders to this intricate machine, that is at present so *embourbée*.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1774, July 23, Chesterfield Street.—I received yesterday a reprieve from Gloucester, and Harris's sanction for my staying here a week longer; so that the meeting, and the report of Mr. Guise and Mr. Burrow's declaring themselves both as candidates upon separate interests, but secretly assisting one another, were, as Richard the 3rd calls it, a weak device of the enemy. I found myself greatly relieved, and sat down and wrote a letter to the Mayor and Corporation, which I may cite as a *modèle de vrai persiflage*. I went and dined with Lord Ferrars and Lady Townshend; she has received all her arrears, so we have now the pleasure of continuing our hostilities *les pieds chauds*.

Poor Lord Thomond died the evening before last of an apoplexy, with which he was seized the night before. I thought, as well as himself, that he was very near his end, and imagined that it would be this. But the news struck me, for not an hour before he was taken ill he passed by March's door as he was going to take an airing in Hyde Park, with Clever in the chariot. I was sitting upon the steps, with the little girl* on my lap, which diverted him, and he made me a very pleasant bow, and that was my last view of him. I had had an acquaintance with him of above thirty years, but for some time past I had seen him only occasionally. He was a sensible honest man, and when he was in spirits, and with his intimate friends, I think a very agreeable companion, but had too much reserve to make a friendship with, and not altogether the character that suits me.

White's begins to crumble away very fast, and would be a melancholy scene to those who remained if they cared for any one person but themselves. Williams gave a dinner to talk him over, which I suppose was done with the *voix larmoyante, et voilà tout*. Lord Monson *a crevé aussi*, and Tommy Alston, who has left a will in favour of his bastards, which will occasion lawsuits.

I have made an agreement to meet Varcy tomorrow at Knowles; from thence we go to Tunbridge; so I shall live on Monday on the Pantiles, and on Tuesday return here. I dine today with the Essex's at March's; we supped last night at Lady Harrington's, the consequence of which is to eat a turtle on Tuesday at an alehouse on the Ranelagh

* Maria Fagniani, Selwyn's adopted daughter. *See* an account of her in Jesse, I. 24, 28, 29; III. 85.

Road, which she has seized from Lord Barrington. I called at Lady Mary's first, and found her *très triste.*

Lady Holland was thought to be dying yesterday, for Lord Beauchamp was to have dined there, and at three o'clock a note came from Ste to desire him not to come. The late Lord Holland's servants, preserving their friendship for my thief whom I dismissed, were so good, when their Lord died, to send for him to sit up with the corpse, as the only piece of preferment which was then vacant in the family. But they afterwards promoted him to be out-rider to the hearse. Alice told me of it, and said that it was a comfort and little relief to the poor man for the present; and Mr. More, the attorney, to whom I mentioned it, said that they intended to *throw him into the same thing*—that was the phrase—when Lady Holland died. I beg you to reflect on those circumstances: they are *dignes de Molière et Le Sage.* How my poor old friend would have laughed, if he could have known to what hands he was committed before his interment!

The night before last Meynell lost between 2 and 3,000; what the rest did I don't know. They abuse both you and me about the tie,* and Hare says, it was the damned[e]st thing to do at this time in the world. I told them, as Lord Cowper says in his speech to the Condemned Lords in the year 16—" Happy had it been for all your Lordships had you lain under so indulgent a restraint." It is difficult for me to say which was the kindest thing you ever did by me, but I'm sure that this was one of the wisest which I ever did by myself; and so remember that I do by this renew the lease for one month more, and it shall be as if it had been originally for two months instead of one. To this I subscribe, and to the same forfeit on my side. I received a consideration ample enough if the lease had been for a year.

Incomplete?

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774, July 23,] Saturday night, Almack's.—I dined today at March's with the Essex's and the younger Storer, and Lord Coleraine; tomorrow I go to Knowles [Knowle Park], as I told you this morning, &c. I have not heard this evening yet the death of Lady Holland, but I take it for granted that I shall hear it is all over when I go tonight to Lady Mary's, for she has been sinking in her pulse and senseless almost ever since last night. She knew Lady Louisa this morning for a moment. Lady M[ary] proposes to go to Red Rice tomorrow, and Ste will stay to seal up the papers at Holland House. He offered to sell me this morning the cream-coloured horses. There is an old cook, a butler, and a fat gentleman, and I do not know what besides, to be disposed of. Ste says he gets an estate of 300*l.* a year that was intended for Harry, but that he hopes to find it was bought in Harry's name. I then asked him if he could not make that matter easy by a gift of it to him, but he smiled and said, that was not the same thing. He told me that Lord Ilchester was angry that his brother had not left him a legacy.

I saw Ekins in town yesterday. . . . We talked a little of his circumstances, which I am afraid by the increase of his family grow very circumscribed. I most heartily wish, for his sake and your credit, that something were done for him. He is undoubtedly the only one who has been tutor to one of your rank and estate, for whom something has not been obtained from Government.

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* *See* letter of 9th December 1775.

I sup tonight at March's with the Essex's; they go tomorrow on a party to Slough and Maidenbridge (*sic*), and God knows where, and March about some business to Newmarket. Conway is gone into Cheshire, Hare to Delmé's, Lord Robert to Delapri's(?); and so we disperse. I propose going to my *Terres* about Monday sevennight for the Assizes. All is quiet as yet there, and the Premier and I seem to understand one another very well; so they will have no encouragement from that quarter; but I believe that they have tampered with him.

I have heard nothing as yet particularly about Lord Thomond's will. I did not know that his estate had been in his own power; it is supposed that he will leave it to his brother's second son. He has been always very good to his relations, and to do him justice was a very well bred man, with some valuable qualities. Williams affects to be touched with the loss of him. I must own that I give his feelings but very little credit. It is a chasm I grant in his *côterie*, but one he will fill up very soon. I am persuaded.

Lady Clanbrassil is under inoculation in London, and the man with the strange name from the Antarctic Pole is to go to the Baron Dimsdale's at Port Hill for the same purpose. Lord Seaforth and Harriot set out on Monday for Flanders, and from thence to Paris.

Ridley wants you to give him leave to send you the History of Jamaica. I do not know the merit of the Book, but your grandfather was a Governor there, and so was mine, and that may be a reason for us to buy the book, but I believe that I shall not. He does not seem determined what he shall do about Holland House. He can sell it, but then the money must be laid out in land. I wish it was hired by the Club of this house, that we might have a villa to go to. He says that he shall be governed in the disposal of it by Lady Mary.

As for Charles, I have no idea of what he intends to do. He was at White's, I was told today, till three this morning, I suppose with Garnier, for I know of no drinking companion of his besides who is now in town. Adieu; whether I have business or not, I find my letters are always of the same length.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774, July] 26, Tuesday night, Almack's.—Lady Holland, as you will see by the papers, died on Sunday morning between 7 and 8. I saw Lady Louisa and Mrs. Meillor coming in Lady Louisa's chariot between 10 and 11, which announced to me the close of that melancholy history; I mean, as far as regards my two very old friends. The loss of the latter, I must own, I feel much the more sensibly of the two; *serrer les files, comme l'on dit à Varnée, n'est pas assez; la perte ne laissera pas de reparoître*, in that I had counted upon a resource in the one more than in the other.

I went for a minute to see Ste [Fox, 2nd Lord Holland] and Lady Mary, and then I set out for the Duke of Dorset's at Knowles [Knowle Park], where I met Varcy, and where I dined; and after dinner Varcy and I went to Tunbridge. We saw Penthurst (*sic*) yesterday morning, and dined with his Honour Brudenell, who gave us, that is, Varcy, Mr. and Mrs. Meynel, and Sir J. Seabright, an excellent dinner. We were at a private ball at night, and this morning early I set out for London.

Tunbridge is, in my opinion, for a little time in the summer, with a family, and for people who do not find a great deal of occupation at their country houses, one of the prettiest places in the world. The houses are so many bijouzs made up for the occasion, so near the place,

so *agreste*, and the whole an air of such simplicity, that I am delighted with it, as much as when my amusements were, as they were formerly, at the Rooms and upon the Pantiles, which are now to me detestable.

I was pressed much to stay there today to dine with Meynell upon a haunch of venison, but I had solemnly engaged myself to Lady Harrington, and to her party at Spring Garden, on the road to Ranelagh. We had a very good turtle. Our company were, Lord and Lady Harrington, Lady Harriot,* Lady A. Maria Ord, Mrs. Boothby, Richard from his quarters at Hampton Court, Crags, Lord Barrington, Barker, Langlois, and myself.

March went yesterday to Newmarket, and left a letter behind for me, to excuse him to the party; he returns on Thursday. Here is not one single soul in this house, but I came here to write to you *plus à mon aise*. Lady Mary Howard was at Tunbridge, and asked much after you; Lady Powis, the Duke of Leeds, hardly anybody besides that I knew. Gen. Smith came there yesterday, and I believe was in hopes of making up a hazard table; at last Lord Killy [Kelly?] said that I might have one if I pleased.

Charles and Ste, &c., are gone for the present to Red Rice. I was in hopes of seeing Stover today, but this damned turtle party has kept me so late that I doubt if I shall see him tonight. I met him on the road, as I was going to Knowles, on his return from Tunbridge, and he then told me that he should set out for Castle Howard tomorrow, and would have set out today, but that I begged that I might see him first.

They can find no will of Lord Thomond's as yet; so his poor nephew will by his procrastination be the loser of a considerable estate; for he certainly intended to have made him his heir, and the attorney had left with him a will to be filled up. But we never are sure of doing anything but what we have but one minute for doing; what we think we may do any day, we put off so many days that we do not do it all.

This reflection, and the experience which I have had in other families of the consequences of these delays, determined me to lose no time in settling, for my dear Mie Mie,† that which may be the only thing done for her, and only because we may do it any day in the week. But I thank God I've secured, as much as anything of that nature can be secured, what will be, I hope, a very comfortable resource for her. I am egregiously deceived if it will not. As for other things, I must hope for the best. It makes me very serious when I think of it, because my affection and anxiety about her are beyond conception.

I shall not think of setting out for Gloucester, unless there is some new occurrence, till next week. I have had no fresh alarm. The lawyers are going on furiously and sanguinely against the Duchess of Kingston, who is, they say, at Calais. Feilding also complains of her; so *elle s'est brouillée avec la justice au pied de la lettre*. Nobody doubts of her felony; the only debate in conversation is, whether she can have the benefit of her clergy. Some think she will turn Papist. All expect some untimely death. *C'est un exécrable personnage que celui que* (sic) *fait mon voisin*.

James has cut out work enough for himself in Hertfordshire; *il s'en repentira, ou je me trompe fort*. Adieu; my best compliments to

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* Lady Henrietta Stanhope, daughter of Lord Harrington (Jesse, III. 104).

† Maria Fagniani. In these letters it is hard to say whether the name should be Mie Mie or Mic Mic, but it is printed "Mie Mie" by Jesse, probably from clearer handwritings.

Lady Carlisle and Lady Julia, and my love to the little ones. I long to see the boy excessively. I hear of your returning to London in September ; pray let me hear your motions very particularly, and if you bring up the children. I am ever most truly and affectionately yours.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774,] July 30, Saturday night, Almack's.—I write my letter from hence, from the habitude of making this place my bureau, not that there is anybody here, or that there was the least probability of my finding anybody here. The last post night I was obliged to have an amanuensis, as you will know tomorrow morning when the post comes in. I had got a small particle of shining sand in my eye that during the whole day, but particularly at night, gave me most exquisite pain, and prevented me from writing to you, which, next to receiving your letters, is one of my great pleasures. So this was *un grand évènement pour moi, par une petite cause.* While the writer was writing, Hare came in, and he said that he would finish the letter for me, but what they both wrote God knows.*

Storer I suppose set out yesterday for Castle H[oward], and I take for granted will be with you before this letter. March has been out of town ever since Monday till today. He has been at a Mr. Darell's in Cambridgeshire, who has a wife I believe with a black eye and low forward [forehead]. I guessed as much by his stay, and young Thomas who came up with him to town told me it was so.

I supped last night at Lady Hertford's with the two Fitzroys, Miss Floyd, and Lord F. Cavendish ; and today, Lady Hertford, Miss Floyd, and Lord Frederick and I dined at Colonel Kane's, who is settled in the Stable Yard, and in a damned good house, plate, windows cut down to the floor, elbowing his Majesty with an enormous bow window. The dog is monstrously well nipped ; he obtrudes his civilities upon me, *malgré que j'en ai*, and will in time force me not to abuse him. He would help me today to some venison, and how he contrived it, I don't know, but for want of the Graces he cut one of my fingers to the bone, that I might as well have dined at a cut-fingered ordinary.

I am diverted with your threats that I shall have short letters, because you are plagued with Northumberland disputes. You say that you have every post letters to write, and so you will have them to write for some time, for the Devil take me if I believe that you have wrote or will write one of them. A good *ronfle* for that, an't please your Honour, with about twenty sheets of paper spread about upon the table, and on each of them the beginning of a letter.

You know me very well also in thinking that my heart fails me as the time of my going to Gloucester approaches. I made a very stout resistance a fortnight ago, notwithstanding Harris's importunate summons, and now he plainly confesses in a letter which I received from him today, that my coming down upon that pretended meeting would have been nugatory, as he calls it. The Devil take them ; I have wished him and his Corporation in Newgate a thousand times. But there will be no trifling after the end of this next week. The Assizes begin on Monday sevennight. Then the Judges will be met, a terrible show, for I shall be obliged to dine with them, and be in more danger from their infernal cooks than any of the criminals who

* These remarks do not apply to the letter of 26 July, which is all in Selwyn's own hand.

are to be tried, excepting those who will be so unfortunate as to have our jurisconsult for their advocate.

I would not advise you to be unhappy about Caroline's want of erudition; a very little science will do at present, and much cannot be poured into the neck of so small a vessel at once. I agree with you that it is not to be wished that she should be a *savante*, and she will know what others know. I have no doubt there is time enough for her to read, and little Morpeth to walk.

There is, I grant you, more reason to fear for Hare. Boothby assures me that as yet no prejudice has been done to his fortune. I have my doubts of that, but am clear that he runs constant risk of being very uneasy. But there is no talking to him; he has imbibed so much of Charles's *ton* of *qu'importe, que cela peut mener à l'hôpital.*

Lady Holland will be removed on Monday, and my thief one of her out-riders. All Lord Holland's servants, since he had that house at Kingsgate, have been professed smugglers, and John, as I am informed, was employed in vending for them some of their contraband goods, for which he was to be allowed a profit. He sold the goods, and never accounted with his principals for a farthing; and so now they place him to sit up with the corps[e] of the family, and to act as one of their undertakers, that they may be in part reimbursed. This is the *dessous des cartes, qui est véritablement comique, et singulier.* Ste, &c., will be here about the end of the week.

I hear that the night that Charles sat up at White's, which was that preceding the night of Lady Holland's death, he planned out a kind of itinerant trade, which was of going from horse race to horse race, and so, by knowing the value and speed of all the horses in England, to acquire a certain fortune.

I learned from Bore today, that Sir G. M'Cartney is a debtor to the family as well as myself, and his debt is to the amount of five thousand pounds, which I am afraid he will find it difficult to raise.

Blaquiere and George Howard are to have two Red Ribbands on Wednesday. There is no end to the honours of your family. I have entrusted Lady Carlisle's picture, I mean your grandmother's, to Linnell, to be framed and cleaned, and then it will be sent to Castle Howard. March I hear goes to Huntingdon on Tuesday.

I think that I shall set out on Thursday next, or if my heart fails me, not till Saturday. I shall then be time enough to meet these Judges, who do not begin to poison and hang till Monday. Lady Mary has promised to make me a present of the little antique ring which you gave to Lord Holland.

Did I tell you that I saw Lord Ilchester? He shewed me a letter which he had received from Ste on his mother's death, and some trifling things which had belonged to Lord H[olland]. Lord Ilchester was extremely pleased with this mark of his affection, and indeed the letter was a very kind and well-bred letter as any I ever read.

I find Lord Thomond most excessively blamed in having neglected to make his will, so that he has died at last *en mauvaise odeur* with his White's friends. I cannot but think, as he was so remarkably methodical, that he intended, by making no will, that the estate should go where the law directs, especially as the second son of his brother has besides so ample a fortune.

Williams has been giving a different account of the public money left in Lord Holland's hands from any which I ever before heard. He, Walters, Offley, and March dined at White's. I called in there after dinner. Williams says that a calculation is made of what the interest

of that money will amount to from this time to the settlement of the account; and that it is to be made capital, and is part of what is due to the public. I protest I don't understand him, nor do I conceive what the residue of the personal estate will amount to; but not to much, as the opinion of the family is. The reports, and belief of those who are not in the secret, are out of all credibility.

Lady Holland's second will, or codicil, will not be opened till the family returns to town. Everybody is inquisitive to know if you and Foley are safe. *Il est merveilleux l'intérêt que tout le monde prend à tout ceci, aussi bien qu'au mariage de notre Prince, dont je ne saurois vous dire des nouvelles.* Meynell, Panton, and James are in Hertfordshire, and the highty-tighty man at Port Hill in the damnest (*sic*) fright in the world about the small-pox. I hope the poor devil will get over it.

Adieu, my dear lord. If I was prevented from writing by last post, *cette fois-ci je m'en suis bien vengé.* . . .

I see your porter every morning in the grove, as he returns from Islington, where he is drinking the waters; he looks a little better, but not much. They have lent him a horse to ride there, and he says that he finds the air where he is to agree better with him than that of the country.

Pray tell Shepardson that I ask after her, and my compliments to Mr. Willoughby, if you see him. I have demonstrated to Sir G. Metham that I [am] originally a Yorkshire man, and that my name is Salveyne; and he says that the best Yorkshire blood does at this time run through my veins, and so I hope it will for some time before the circulation of it is stopped.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1774, Aug. 2, Chesterfield Street.—I went on Sunday to take my leave once more of the family in Kent, and returned yesterday; and we dined at Vernon's, March, Bully, Wassell, Pawky Lascelles, and I. At night March gave a supper to the Essex's, and this morning early he set out with little Thomas for Huntingdon. I thought that I had had the town and my own house to myself, and I ordered a little dinner at home *tout tranquillement*, but when I came home at 4 the Essex's had been at my door, and ordered some dinner before they set out for Cashiobury. So I had with me a large company, as it happened. For I met young Hartley, who has a good estate in Gloucestershire, and finding him upon the *pavé*, I asked him. Storer, knowing the Essex's were to dine with me, came also. However, there was no *embarras*. Alice managed all for me very well. I have heard that Hare was in town today, so I was in hopes to have seen him also, but he never came.

Now *sto per partire*, and ought in point of discretion to set out tomorrow, but I dare say that it will be Friday evening before I shall have the courage to throw myself off the cart. But then go I must, for on Monday our Assizes begin, and how long I shall stay the Lord knows, but I hope in God not more than ten days at farthest, for I find my aversion to that part of the world greater and more insuperable every day of my life, and indeed [have] no wish to be absent from home but to go to Castle Howard, which I hope that I shall not delay many days after my return from Gloucestershire.

Lord Robert writes me word that he is at the Oxford races, and seems by a letter which I received from him today to expect me there tomorrow. He will be in town, and Charles I suppose, the end of this

week, but not Lady Mary. Poor Lady Holl[an]d, I believe, was buried this evening at Fawley. I have seen Lord Ilchester once more. It is a melancholy sight, but he is certainly so much better, that at a less advanced age one might hope that he would recover.

I have no disputes in Northumberland to occasion my letters being short, but I have as cogent a reason, which is, having now nothing to tell you, after that flattering piece of intelligence which I sent you by the last post; and that was, that blackear [Blaquiere] and General Howard were to be invested tomorrow with the Order of the Bath. *Les beaux noms ne peuvent pas être trop décorés*, as the late K[ing] of F[rance] told Mons. de Tingri, *à propos de son duché*.

The Duke of Orléans and Mons. de Chartres (?) *sont réléguez tous les deux à leurs terres; du moins, ils n'ont pas permission de se présenter à la Cour.* They won't make a bow, it seems, to the new Parliament, which would be an acknowledgment of them, and therefore cannot assist at the funeral of the late King, to which they, with the other Princes, are summoned. This is all I know of it, and ten times more than I care for.

The town is now *vuidée* as completely as ever I knew it, and I see no likelihood of its filling. But that is not an object of concern to me neither; *je ne m'ennuye pas pour cela.* I received a letter from Lady Carlisle last night. . . . I wish you a good night. I feel myself monstrously fatigued with my morning walk to Lincoln's Inn, and with doing the honours here today at dinner. My best compliments to all at Castle Howard, and particularly to Lady C., and my love to both the children. Little Caroline Fox was five years old before they could make her learn anything, but you know that there is not much force in that house. I should not make myself very uneasy about Caroline's docility, if everything else goes right. I pray God bless her, *ex imo corde.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774,] Aug. 9, Tuesday, Gloucester.—I set out from London on Saturday last, as intended, and came to Matson the next day to dinner. I found our learned Counsel in my garden; he dined with me, and lay at my house, and the next morning he came with me in my chaise to this place for the Assizes. I have seen little of him since, being chiefly in the Grand Jury chamber, but I take it for granted that till this morning that he set out for London his hands were full of business, and the two men condemned were his clients, who were condemned only *par provision* till he had drawn up the case.

This town has been very full of the neighbouring gentlemen, and I suppose the approaching elections have been the cause of it. I am not personally menaced with any opposition, but have a great dread of one, because the contentions among those who live in the country and have nothing else to do but to quarrel, are so great, that without intending to hurt me, they will stir up trouble and opposition, which will be both hazardous and expensive. I am tormented to take a part in I know not what, and with I know not whom, and my difficulty is to keep off the solicitation of my friends, as they call themselves, who want a bustle, the expense of which is not to be defrayed by themselves.

I do assure you that it is a monstrous oppression of spirits which I feel, and which I would not feel for an hour if I had nobody's happiness to think of but my own, which would be much more secured by a total renunciation of Parliament, Ministers, and Boroughs

than by pursuing the emoluments attached to those connections. However, as it is the last time that I shall ever have anything to do of this kind, I will endeavour to keep up my spirits as well as I can; but I must declare to you that it is an undertaking that is most grievous to me, that I am ashamed of, and that neither the established custom of the country [n]or the nature of our Government does by any means reconcile to me.

I have dinners of one sort or other till Tuesday, and then I propose to set out for London, unless some unforeseen event prevents me. Horry Walpole has a project of coming into this part of the world the end of this week, and, if he does, of coming to me on Saturday. I shall be glad to converse with anybody whose ideas are more intelligible than those of the persons I am now with. But I do not depend much upon seeing him.

The weather is very fine, and Matson in as great beauty as a place can be in, but the beauties of it make very little impression upon me. In short, there is nothing in this eccentric situation in which I am now that can afford me the least pleasure, and everything I love to see in the world is at a distance from me. All I do is so *par manière d'acquit, et de si mauvaise grace*, that I am surprised at the civility with which I am treated.

I am in daily hopes of hearing from you. I am sorry that the children are to be left behind; that is, that their health, which is a valuable consideration, makes it prudential. I shall be happy when I see them again, but it is not in my power to fix the time any more than the means of my happiness. . . .

Storer has little to do than to sing *Se caro sei*, and to write to me, and therefore pray make him write. Richard the Third is to be acted here tonight. I will go and see an act of it, *pour me desennuyer*.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1774, Aug. 13, Saturday, Matson.—As you are one of the first persons who occupies my thoughts when I awake, so it shall be a rule with me hereafter, when I am to write to you, to make that my first business, and not defer, as I have these two last posts, writing till the evening, when it is more than probable, at least in this place, to suffer some interruption. This looks like an apology for what I am sure needs none; it requires much more, that I seem to have established it as a rule to trouble you so often. I have not here the shallow pretence of telling you some little occurrence[s] which can hardly be interesting in the Parish of St. James's, but when they are confined to this spot. I can have no reason for pestering you with them, but *par un esprit de bavardise, ou pour me rappeler plus souvent à votre souvenir; ce que votre amitié a rendu pour moi très inutile.*

I have this whole week been immersed in all the provincial business of a justice, a juryman, and a candidate; and yesterday was forced to open my trenches before the town as one who intended to humbug them for one seven years more.

J'ignore le destin que le ciel me prepare,
Mais il est temps enfin qu'Iarbe se declare.

I entertained the whole Corporation [of the City of Gloucester] yesterday at dinner, and afterwards made them a speech, which I am glad that nobody heard but themselves. However *j'ai réussi*, I do not mean in point of eloquence, but I carried my point; and if it was possible to judge from the event of one meeting only, I should think

that there would be a peaceable election, and the expense not exceed many hundred pounds, and those given chiefly to the service of the city. But if [I] did not make my escape, and parry off all the proposals made to me by the people whose whole employment is to create disturbance, I should soon be drawn into a contest from which I should not escape but at the expense of thousands.

At night I heard that Mr. Walpole was here ; I was then at Gloucester ; so I hurried home, and have now some person to converse with who speaks my own language. He came yesterday from Lady Ailesbury's, and stays with me till Tuesday, and then I hope we shall return to London together. I am to have the satisfaction of another festival on Monday, on which day Mr. Walpole proposes to go and see Berkley and Thornbury Castles.

I have had the advantage of very fine weather, and should have had all the benefit of it if I was in any place but where my mind has so many disagreeable occupations, and my stomach so many things which it cannot digest. But it is chiefly their liquors, which are like so much gin. The civility which they show me, I may say indeed the friendship which I have from some of these people, make me very sorry that I cannot prevail on myself to stay a little longer with them ; but in regard to that, I can hardly save appearances, either by staying, or by forbearing while I do stay to show them what a pain it is to me.

Your friend Mr. Howard, who is to be Duke of Norfolk, and who by his wife is in possession of a great estate in my neighbourhood, takes so much pains to recommend himself to my Corporation that we are at a loss to know the source of his generosity. I have no personal acquaintance with him, but as a member of the Corporation have a permission to send for what venison we want. He has some charming ruins of an abbey within a mile from hence, with which I intend to entertain Mr. Walpole, and if that is not enough, I must throw in the *mazures* of this old building, which, I believe, will not hold out this century.

Horry tells me that a scheme has been formed, of replacing Charles, but that Lord North will not hear of it. I should certainly myself have the same repugnance. But as I love Charles more than I do the other, I wish that, or anything which can put him once more in a way of establishment. I shall however not have any hopes of that, till he is less intoxicated than he is with the all sufficiency, as he imagines, of his parts. I think that, and his infinite contempt of the *qu'en dira-t-on*, upon every point which governs the rest of mankind, are the two and (*sic*) chief sources of all his misfortunes.

Ste, they tell me, has come to a resolution of selling Holland H[ouse] as soon as possible, and of rebuilding Winterslow. If Lady Holland had not died just as she did, I believe that I should have had him and Lady Mary here for some days, which I should have liked very well.

I have got a prize in Barbot's Lottery, as it may be that Conty has told you. I left a man in London, when I came away, with a commission to see that justice was done me, and to send my pye, if I should have one, into Kent. Mine is *à quatre perdrixs* (*sic*) ; so I have no reason to complain of Conty's Lotteries, for I have had a prize in both of them.

If you intend to buy a ticket in the State Lottery, I should be glad to have a share of it with Lady C[arlisle], Lord Morpeth, and little Caroline, that is, one ticket between us five. Three of my tenants joined for one in the Lottery two or three years since, and they got a 20,000*l.* prize. I made a visit to one of them the other day, whose farm is not

far off, and he had made it the prettiest in the world; and he has three children to share his 10,000, for one moiety of this ticket was his.

Pray make my very best compliments to Lady C[arlisle] and Lady J[ulia], and give my hearty love to Caroline; and as for the little Marmot, tell him that if he treats his sister with great attention I shall love him excessively, but *s'il fait le fier*, because he is a Viscount and a Howard, I shall give him several spanks upon his *derrière*. Make Storer write to me, and make Ekins read Atterbury till he can say him by heart.

On 8vo paper.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774,] Aug. 14, Sunday, Matson.—I received yours this morning, and one from Storer, as I was going from hence to attend my Corporation to the Cathedral; so I had something to amuse me during the vocal and instrumental part of the service. *Pour ce coup* I liked their music very well, but I do not intend to hear any more of it, for a month or six weeks after Tuesday. Mr. Walpole will not stay for me; he will go to Berkley Castle tomorrow, and from thence hasten on to attend his workmen at Strawberry. I have had very fine weather for him, and Gothic to his heart's content. I carried him yesterday to the Abbot of Gloster's house, Princknage Park, which delighted him excessively, and to see the remains of Lanthony Priory in the evening, which are both within two miles of me.

Tomorrow is our great day of meeting, and I long to have it over, because I suppose there will not be less than a hundred persons at dinner, and among them, I think, there may be some provoking person whose caprices may occasion me a great deal of trouble. But at present I am *en bonne odeur*, beyond my expectations. In short, I am in too great a state of uncertainty to be able to say when I can come to you.

My inclinations can never [be] suspected; if they were, there are now guarantees enough of them at Castle Howard. I am vexed but not alarmed at what you tell me of Caroline; I think she has too many complaints, and they succeed one another too close. Storer tells me that the little boy is not yet forward enough with his tongue. I hope that in time he will have the full use and enjoyment of it. He informs me also of your proficiency in music. *On ne peut avoir trop de ressources*, but I think, if you would pursue the trade of making ballads and Lady Julia to set them to music, all the parts will be well performed. I hope that Ekins reads enough of Atterbury. If I do not come and perform something before you leave Castle H[oward], it will not be my fault.

This next half year must be a time of probation and dependence, or I must resolve to give up the siege which I have laid to the City, and at this time that will not do so well; *il y* [*a*] *encore un petit raccomodement à faire à ma fortune*, as M. de Polignac told me. But if no unlucky thing happens here, that *raccomodement* will be (*sic*), and then I shall think of no more advances; I will make my own management do the rest.

It is a very pleasing prospect to me, that which you have in respect both to Carlisle and Morpeth. For God's sake don't neglect the reasonable means of securing them this time. They will give you a weight which your family, and those whom you wish to assist in the world, must feel the good effects of. I am not so much afraid of your refusing your money as your trouble, but I hope it will not be requisite to afford a great deal of either.

This is enough to let you know where I am. On Tuesday I hope to write, no, to go, and on Thursday next to write you a letter from London. I hear little Mie Mie is impatient to see me again. My best respects to Lady C[arlisle] and to Lady J[ulia]; remember [me] to Ekins, and my love to the children. I hope Caroline will not forget her dry nurse. I do not know anything of the Counsellor since he left me. I shall endeavour to find him out, and his motions, upon my return. There is great complaint of him here, from the other lawyers. There is not a shilling to be got since he has taken upon himself the charge of the affairs of the people in this part of the world.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774,] Aug. 25, Thursday night, Almack's.—Here are the Duke of Roxb[urgh], Vernon, James, and Sir W. Draper at Whist; Boothby, Richard, and R. Fletcher at Quinze. I dined today at the Duke of Argyle's at a quarter before four. He and the Duchess went to Richmond at six. The maccaroni dinner was at Mannin's. My eyes are still very painful to me at night, and I do not know what I shall do for them. I hear of no news; that of the Duchess of Leinster's match is very *équivoque;* an extreme their drawing room.

I [am] in constant expectation of being sent for again to Gloucester, and begin (*sic*) a canvas. I think if I prevent it, and an opposition, I shall be very vain of my conduct. There is nothing so flattering as the shewing people who thought that they could dupe you, that you know more of the matter than they do. I know too little to be active, but have prudence enough to take no steps while I am in the dark upon the suggestion of others who cannot possibly interest themselves for me. But I really think it will be a miracle if this is not a troublesome and expensive Election to me. However, I will not anticipate the evil by groaning about it before it happens. . . .

The Duke of Newcastle is to bring Will Hanger into Parliament, but what is to pay for his chair to go down to the House the Lord knows; they tell me that there is absolutely not a shilling left.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1774, Aug.] Tuesday night, Almack's.—I will write a few lines while I have any eyes to see what I write, but they are at present so weak, by the use, as I believe, of a medicine Lady Harrington gave me, that I cannot use them without pain. Boothby has just been telling me that I may expect to see you soon in the next month, that you will not go to Trentham but for a few days, and perhaps not at all. I have been told today by More the Attorney, that they apprehend Lady Holland to be in a consumption, which is one of the most disagreeable news which I have heard for a long time. I hope that they are mistaken. Ste talks at present of going himself to Ireland to qualify for his new place. They have no thought of residing this year at Holl[an]d H[ouse], and what the next will produce the Lord knows. The Duchess of Leinster's match seems to gain credit with everybody but Sir G. M'Cartney.

The world is assembled today at dinner at Craufurd's; he asked me, but I could not go. I have had a good deal of Gloucester business, so I sent for Mie Mie to my house, and dined at home alone. I am very much afraid that this next Election will be a very troublesome affair to me. My only comfort is that I hardly ever know anything turn out so ill as I feared it would. Here were at this house, six or eight, but I

was not here myself. I did not imagine that there had been as many of my acquaintance in the whole town. Charles I hear is at Burk[e]'s, and Richard still at Hampton Court. The younger Storer is going into [a] house within a door of mine, and there he carries his future. I will write to you no more tonight; my eyes will not suffer it.

Mr. Charles Howard* to [Lord Carlisle].

1774, Oct. 7, Carlisle.—(About an election at Carlisle, and the independent freemen there.) . . . . Mr. Storer is totally unconnected with Cumberland, and in the ideas of many on whose favourable sentiments his election greatly depends, he is a stranger to the kingdom, his property lying in Antigua; and it has ever been a great complaint against Sir James Lowther that he has introduced none but strangers. However, what the Duke of Portland, Mr. Graham, Mr. Dacre, and Mr. Jos. Nicholson can do for him will not be wanting.

Lord North to [Lord Carlisle].

1774, Oct. 23, Bushy Park.—Having heard that Mr. Delmé is returned to Town, I should be much obliged to your Lordship if you would be so good as to desire him to go over to Covent Garden at any time before Wednesday, and vote for Lord Percy and Lord Thomas Clinton. As the polling is now very slack he will not be detained five minutes at the hustings.

The Duke of Portland.

1774.—Two letters of the Duke of Portland, referring to preparations for elections in Cumberland and Carlisle.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775?] (*Beginning wanting.*) . . . Gregg wants me to dun Charles. He lost last night 800*l.*, as Brooks told me today. He receives money from More the Attorney. He forestalls all he is to receive, and unless the importunity begins with you, mine will avail nothing. Besides, I fairly own that I cannot keep my temper. My ideas, education, and former experience, or inexperience, of these things, make me see some things in the most horrible light which you can conceive, and I am far from being singular. Pray write a letter to Charles, *à telle fin que de raison;* otherwise there will be no ability left, and then it will be to no purpose.

What *ménagement* you choose to have with him is more than I can comprehend. I can conceive the intimacy between you. Your delicacy of temper, ten thousand *nuances de sentiments.* But I can never conceive that all the feeling, all the principle, &c., should be of one side only. If you don't press it, he will not think it pressing, and will say so; that must depend upon what you choose to reveal. He may not think you want it, or may think that all mire in which he wallows is as indifferent to you as to him. *Je me perds dans toutes ces reflections.* My God, if they did not concern you, I should not care who were the object of them.

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* A pencil note by Mr. Duthie says, "of Greystoke, who succeeded as 13th, or as he is more commonly called 10th, Duke of Norfolk, 1777; he died 1786."

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] July 27, Thursday evening.—I write to you from the King['s] Arms Tavern in Cornhill. I came into this part of the town to see if I could find Gregg, but not by appointment; so as he happened not to be at home, I dined by myself, and sent for him after dinner.

I paid this morning Lord Bristol and Mr. Hervey, into the hands of Messrs. Goslin. Lord Bristol and his brother must send me a proper discharge, but as yet I have paid the money into their account without examination of the right to receive it, for conversation is no discharge or certificate, or anything else but conversation. To whom the house belongs I am as yet to know *de certaine science*. . . .

I have no doubt, if you please, that in a very little time, a demand upon you will be as good as an accepted draft at Child's shop. I dwell upon this, as the only part in the whole system of your life which wants a more mature consideration from you. Money being the pivot upon which the business of the world turns, it behoves us to see that it is not out of order. I wish, as Lady Mary says, that we could do without it. If that had not been an ingredient in the commerce of life, the poor Perreaus might have been at Almack's and not in Newgate; and that some of our acquaintance are in one place and not in the other, is only because, in the pursuit of their pleasures, and of money which is to procure them, *ils s'y prennent d'une manière qui, sans être plus juste, est certainement plus à la mode, et moins dangereuse.*

Pray let me know as soon as you receive a letter from Stavordale. Get Hare, if he comes to Castle Howard, to talk to Charles about your demand. Perhaps it will have no effect, but if all he is to receive is dissipated, without any satisfaction for your debt, *je perdrai patience.*

I will seal up this by itself, because I will keep all which I have to say on business to a sheet of paper apart from the *Evangiles du jour*. You may burn these; I hope you will, and keep the other for future inspection.

Anthony Storer to [Lord Carlisle].

1775, July 29, Portugal Street.—I learnt from George [Selwyn] yesterday, that as York Races were sooner this year than usual, you intended hastening your journey into the North on that account. When you have fixed upon what you shall do, I suppose you will let me know what you would wish me to do also. I have just left Delmé and Lady Betty.* I was over at Bath for a couple of days, and saw the Harlands. The eldest is still madder than she was, and little Ursula a finer lady, from being at Bath, than ever, there being no such *grande dame* there as herself.

News arrived yesterday of the defeat of the Spaniards. In a letter from Lord Grantham there is an account of there being eight hundred killed and two thousand wounded, and of their returning home; so that George and I have now no longer any fears of their attacking the Islands; and if we can but get lumber from the Canadians, we may go on a year or two longer; except I persist in playing at Whist, which if I do, perhaps [it] may be more effectual than the non-importation agreement of the Americans.

Hare talks every day of setting out the next for Castle Howard; but one cannot be sure that he is set out till one finds in the afternoon at Almack's that there is no Hazard. George [Selwyn] and March in a

* Sister of Lord Carlisle and wife of Peter Delmé, esquire.

bank together have lost their money. Charles, to my great astonishment on my arrival in town, is elbow-deep in gold; and he wanted a guinea ten days ago, when I left it. I mean to go to Tunbridge for two or three days, and I suppose I shall hear at my return of your motions, and what mine are to be, as they will be regulated by yours. I hope Lady Carlisle and the children are all well. I beg my compliments to her and Lady Julia.

George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.

1775, Aug. 1, Tuesday afternoon, from your own house, below stairs.—I came from Richmond this morning on purpose to meet Gregg here to dinner, and we have had our leg of mutton together; a poor epitome of Roman greatness. I believe, as Lord Grantham told me, few have so little philosophy as I have. You have a great deal, having a much more manly understanding. . . .

I have been misunderstood about Stavordale, because just what you tell me you approve of is what I meant to propose, or if I had any conception beyond it, it was from a sudden thought which I retract. I have said a few words to Charles, but I do not find that he has more intercourse with him than you have. He says that there can be no doubt of the validity and payment of the debt, and there is no anticipation of it. But it is not to be expected that Charles should think more of Stavordale's debt than his own. He lost in three nights last week 3,000, as he told me himself, and has lent Richard God knows what [;] the account, and friendship, and want of it, between them is as incomprehensible to me as all the rest of their history. It is a mystery I shall never enquire into, when what concerns you is out of the question. I never heard of the same thing in all the first part of my life, and it shall be my own fault if I hear any more of it.

I rode over yesterday to Lord Besborough's at Roehampton, on purpose to see Lord Fitzw[illia]m, and had a long discourse with him in the garden. He was excessively pleased with the account which I gave him of the present state of your affairs, together with your manner of expressing yourself about them. Every word which dropped from him discovered the real interest which he took in whatever concerned you, and his affection for you. He is a very valuable young man.

Hare went away without my being certain that he was to go to Castle H[oward]. He will excuse me if I don't rely upon his resolutions in parties of pleasure. But I should have been glad to have known for a certainty that he was to have set out. I believe March's money and mine helped to grease his wheels. March deserves to have lost his, because he was the seducer. I could not have lost mine if he had kept me to my obligation; but I will not resign my fetters any more. Welcome, my chains; welcome, Mr. Lowman, the keeper. I am glad it went no further.

I shall send you all the account which I can pick up concerning Jamaica, but, you must judge, when I tell you my authority, yourself, of the authenticity of it.

I had a letter from Ekins last night also. He stays at Berkhamstead all Sunday next, and then sets out for Morpeth; he wants to know what he is to say at Morpeth about Lavie. I believe that he can tell them nothing of his real character but what they know. They must be sure that he was a cop-towel (?), and had good reason to think that he was a knave. I told Gregg today that I had heard that at Brighthelmstone he said that you was to go on some embassy, and that he was to be your

first secretary, or *secrétaire de l'embassade*. Gregg said, "He told me so himself." He met him on Sunday at dinner, at Gregg's own house. He took Gregg into another room, as if he had had a great deal of business with him. This was *pour donner dans la vuë de la compagnie*, for the whole time he said nothing, but asked him only a few questions concerning the Morpeth causes. . . .

On foolscap.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Aug. 3, Thursday night, Almack's.— . . . There was a turtle here today, but I dined upon a haunch of venison at Lady Townshend's with her two grandsons. Conyers's thieves, that is, two of them, and the coachman who drove them, were examined at the Rotation Office yesterday, and one of them, if not two, will be tried and hanged at Chelmsford immediately. It is to be hoped that the other four will be taken. A great many went from hence after dinner to hear them examined.

It is dreadful the increase [of] violence and audaciousness of robberies in London and for many miles about at this time. I am much more struck with the terror of these insurgents than with any at a greater distance, and should be heartily glad that every ounce of plate was immediately melted down throughout the kingdom towards raising a *maréchaussé* for our defence, and supporting a better police.

No news is yet come, or has transpired from America. The town grows every day emptier, and I am only more afraid to leave it and to leave Mie Mie in it.

Pinchbeck is in great disgrace for behaving ill to the Master of the Ceremonies at Tunbridge, and says that he is many hundred pounds worse for his close connection with the King and the Royal Family. I found him as I passed today at his door lamenting his situation *à chaudes larmes*, and very desirous to make me a party in his dispute with the Master of the Ceremonies.

I was thinking this morning that it might not be amiss to write a line to Lord Gower now that this first part of the Trust is executed. Ask Gregg if he thinks proper to do it, or that I should. I wish that you would endeavour through Hare to make some impression on Charles. I am afraid that it is a fruitless attempt. But if you do not, either by some direct application of your own, or by means of another, you will never be paid the 1,500*l.*, or have the annuity of one hundred a year redeemed. It is a maxim inculcated with great pains, that the number of creditors is a reason that no one should expect ever to be satisfied either in the whole or in part. I intend to go into Kent either tomorrow or on Saturday for two days; I rather think on Saturday, that I may answer if necessary tomorrow any letter which comes from Lady D.C.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Aug. 4, Friday, Chesterfield Street.— . . . I told you in mine last night, and I will repeat it again, that you will have no chance of receiving a shilling, but from urging your claim, and the priority of it, very strong. Codrington, whom I met in the street today on horseback, told me that he had lost more last night at quinze than ever he had done in his life, and that Fitzp[atrick] was the chief winner, but I take for granted that Charles *y avoit sa part*. I beseech

you urge this claim of the 1,500, and for the redemption of the annuity, for I would not give you a halfpenny roll for what you will ever have in exchange of it. Therefore pray, my dear Lord, write a letter upon this subject, and I will answer for it, you will lose not a *brin* of friendship by it.

The King says that he has heard a very good account of Harry's behaviour at Boston. I hope that he will come home safe, and when he is here that he will keep what belongs to him. I shall be impatient to hear from you after Gregg has been with you. I go tomorrow till Monday into Kent. I dine on Monday with Sir W. Musgrove, I suppose to meet Eden. Lord Robert* went today to Blenheim.

Fawkener sets out this week for Spa, and from thence goes to Italy; Harry Walpole next week for Paris. The Churchills are going abroad again. Craufurd is also, as he says, going to Spa, after having paid another enormous sum for his brother, with which he torments or diverts everybody, while his brother does not seem to think himself obliged for a shilling.

Forsyth has been to Shropshire to enquire about that account, but it is all my eye. He is not able to give an account of a shilling of the 20*l.* It is odd, but these were the two first bills which came into my hands among those which you left with me. Tomorrow I shall go and carry all my vouchers to Child's, for security, before I leave London.

Two or three of the footpads who robbed Lord Abergavenny and his sister on the King's road last week are in custody, and will be examined on Tuesday. Two are already sworn to. Numbers are taken every day and hanged every year, and there is no abatement of the robberies.

I am glad to hear that Harry does not go to Boston; I wish I knew what Mrs. Swinfor (?) would have done. Gage is coming over, and to be mightily abused, but not by me. I am persuaded that he has done the best he could, consistent with his instructions.

My best respects to Lady C[arlisle] and Lady Jul[ia]; my hearty love to all the children, and especially little Caroline, whose birthday I propose to keep at Castle H[oward]. I shall be glad to see you and them again, and to find that every[thing] goes to your satisfaction, for I will own to you *que j'ai présentement le cœur bien gros*, and you can give [me] more comfort than anybody else.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Aug.]—. . . . . and that besides. I might wish to get further liberty, which March has no objection to grant, and so be in a scrape. He wants to get back his money, and so do I, but it must be reserved the attempt (*sic*) to more favourable times; these are by no means so to me. My eyes too were growing better, which will be bad again, and I shall be said to have resumed play, which I do not mean to do; and therefore I will engage no more either in Bank, or otherwise. I have told you this, lest you should be told that I was playing, which is just as I relate it.

Lord Robert* has been losing; he goes today to Tunbridge for two or three days. I should perhaps have gone with him if I had not been engaged to dine today with Lord and Lady Sefton, and the Fr[ench] Amb[assado]r, and March, and Lord Cholmondeley at Wandsworth.

Storer, March, and Lord Robert dined here yesterday. I called at Lady Harrington's last night, who looks *de très mauvaise humeur.* Your friend Jack Manners will I believe have a larger pair of horns

* *Qu.* Lord Robert Seymour, third son of the Earl of Hertford. (Jesse, III. 85.)

than any deer in your park. There has been an excellent bollrag, as they call it, between Lady Barrymore and her mother. . . .

The Spaniards you will hear have been thrashed by [the] Turks,* and this rejoices our Ministry. I am glad that they have anything to comfort them. I wish somebody would beat somebody to comfort me, but that must happen when it will. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Aug. ?] Tuesday night, Almack's, in the Hazard Room alone, to write *tout à mon aise.*—I returned to the Hill to dinner, and am come as I told you *pour achever mes dépêches.* I hear that a very smart action has been in *Jamaica;* that, *bref,* the insurgents intended to do us infinite mischief, were very near accomplishing their design, but by great resolution and activity in our troops, we prevented it, but by the loss of 1,000 of our men and some very good officers. Abercromby is killed, a Colonel or General Pitcairn, a Colonel Williams. It is a victory, but a dear one, and a melancholy. We have gained honour, and nothing else; all besides is more properly an escape. I do assure you that this is a very succinct account of the matter, and a true one. I could give you a may [map ?], if I pleased, of the posts where they all were; *hac ibat Simois, illic tendebat Ulisses;* but it does not signify. We have looked fierce, we have come on, and we are ——— [befouled]. So much for Jamaica. You will know more, it may be, by next post, and it may be not.

I dine tomorrow at General Cholmondley's with the Seftons, March, &c. Now good night to you. I am going to write to Lady Carlisle, to Sir John Lambert, and to Ekins; and to keep my promise with old Harrington, I shall write him also some account of Jamaica, directed to him at Dover. . . .

Fitzgerald has met Walker in Piccadilly, and gave him a wipe [a]cross the mouth with a stick which he took out of a Savoyard's hand.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Aug. ?]—I am just come from Almack's. Many are gone to the Thatched House, to sup with *the ladies,* as they call it. These ladies are Lady Essex and Miss Amyas (?).† Richard‡ won last night 1300 ostensible, besides what he pocketed to keep a *corps de reserve* unknown to Brooks. For Brooks lent him 2,300, and then laments the state of the house. He duns me for three hundred, of which I am determined to give him but two; as he knows so well where to get the other hundred, which is that Richard owes me, but seems determined that I shall not have. Charles is winning more, and the quinze table is now at its height. I have set down Brooks to be the completest composition of knave and fool that ever was, to which I may add liar.

You say very true, that I have been in a bank, that I have lost my money, that I want to get it back; but it is as true that I shall make no attempt to get it back till my affairs are quite in another posture from what they are at present; so pray give me no flings about it, for I lay all the blame upon March, who should not have contributed to it.

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* In July 1775. (Annual Register.) † Or Ameyes? ‡ Fitzpatrick?

LORD GOWER to [LORD CARLISLE].

1775, Aug. 24, Trentham.—Give me leave to congratulate you upon your victory at Newcastle in the Morpeth trials, as the trouble and expense of one day cannot be much, [and] a visit to the Electors at this time, I should think, highly expedient. . . .

LORD CARLISLE to LORD GOWER.

1775, Sept. 1.—On their success at the Morpeth election.
Copy.

[GEORGE SELWYN to LORD CARLISLE.]

[1775,] Sept. 1, Friday, Richmond.—I have omitted, contrary to my usual custom, two posts, the writing to you, which being out of course may perhaps make you at a loss to guess what is become of me. I am here with Mie Mie, and shall be so for ten or twelve days longer, and then the weather being cool and the days grown short, I shall find the evenings too tedious to myself and not very beneficial to her, which would undoubtedly be with me the first consideration. My journey to Castle H[oward] I would not postpone, if the postponing it was to the prevention of it.

But as I am determined to go there, and it is not as I apprehend material whether it be the first week of this month or of the next, I have submitted to those who desire to govern me in the matter, and that is in regard to Luggershall. My lawyers and Mr. T. Townshend, who is the heir of entail to that estate, have entreated me not to omit any longer the holding what they call a Court Leet, and which court must be held necessarily the 4th of October.

Mr. Grenville's Bill, as I apprehended that it would, has made it very dangerous to omit any forms which the law prescribes, and the failure of what I am enjoined as lord of the manor to do by the charter would certainly be very prejudicial upon an enquiry, and perhaps lay me open to an opposition, which could never be made to my interests or property there without such negligence.

For this reason I must either postpone my journey to Castle H[oward] till after that, or make my stay there if I go before too short. This is my present arrangement, which, however important it may be represented to be, should be altered if I could be essentially useful to you or to your affairs by it. I beg that you will not omit to acquaint Mr. Gregg with this, who will see immediately the necessity of it.

I could indeed have set out as I originally intended so as to have met you upon your return, and should have done it if I could have prevailed upon M[arch ?] to have allowed me to do what I am now doing, by which I flatter myself to bring about what will be in many respects of use to that little infant, who has very little thought bestowed upon her but by my means. It is a sore grievance to me, but it is my lot and I must endure it.

My excursions to town are not above once in six days. On Saturday last on my return hither I was indeed very near demolished. My coachman thought fit to run for the turnpike, as the phrase is, and against a four wheeled waggon with six horses. He seemed to me to have very little chance of carrying his point, if it was not to demolish me and my chaise, but almost sure of succeeding in that. I called, roared, and scolded to no purpose, *il ne daigna pas m'écouter un instant :* so the consequence was, what might be expected, he came with

all the force imaginable against the turnpike gate, [and] set my chaise upon its head. Mr. Craufurd was with me, and on the left side, which was uppermost, and we were for a small space of time lying under the horses, at their mercy, and the waggoner's, who seemed very much inclined to whip them on, and from one or other, that is, either from the going of the waggon over us, or the kicking of the horses, we were both in the most imminent danger. Lady Harrington was in her coach just behind us, and took me into it, Mr.* Craufurd got into Henry Stanhope's phaeton, and so we went to Richmond, leaving the chaise, as we thought, all shattered to pieces in the road. This happened just after I had finished my last letter to you, and which I think had very near been the last that I should ever have wrote to you, as those tell me who saw the position in which we for some time were.

Postscript. Richmond, Saturday morning.—I received today yours from C[astle] H[oward] of last Monday, the 28th August, and you may be sure that it is no small pleasure to me to find by every letter which I receive, that there is such an attention to your affairs, as is really worthy your understanding and capacity. You will find your account in it, by preventing *ennui* in yourself and roguery in others, besides a thousand train (*sic*) of evils that are inseparable from dissipation and negligence. I hope that you made my compliments to Mr. Nicolson; *il a l'air d'un personnage très respectable, d'un homme affidé et sur.* I cannot afford to wish any period of mine, at ever so little distance, to be arrived, but I am tempted to wish that I was two years older, for this reason, that I am confident your affairs, and the state of your mind, will be pleasanter than it has been in for a great while. So my wife has made you another agreeable visit for a fortnight, as she called it. I am sorry for what you tell me of the visit which was not made. I don't love excuses, but perhaps there may be some which need not give any jealousy of want of true affection. I hope you will receive mine as such, or I would set out for C[astle] H[oward] directly. I have totally laid aside the thoughts of going this year to Matson, or even to Gloucester. I have no engagement, but to be one day at Luggershall, but that with difficulty can be dispensed with. Neither Lord N[orth] [n]or his Parliament, [n]or Jamaica, [n]or anything else shall prevent me from going to you when you desire it.

But the alteration in the little girl is so visibly for the better, since she has been in this air, and Mrs. Craufurd acts so much like a guardian to her, that I am in hopes by degrees to be the means of placing her where my mind will for the present be easy about her, and that she may be brought up with that education that, with the help of other advantages, may in some measure recompense her for the ill fortune of the first part of her life. This is, if my heart was laid open, all that you could see in it at present, except the anxiety which is now almost over in regard to you.

For I verily believe that what has happened, although it came upon me like *coup de tonnerre*, and has given me a great deal of bile, and my stomach I find weakened from that cause, more than from any other,—for I'm more and more abstemious every day,—yet I now see that all will end well, and that in the meantime neither you [n]or Lady C[arlisle] will make yourselves uneasy by placing things before you in a wrong light.

I will speak to Ridley when I go to town, but scolding increases my bile, and so to avoid it I sent that coachman who had like to have

* It looks like "Mrs." here, and also in the letter of 14 September, but it is clearly "Mr." above.

destroyed me this day sevennight out of my sight, and his horses, without seeing him.

You say that C[harles Fox] will receive four or five thousand from Lord S[tavordale ?] upon the same account. *Je le crois*, and others will soon after receive it from him, but I am afraid not you. You may be sure that he said nothing to me of that; he does not talk of his resources to me, except that of his Administration, which you will be so just to me as to recollect that I never gave any credit to, because he knows how I desire that those resources may be applied. On the contrary, when I spoke to him the other day about your demand, I was answered only with an elevation *de ses épaules et une grimace dont je fus tant soit peu piqué*. But it is so. I shall say no more to him upon that or any other subject than I can help. *La coupe de son esprit, quelque brillante qu'elle puisse être, n'est pas telle qui me charme, et luisera par la suite pour le moins inutile.*

I am now going in my chaise to dine at Mr. Digby's, *où cette branche de la famille ne sera pas traitée avec beaucoup de ménagement;* and first I am going to write a letter to my Lord Chancellor to thank him for a living which he has given to a friend of mine at Gloucester, accompanied with the most obliging letter to me in the world. This and yours have put me today in very good humour.

We had an assembly last night at Mrs. Craufurd's for Lady Cowper, Lady Harrington, Lady H. Vernon, &c., and Mie Mie was permitted to sit up till nine. She wanted to see "an sembelly," as she calls it, and was mightily pleased. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Sept. 14, Thursday m[orning], Richmond.—I went yesterday to London, and in the evening, on my return hither, I received yours of last Sunday. I received with it a bank note for Perdrisat of 10*l.*; but it was a thousand to one that that identical note ever came *à son adresse*. It dropped out of the letter in the kitchen, where I opened it, from my impatience to read one which came from you, and was left on the floor, with covers of other letters, which were thrown into the fire. I had not got half through the letter but I was hurried away to Lady Harrington's, and so was obliged to finish my reading in her room. As soon as I came to the postscript, which notified to me the remittance of this note, I gave it up as irrecoverable, well judging how it might be lost. But upon sending home, my servant told me it was found. Mie Mie saw it upon the ground, and took it for a rag, and perhaps by that conception saved it. Could you not as well have enclosed it in a small piece of paper, and endorsed it? But this is an accuracy in business to which you are not yet arrived. You are most wonderfully improved in your handwriting, and what gives me extraordinary pleasure, in the length of your letters. As to the style and perspicuity of them, *il n'y avoit rien à demander*.

I repeat to you, that I love an *épanchement de cœur*, but with innumerable exceptions, and therefore it is only with you, and a very few like you, with whom it can be safe enough to be indulged. The comfort of it is very great upon many occasions, and the utility also, but it is a rose *bien garnie d'épines*, and therefore I am every day more and more cautious to whom, and upon what subjects, and how I talk. I am ashamed to own that at 56 years of age I am, in regard to this *grand art de vivre, docendus adhuc*.

Poor Storer was here with me a day only last week, as I told you and, from a mere indiscretion, created more uneasiness, both to himself

and me, than can well be imagined. *Un petit mot décoché mal à propos, à une femme trop méchante et bavarde, eut pour moi des suites des plus fâcheuses. Mais le mal est reparé, on n'en parle plus.* But this confined circle of gossiping people is *le commerce le plus dangereux dans le monde, et j'ai pensé en être la victime.* I shall not be sorry to withdraw myself from these powder mills, and my stay here will be only till the middle of next week. It is *bisbiglio, scompiglio*, confidential information, *commérage perpetuel*, defending and proving, from morning to night.

But Storer and I have agreed that it is best [better] to let dangerous connections go off, *diminuendo, terendo, dissuendo*, and by gradual liquification, than to make any *éclat* of what you abhor, because if we are once wrong *here* we are never set right again till the day of judgment, which day of *judgment* never comes. Storer has been much vexed, but he knows that I acquit him of any intention to hurt me. As I told him: he was smoking his pipe, or striking his flints, over a tea canister, which could be thought to have contained nothing but tea, and it was full of gunpowder, and in an instant made an explosion which was horrible *pour le moment. Discrétion! Hélas, pourquoi es tu le fruit tardif d'une longue vieillesse? tu serois un compagnon adorable, si tu venois avec nous en entrant dans le monde. Voilà ma Litanie.* I cannot tell you the particulars of this story by letter. Storer and I will tell it you when we can divert ourselves more about it.

But now to this *épanchement, où il n'y a rien à risquer.* I perfectly agree with you, that I must take care that my private inclination to do everything that will be most for your ease, pleasure, or convenience does not *run a muck—voilà une jolie expression*—with, or against, my combined situation of a Trustee. So I mean to negotiate this, *sans vous compromettre*, and with Fitz[willia]m or Meynell I shall have no difficulty. I will therefore communicate, as soon as possible, your last letter to Fitz., because there is in it the utmost degree of delicacy, very clearly and unexceptionably expressed. I agree with you that the death of Lord *Palsy* would facilitate this much; I mean, alter the appearance, and indeed the substance, of this proposition. For which reason, let us wait a month or two, or what time you please, to see what the chapter of accidents will produce.

The papers say that the shock of an earthquake has been felt in the Western counties, and they expect another. They speak of *Somersetshire* particularly. I am glad to hear that Gregg is returned. I shall reserve Sunday for my first conference with him. Six days he may do all manner of work, in which you are not concerned. But on the seventh we will talk Yorkshire together, and no other language; nor any other shall he speak, if I can help it. I will go over from hence to his house at Mitcham, and if he will give me a bed there I will not go to Lady Harrington's *assemblée*. Her Ladyship's peculiarity of character is more displayed here than at London. But the people think that it is only like a woman of quality, and they would imitate her if they could.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Sept. 14?]—*Tomorrow I dine at Mrs. Digby's at Ditton. I shall hear there more of Lord Ilchester.† The physicians say that these attacks will return, and I should think would end his life very soon. If they terminate only in a further deprivation of his senses, and his

* This is probably the continuation of the preceding letter, but was found apart.
† Stephen Fox, *alias* Strangeways, ob. 1776; called "Lord Palsy," above.

life is not abridged, it will be very unlucky for himself as well as for others. But that is the least probable event. . . . I shall at all events set out to see you in October. . . .

When I heard last of the town, Charles had left it so go to Newmarket; he had won 900*l.* of Lord Cholm[ondele]y, and was in high cash. Richard was at Tunbridge, Hare gone to Crewe's, March and Boothby at Almack's with Sir W. Draper. On Monday I shall dine here with Gen. Fitzwilliams, and on Tuesday go to London, and lie there for the first time since I came down here.

Pray assure my dear little Caroline that on Sunday next, that is her birthday, I did not forget to drink her health. There is a future tense and a *præteritum* oddly put, but it is grammar, because when you tell her that, the *præteritum* has [taken] place.

Harris, as he failed in his attempts upon me about dining with Lord North, is now making an experiment to bring me to the Music meeting, which is the 13th. If he thinks that I am not sick of music, he knows but little of me. No; the most I shall do will be to assist at their Mayor's feast on Monday after Michaelmas, that is, the 2nd of October. I shall then, if I go to Gloucester, go from thence the 3rd to Luggershall, or on the road thither, so as to be there the 4th. The 5th I return to London, and set out immediately afterwards for Castle Howard. All this if God permits, and I shall have no more contests with waggoners; *ce qui s'appelle être à deux doigts de la mort* is, I believe, precisely what Mrs. (?) C. and I were when we were placed against the pasterns of the waggoner's horses.

I should not be in much less danger here if I stirred out at nights, for not only the environs of this town, but all the little bye-lanes and avenues to it, are filled with footpads and highwaymen. Thus there is less danger in passing the outposts of a besieged town than in making a visit a mile off. *Sur le brun, je commence à m'ennuyer, je vous l'avouë*, but there is no help for it. I don't know where I should be very agreeably situated but at Castle Howard, and I should not be so even there if I thought that I had omitted any opportunity of being useful to my dear little girl.

Lady Harrington would divert you here with the oddity of her character more than anywhere. There are ladies here who desire to cultivate her, because she is a woman of quality, and are shocked to death with her *propos libres, et brouillés avec la pudeur.*

Incomplete?

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Sept. 17, Sunday m[orning], Richmond.—I went from hence on Friday to make a visit to my mother, and returned here yesterday, but having company to dine with me, I had no time to write by last night's post, which leaves this place at six in the evening. Tomorrow I intend to go to London to try to find out Gregg, and on Friday next leave Richmond entirely. I have found out who the person was who left a scrawl at my house demanding 20*l.*, or some part of an annuity. It was wrote with a pencil, and in such a damned hand that neither I or my servants could make anything of it. But a letter from one Harrison explains it by saying—*voici son début.* "Mr. Selwyn,—Sir, I have waited on you several times requesting an answer whether you will pay Mrs. Lydia Booth's draft on Mr. Lavie or no. It's a matter of no concern to Mr. Hudson, he dose it entire thro charity," &c. &c. This Harrison's concern for Mr. Hudson for the sake of Mrs. Lydia Booth,

puts me much in mind of my concern for Mrs. Jenkins at Stratford. I have not yet answered the blockhead's letter, but I will tomorrow.

But now this morning comes a demand which I have expected daily, of a quarter of the annuity which Charles Fox is obliged to pay Spencer, and which you stand engaged to pay to this Spencer if Mr. Fox does not, and which engagement I presume that you was not desired to enter into, but upon an assurance for which you had his honour that you was never to be troubled with it. I shall undoubtedly let Mr. Spencer know that Mr. Fox is the person he is to apply to, and when he brings from (*sic*) me a positive refusal from him that he will not pay it, it will be then time for me to acquaint you with it, and take your directions what I am to do.

I fairly own that I have so little patience with our friend's manner of proceeding in this, as well as in other things of the like nature, that I am very much inclined to see to what lengths he will go, and if it was my own case I should suffer an execution in my own house, every time that the demand was made, sooner than pay it, in order to expose those whom I could not correct. But it is your affair—the engagement, and the friendship, and the delicacy, &c.; and therefore I must follow implicitly your directions. It is quite scandalous, and the insensibility with which all this is accompanied takes away from me every consideration whatever of the person.

I am extremely happy that my abode here is drawing towards a conclusion, and that Mie Mie justifies so well by her looks the advice I gave, and the importunity I used to procure leave for bringing her with me. The child has a look of health and freshness, and an *embonpoint* which she never has had till now. So I hope another year to find a country house for the same purpose, without the inconvenience to which I am by the neighbourhood exposed.

I shall find Lady Holland in town, and the Paynes. I met Sir Ralpho on horseback, with a *plaque brillante*, and his lady in a *bel équipage*, *escorte*, &c., returning to Tunbridge. They will all be in London, I understand, on Wednesday. On my arrival here yesterday I received a visit from that Maddison of whom you have heard, and to whom Lavie pretended that he had paid some part of the 400*l*. There never was a man in so roguish or at least so disreputable a calling, with so ingenuous a countenance. I could trust such a man upon the *honnetété* of his manner and voice, without knowing him, and indeed I never heard any harm of him. He came to me to offer me 20,000*l*. at four and a quarter per cent., to supply Miss Elliot's mortgage.

. . . .

I dine today with Governor Pownal and Lady Fawkener. Tonight Lady Harrington announces herself to be at home. Tomorrow I pass in London. I have two Gloucestershire people to dine with me on Tuesday. Wednesday, *je ne sai*[*s*] *pas encore ce que je deviendrai*. Our *assemblée* is on Thursday, and on Friday *je plie bagage*, *moi*, *la petite*, *et sa nourrice*, and then on Saturday I will chalk out my future motions. Castle Howard is what I have *dans la perspective*, and what I am thinking of with impatience; *tous les obstacles les plus indispensables étant duëment levez*, *afin de n'avoir point de regrets en partant*.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Sept. 23, Saturday, Richmond.—I wrote to you by Thursday's post as long as my eyes would enable me. But at night

they will not do. I went yesterday to Court, but as soon as the King had spoke to me, which I had contrived should be early by placing myself *à propos*, I slipped through his own apartment, went home, where my chaise was waiting, and so got down here to dinner without staying for the Queen's Drawing-room, which I hear was very full. I was asked to stay in town to dine at Colonel Keene's, where I believe that I should have met the Premier, and at Sir R. Payne's, where I should have met something handsomer, that is, Lady P[ayne], and I have not seen her since her return. But Mie Mie *l'emporta*, and so away I came.

Lady Harrington returned to one of her late dinners, and at night I played at cards at Petersham. I must decamp from hence on Monday or Tuesday, *malgré que j'en ai*, for the person who has taken this house is to take possession of it next Friday. If there had not been some substantial objections that I will tell you another time, I would have continued the house at least till I had found one with a larger garden. As it is, I have resolved to try the chapter of accidents, and see what I can be provided with another year. The weather is now so fine that I am writing in my garden, and Mie Mie at work in it, and I have ordered them to bring my dinner here, which I shall have on my grass plat, under an apple tree.

Lady Holland I hear will be in London this evening. There was a report this week that Lord Alg[ernon] Percy was seized with a spitting of blood, and it is [a] fact that he has had something of that sort. Both he and his wife are disposed to a consumption. But the Duke told me that he was better, and on the road I was passed by the Duchess and Lord Algernon going to Sion, and he seemed pretty well.

On Thursday night I wrote to Charles, to acquaint him with Spencer's demand, not pretending to doubt of his intention to answer it, and I acquainted Spencer of what I had done. Charles is at Newmarket. March was to go there today about a match for 200*l*., which he wants to be off of. Boothby was in town, Hare and Storer; and I believe people will for one reason or other be drawing near the town.

The day upon which I find that I must indispensably be at Luggershall is Thursday the 5th of next month; whether I shall resolve to go or return round by Matson, I cannot tell.

Lord Rochford told me yesterday that the Parliament would just meet for some necessary business, and that then there would be a very long recess. As soon as that begins I will be ready to set out for Castle Howard, and before that the hurry would be too great. I think that then I shall persuade Storer or some one or two of our friends to go along with me, and our company will I hope be not less acceptable in that season than in this; and by that time I hope to have seen Lord G[ower and] Lord Fitz[william], and to have settled things in such a manner as will perfectly satisfy you for the present. . . . I expect to hear that Lord and Lady Fitz[william] are leaving Tunbridge, which makes it unnecessary for me to go there to them.

You have not understood me about Storer. He affronted nobody himself, but by a great inadvertency related a trait of me that had like to have made a great deal of mischief. I was not angry with him, because it was impossible for him to have foreseen the consequences of what he said, and none could have followed, if we had not unluckily have (*sic*) been connected here with some whose wrongheadedness is totally inconceivable. But I put an end to it, and no ill consequence happened. I have just heard that March did not go to Newmarket to-

day, but is come to my neighbour's, Mr. Craufurd's. There is to be music there tonight, and [at?] the Harringtons'. My next meeting with Gregg is on Thursday at two, at Nando's coffee house by Temple Bar, to settle about the immediate necessary payments. I will write on that day, and probably on Tuesday.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Sept.?], Tuesday night.—Since I wrote in the morning I went to Gregg's at his house on Dowgate Hill. I stayed with him an hour, and then went to dinner at Lady Townshend's. Little Mie Mie came to fetch me on the other side of Black Friars Bridge, in my coach. . . .

When I went to dinner I sent to Lord Gower's house, but he was not then come. I fell this morning accidentally into conversation with Rigby, and it was on your subject. He is going as I understand to Misley, and the Duke of Bridgwater is going there to him. . . .

Horry Walpole arrived, as I hear, before dinner. Mr. du Deffand is recovered. I hope I shall meet him tonight at Lady Hertford's. I suppose that he is at present gone to Lord Cholmondley's. Gen. Hervey is to have, it is said, Gen. Cholm[ondele]y's regiment.

If Charles does not resign his pension before the Session begins, he cannot sit. He is I believe at this time under a disqualification by law. He is running from the Solicitor-General to Lord Cambden and the Lord knows where for opinions, but is now I believe gone to Newmarket, and left all the opinions to themselves. Rigby tells me that he had full warning of all this. Some *fracas* will probably arise from it. He has been vapouring that the Duke of Grafton was to declare himself against American politics, and Lord Weymouth, and has been offering his wagers about. The Duke of G[rafton] has I believe talked very idly and vainly on this head, and will expose himself, by showing that his opinion draws one way, and his avarice another. He is a *vrai* ————, *s'il jamais il en fût*.

What do you intend about coming up to Parliament? Have you reflected upon what I said to you on that subject? Do you think proper to compliment with an offer to come up in case of necessity?

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Oct. 7, Saturday night.—I returned from Luggershall yesterday, a day later than I was in hopes to have come, for I was made to believe that the Court Leet, which was my object in going, would have been held on Wednesday; however I passed a day extraordinary better than I expected in that beggarly place. I made an acquaintance with a neighbouring gentleman, who has a very good estate, and a delightful old mansion, where I played at whist and supped on Wednesday evening. He is a descendant of the Speaker Smith, and son of that Mr. Ashton whom we saw at Trentham, or whom I saw there the first time I went, and who was an evidence against me at Oxford* 30 years ago—a sad rascal; but the son is *un garçon fort honnête*, and he received me with extraordinary marks of civility and good breeding.

We have the same relations, and his house was furnished with many of their pictures. There was one of a great grandmother of mine, who was the Speaker's sister, painted by Sir P. Lely, that was one of the best portraits I ever saw. I wish Sir J. Reynolds had been there to have told me why those colours were so fine and looked as if they were

* Jesse, I. 2.

not dry, while all his are as lamb (*sic*) black in comparison of them. I am to have a copy of this picture next spring.

I shall appoint Gregg on Monday to meet me on business, and I will therefore defer talking upon that subject till I have seen him. Storer dined with me today. Hare and Charles I am told have lost everything they had at Newmarket. General Smith has been the winner. Richard also is stripped. No company in town as yet, or news. I have been writing Gloucester letters tonight about this damned contest till I am blind, so I must be short. Ridley has assured me that he has sent the books.

Have you read the Anecdotes of Mᵉ du Barri? They are to me amusing. The book is I think a true picture of the latter end of the life and court of that weak wretch Louis XV., not overcharged, and so many of the facts being incontestable, you may take the whole story for a true one, no one part being more improbable than another. Would you have it sent? It is dear, half-a-guinea; *un recit trop graveleux pour être recommandé aux dames.* My most affectionate compliments, and so adieu. My eyes grow too dim to write, but are infinitely mended.

I dine tomorrow at the Ambassador's, and after dinner we go to make our visits at Richmond to Lady Fawkener, and to Petersham. I thank you for your idea of Emily*; *j'en profiterai;* I can depend upon no other's.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Oct. 11, Wednesday m[orning].—I went last night after I had sent my letters to the post, which by the way was not till past ten, to Lady Betty's. There were with her Lady Julia, Gregg, and a Mr. Owen at whist. There were Hare, Delmé, and his odd looking parson, who came to town to christen the child. I went from thence and supped at Lady Hertford's, with Lord Fr[ederick] Cavendish, Mrs. Howe, and the Beau Richard, who is returned from Jamaica. His friend Colonel Kane has got the start of him since he went *dans la carrière politique, mais le bon Colonel est un peu plus intriguant que son camarade; celui-ci est certainement un charactère bien sauvage, un mélange d'irlandois et de Creol, et avec tout cela, un fort honnête garçon. . .*

†You pant after news from America; there are none *pour le moment.* But you may depend upon it, if that little dispute interests you, I will let you know, *quand le monde sera rassemblé, tout ce que j'apprens, et de bon lieu.*

Charles assures us that nothing is so easy as to put an end to all this, but then there must be a change of Ministry, *quelconque,* no matter what, as a preliminary assurance to the Insurgents; and then for the inference, under any change he can't allow himself to take an employment, and lay more money upon shark[s?]. But there will be no change yet, I am confident, and when there is, he will as much want another.

They now doubt of Southwell's peerage, after all the bustle in our country. All the claimants for new peerages oppose it with their clamours, as if this was a creation, and taking it for granted that the King is to accept their interpretations instead of his own. I suppose, if he fulfilled all his engagements upon that score, there would be an addition to the House of Lords equal to the present number.

Ergo, if I was King, I should expunge the whole debt, and begin *sur nouveaux fraix.* I think that I should have answer ready to make to my

* "Emily, the little parson," is mentioned in Jesse, III. 109.

† *Qu.* whether this is the continuation of the preceding.

Minister against those promises. I should tell him, if my affairs required a Sir G. Hawke or who[m] you please to be made a peer, it should be down [done] *sur le champ*, but I would not be hampered by engagements. *Qu'en pensez-vous, Seigneur?*

I take it for granted that Lord Gower will be here soon. I have desired Gregg to wait on him with an account of all that has passed in your affairs during my regency, because Gregg will be better able to state the matter to him, and to explain the necessity I have been under, by an unexpected increase of demands, of transcending the bounds of the deed, as well as to satisfy him upon your own domestic economy, which is certainly by all accounts irreprehensible.

On 8vo paper. Incomplete?

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775 Oct.?]—Postscript.—Thursday night.—Our company today were Rigby, Sandwich, Sir L. Dundass, Hinchinbroke, Adam Drummond, Mr. Cornwal, Douglas, and Lord Barrington. Sir L. assured us that the General [Cholmondeley]* did not destroy himself. He was hunting the day before, extremely well, had a great deal of company on the day of his death, at dinner, and after dinner burst a vessel near his heart; so all the *plaisanteries* here, upon the suicide, are *en pure perte*, as much as any money which we ever sate (*sic*) him. I thought in justice and tenderness to his memory I ought to send you this *éclaircissement*.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Oct.?] (*Beginning wanting*).—. . . General Cholmondley has left all his Cheshire estate to Lord Cholm[ondle]y, that is, about 1,500*l.* a year, his house in town, and Roehampton after the death of the woman who lived with him; she is near sixty. He has been very kind to Lord Chol[mondley] in every respect, and answered fully his expectations, but what store of his money he has I do not know, although I sat all yesterday evening with him. He appeared very much and very naturally affected by the loss of him, for he was not only a very kind parent to him, but a very agreeable companion to him. He has left an annuity, I think, of 500*l.* a year, to the parson, and legacies of 3,000*l.* to his children; the same to Lord Chol[mondle]y's sister, [and] to Sir George Warren's sister; but Sir George's own name is not mentioned in the will. Lady Sefton has a legacy of 300*l.* to buy a ring. Horry Walpole, who is expected every hour from France, is one of the executors, and Lord Walpole, or his brother, the other. Lord Chol[mondle]y had both the King's promise, and what is of more consequence, Lord North's, that he should succeed to the government of Chester Castle, but whether that will be kept, considering the part Lord Ch[olmondley] takes in politics, I cannot tell.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Oct. 17, Tuesday m[orning], 8 o'clock, Chesterfield Street.—I must, having no intention to flatter you, concur with you in your opinion that inattention and dissipation has [have], mixed with the

* Gen. the Hon. James Cholmondeley died at Roehampton, 10 Oct. 1775. (Annual Register.)

knavery of others, been the sole cause that your affairs are in their present situation. . . .

I propose that Gregg and I go first and talk with Lord Fitz[willia]ms, and I shall then desire that they will both go to Lord Gower. How this affair will be treated in that *conciliabulum* will depend not so much upon what has come out of your transactions, previous to the deed of trust, as upon the report which Gregg makes of the present system of economy, which has to me been a very satisfactory one.

The debt to Sir Jos[hua] Reynolds does not weigh much with me; we know that it was contracted long ago, and as to appearances I think they are better saved by the pictures being in your own house than in his. He seems a good natured man. You know that *cette qualité je l'ai mise à l'épreuve.* He must be sure of his money, and cannot want it immediately; he knows also that your affairs are *dérangées pour le moment.* I hope that if he puts any false colours on your conduct towards him, that they will be like all his other colours, of a very short duration. But I think that he will not. Therefore, my dear Lord, do not represent to yourself things more disagreeable than they really are. You ask, if he had any orders to finish these pictures? None that I know of, but perhaps that he took that for granted.

Il y a beaucoup de fil à retordre, et n'en sommes encore qu'au premier denouëment. But I think we have plumbed this pool, and know the bottom of it; *c'est beaucoup.* We have cleared it of a great deal of mud, and in the course of this year the worst part will be carried away. . . . There is not a person that ever mentions your name, but it is with respect and esteem. . . .

I cannot say but that I wish Mr. Coutz a very good and speedy passage to his own *lares et focos;* not that I think that there has been more to lay to his charge than to any other in his station, and with his views and expectations. But his departure indicates a great retrenchment of expense, and I am confident that your table will not be worse served for it, and that my friend Ekins *n'en perdra pas un coup de dent.* . .

*I do not see why you may not find five thousand pounds a year, which I hope will be the establishment, sufficient; however, I will speak to Gregg upon this subject on Sunday, or when I next see him, and then I will renew it with you. *En attendant*, pray let dear Lady Carlisle be as easy as her prudence will wish to be. She has what Me de Pompadour attributed to me and Rigby, upon very slight authority—*un mérite infini;* so I beg my best and kindest respects to her, and my most cordial love to all her children, and particularly to my dear little Caroline.

You ask how and when we are to meet. I can easier answer to the first than to the last of these questions. We are to meet by my going to you in thunder, lightning, and in rain, either before or after the hurly-burly's done. I have renounced Matson for this year, that is one impediment removed. I will put off my engagement, if I can, with my nephew. I will live soberly and be in good health, and I have begun with mending my eyes, as much as old eyes can be mended. I will buy a new red cloak, keep fifty pounds in a corner of my trunk, and put one or two, if I can, agreeable people in my coach, of your intimate acquaintance, and trundle them down to Castle H[oward] the first opportunity, when the inclination is good, and there is a splendid shilling left to gratify it. *L'occasion ne tardera pas, à ce que j'espère.*

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* Found apart.

I am pleased to find by your letter that Gregg has in some particulars satisfied you. I am in hopes, that he will in more. There is no chance of hanging Humphries till Lavie impeaches him; so I take for granted that the Humphries you read of in the papers is a thief of Sir John Fielding's, and not of ours. Mrs. Rudd is to be tried today.* Storer puts himself under the protection of Mr. Justice Gould, and I suppose will dine with him at the Old Bailey. A servant of Sir James Lowther's . . . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn] to Lord Carlisle (at Castle Howard).

[1775,] Oct. 21, Saturday night.—I am writing to you from Lady Sefton's dressing-room; they came to town today. Lord Cholmondly and I dined here. I called at Lady Betty's today, and found them all fled to Newmarket till Wednesday.

Yesterday morning your house was surrounded with Custom-house officers, or Excise officers, I have [not] been able, as yet, to learn which. The fact is that Lady C[arlisle's] chairman, like all the rest of his fraternity, who are employed on board the merchant-ships during the summer, had, as I believe as (*sic*) the rest do, smuggled some tea, and an Information was laid. The writ was served, the officers came; fly open locks, whoever knocks. They had, it seeems, a pretended authority to open doors, chests, *et tout ce qui étoit à clef et sujet à caution.* But nothing was found, and no harm done of any sort; every lock that was opened was shut; I do not know which. But Mrs. Stubbs and John, who were both with me today, said they were very civil, *questi sbirri.*

Sir W. Musgrave called upon me; I was not at home; he sent for John, and told him that he should enquire into it. He seemed to think that they had exceeded their powers, and did not believe that they came from their Board. But I have not seen Sir William; it does not signify, as they found nothing; perhaps they are liable to be punished, but that is not what you desire, I suppose. Sir W. M. will tell me what should be done, or should not have been done, when I see him.

Last night I supped at White's, and had a very social evening. Lord Cholmondly, Plummer, Sir G. M'Cartney, Lord E. Bentinck, Col. Keen, and Lord Fr. Cavendish; much about America, as you may suppose. I take it for granted that for the next six months I shall be constrained to hear of nothing else, except of the Gabrieli, and the History of Genius, *dont je me soucie très peu, vu que je ne puis y avoir que fort peu d'intérêt; j'ai tiré quasi mon épingle du jeu, car je serai pour mon reste tout simplement qu'un épingle.*

Ackland moves the Address in our House, but who seconds it I have not yet learned; in yours, Lord Townshend and Lord Dudley. Halifax is said to be taken. Vessels have come from Hispaniola, and sold gunpowder to the Provincials at prime cost. We are quite undone; a civil war in England is expected. We are privately, I don't know how, at a greater expense, that is, in contracts, than during the last war. Nobody knows where it will end, or how. *Je le crois.* I wish I could stuff my ears with cotton till the hurly-burly was done; for if I was disposed to be vapourish, I should expect, when I went to bed, that in the morning I should [not] know where to find bread. Keen, Brudenell, and

* She was not tried till 7 December, according to the Annual Register, xviii, 229. On 17 October an order was made as to trials at the Old Bailey. (Boyle's Chronology.)

Williams comfort me, *en* [*ou?*] *j'y succomberois.* I have seen both Lord and Lady Gower. But no particular conversation. I told Lord G. of our last fit of the palsy, as Keene sport (*sic*), a piece of good news from Boston, to give a fillip to the Stocks. Lord Fitzw[illiam] will be here on Tuesday. . . . .

Sir G. M. told me the night before last that Charles and [had?] lost the devil know[s] what at Newmarket. Lady M. has sent Lady Towns[hen]d to tell me that she wondered that I had not called. She raves so about America and a thousand things which she knows nothing of, more than she does of her own business, and accounts, that I dread to go near her. Adieu. *Je m'endors.* Next week begins the *remuemenage de la ville, carros*[*s*]*es à rouler, les guinées à ronfler, les intriguans à se parler à l'oreille, &c.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Oct.]—(*Beginning wanting*). . . . . *divertissement, petite pièce et ballet, avec toutes les anecdotes sur la ville, et la Cour; et pour conclusion,* my very cordial respects to Lady Carlisle, and my most affectionate compliments to the children, and particularly to little Caroline; if she does not turn out well she must alter more than any child ever did, which God forbid. Adieu, my dear Lord, for today. I must go and see my mother. I dread for her the consequences of the season which we are going to enter upon; *tout vieillit avec elle, excepté le cœur et l'esprit.*

At Lady Gower's last night: Duchess of Bedford, Lady Waldegrave, Rigby, Lady Sackville, Bas (?)* Leveson, Miss Pelham, and a pool at Commerce, which cost me two guineas. I did not stay supper, which I am sorry for, for *celui du Chambellan est fort triste, fort court, et fort ennuyant.* It was to meet H[orry] W[alpole], who was as peevish as a monkey.

I am often asked by people when you come. I always say I believe after Christmas.

I have no more to say. Sir W[illiam] M[usgrave] would have given himself great pains about the people who came to search for tea at your house. But as no harm was done, I told him that I believe[d] you did not care about it. Besides I think, as he says, the order came from the Excise, and some symptoms there were of a little tea having been lodged there; it may be only a few pounds, clandestinely brought in by one of the chairmen, as Mrs. Stubbs and the porter suppose. . . . .

On 8vo paper.

Anthony Storer to [Lord Carlisle].

1775, Oct. 27, Portugal Street.— Yesterday, as you know, Parliament met, and we did not get home till half an hour after four this morning. The speakers on the side of the Opposition were more numerous than on ours, and I think spoke better. Lord G. Germaine, Wedderburn, Lord North and Thurloe were the chief speakers on the side of the Government. Lord Stanley spoke a few words, I believe, without any great effect. Charles Fox outdid himself, and General Conway spoke very well, which I was astonished at, never having had before any very favourable idea of his oratorical abilities.

You will very easily, by reading the King's Speech and our Address, guess the topics of debate; it would be impossible for me to give you

* "Bab." elsewhere, but not so here.

any idea of a debate of fourteen hours in so short an *abrégé* as this letter must make of it. All I can give you is a list of the *dramatis personæ*, leaving you to guess at the plot of the piece. Ackland moved, and Governor Lyttleton seconded, the Address admirably well. Lord John Cavendish moved, and our friend Sir James seconded, the Amendment. It is impossible to conceive anything so bad and disgusting as the few words the latter spoke were. Burke, Barré, Mr. Hopkins, a friend of the Duke of Grafton's, Dunning, Governor Johnson, Wilkes, Sawbridge (at three o'clock in the morning you may be sure), made up their bill of fare.

The Duke of Grafton going into Opposition has given great spirits to 'em. I luckily went into the House of Lords just to hear him begin, and I had curiosity enough to make me stay to hear him end his speech, which was made up of Lords and Lordships, dignity, a good voice, and fine manner.

Fitzroy voted with us; Crofts, Crewe, and Meynell, in opposition. Administration, however, had a very good Division, 278 for them, and 108 against them; by this account I do not think there is any great difference in the list of this year's forces, and those of the last.

I hear, but I do not know how true it is, that Lord Dartmouth is to be Privy Seal, and Lord G. Germaine, Secretary of State. George Selwyn, I take it for granted, has written you word of Mr. Sayre's Plot. Nothing more has transpired about it, and no one seems to be able to determine what to think of it. It has served for town talk upon people's coming up to Parliament. Sir Wm. Meredith did not vote at all yesterday; what the devil ails him? He will not like to part with his Stick, though it has suffered so many jokes.

Before I finish my letter, you will expect that I should say something about my intentions to speak. I am obliged to you for your advice; no one can be convinced of the utility of speaking in Parliament more than I am, and as you have often heard me express myself, I should not wish to commence a perfect orator immediately; so that it is not the fear of not excelling that deters me. I have too, besides, a very strong desire of being able to speak, yet powers are not always the consequences of desires.* . . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Oct. 28, Saturday night.—I am afraid that you will expect tomorrow morning a letter from me concerning what passed last Thursday; especially after having vapoured so much of all the details which I proposed to send you. The truth is that so much passed that I had no time or opportunity of writing. We sate till five in the morning, and this morning it was one when Lord Stanley brought me home. Charles spoke well both days, the first with his usual heat, the second with more moderation; Lord North better last night than usual; Rigby very sonorous, violent, but entertaining. Barry's was an egotism from one end of his speech to the other.

America is to have all our force opposed to it, but I think it is so, by degrees, that they are continually getting advantages, for want of our sending sufficient force, and our foolish moderation being imputed to the timidity or fluctuation of our counsels. If I was to give my sentiments

* Anthony Storer, esquire, was M.P. for Carlisle in 1774–80, and for Morpeth (along with Peter Delmé, esquire) in 1780–4; being re-elected in 1781 on his appointment as one of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. There is an account of him in Jesse, III. 74–76. He usually begins his letters with "Dear Carlisle," while Selwyn begins with "My dear Lord."

in the House, they would not complain of my prolixity; for all I have to say upon this matter is, what Queen Elizabeth told her Council in relation to the Queen of Scots, "*Aut fer, aut feri.*" More cannot be expressed in so few words. I am confident that every *moyen parti* will be infructuous.

On Monday we amend the Militia Bill, and empower the King to call it out, wherever in his Dominions a Rebellion happens to be. The Duke of G[rafton] in the H[ouse] of L[ords] had the B[ishop] of Peterborough to second him in a very good speech. Lord Ferrers got up to declare himself against the Address, but would not vote, as it had been moved by his father. Hopkins and old Fitzroy voted against the Address, in our House, but Gen. Fitzroy and Parker for it; Meynell against it.

They talk of Lord Dartmouth for the Privy Seal if the Duke of Gr[afton] goes out, and Lord G. Germain to succeed to Lord Dartmouth; but it is a moot point if the Duke of G[rafton] will quit his present hold and be half a year, it may be, without a salary. He said in his speech that the present Minority, speaking in regard to America, would be the Majority in a fortnight. That may account for his defalcation. So much for politics at present.

The Town is very full at present. Lord Fitzw[illiam] will meet Gregg at my house on Sunday, and it may be Meynell. You shall know by that post what we talked of, and how. Then I shall make Gregg go to Lord Gower, and then you shall hear more of those matters. As to your coming up to town, I suppose that if it had been much wished for, Lord G[ower] would have wrote to you upon the subject. If he did not, he cannot complain. I ventured to . . . . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Nov. 3 ?] (*Beginning wanting.*)—. . . . . I have told Lady G[ower], concerning the Opera, that I did not wish to subscribe, as I so seldom went, but I should refuse nothing which Lady Carlisle asked me to do. Lord and Lady Cov[entry] are in town for a few days. Lady Cov[entry] desired me to let Lady Carlisle know that she had some pheasants for her, and wanted to know how Lady C[arlisle] would have them disposed of. Lord Cov[entry] spoke well; he adopted Dr. Tucker's scheme of leaving the Americans to themselves. *Je n'y comprens goutte.* Conty took leave of me today. He desired me to get leave for him to pass the sea, he and his wife, with Lord Herbert. Lady Pembroke goes with her son as far as Calais.

[The] Lord Chanc[ello]r has acquainted the House that the D[uche]ss of Kingston has sent to inform him of her indictment, and to desire that her cause may be referred to your Lordships.* Mr. Sayre is out today upon bail of 500*l.*, so that foolish affair will end, I suppose, in nothing. The man had certainly some project of getting possession of the K[ing]'s person; God knows what he intended to do with it. No Opera tonight; I do not know why. I am going to sup with Ossory at Lady Holland's. Lady Holl[an]d is going to take a country house about 4 or 5 miles from London for her children, and to serve also for a villa for herself.

We dined today at the Confectioner's, where the *Corps diplomatique* hold their Club. The cook was the Duke of Bridgwater's. I believe is

* Lord Mansfield presented her petition to the House of Lords on 3rd Nov. 1775. (H. L. Journals, vol. 34, p. 497.)

so still, but dresses dinners occasionally. It was a mixture of good and bad; good things ill served up; and no waiters. I shall dine there no more. No gaming begun as yet anywhere, as I have heard. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Nov. 7, Tuesday, at home.—I was obliged to send my last to Lombard Street, at half an hour after twelve, for I had put it up in my pocket b[ook] when my company came to dinner, and so forgot it. I hope that it has arrived since, and that you have not been perplexed, or displeased with any part of that rhapsody which my two last packets contained. I have so many thoughts and schemes about you and your affairs which crowd into my head as soon as I sit down to write to you, that I am obliged to throw them all out upon my paper, and leave you to make what you can of them. I went on Sunday to Frognal, and returned yesterday. I saw Lord Pitt there, and like his appearance and manner much. He is monstrously like Lord Weymouth, in my mind.

I find that the Duke of Gloucester was dying at Padua when the express came away; at least he had so violent a return of his flux, which they could not stop, that his life was despaired of.* I know no consequence from that, but a three months' mourning, [and] twenty thousand to fall into the Civil List, except what will be thought right to be done for that foolish woman, his wife, and her little Princess, and the child which she may or may not have.

The Duke of G[rafton] had not resigned yesterday. I supped at the Old Club with the Duke of Bridgwater and Lord Weymouth. I stayed late with Lord W[eymouth] and had a long conversation with him. We were *tête à tête* upon the present state of parties. Charles F[ox] wanted the Duke of G[rafton] to resign, but I believe now, it is desired that they should turn him out. That will place his brother under a necessity of joining him. If I was his brother, and under such little obligation to him, I should leave him to pursue his own caprices, without troubling my head about him. C. plays at whist with him at Almack's; the flirtation between them is quite ridiculous. Neither Lord Jersey [n]or his Grace were spoke to at the dressing last Friday, but the removals are not yet.

John St. John has just been telling me that he has got Burrell's place, that is, he is to have it after the recess. It is called 1,400*l.* a year; I believe it is more, and then he has another of 500; John will wallow in preferment.

Bully has a scheme of enclosure, which, if it succeeds, I am told will free him from all his difficulties. It is to come into our House immediately. If I had this from a better judgment than that of our sanguine counsellors,† I should have more hopes from it. I am ready to allow that he has been very faulty, but I cannot help wishing to see him once more on his legs.

I told you that I supped at Old White's. I have paid Mr. Martindale my ten guineas, because I think that when you come to town, I may perhaps frequent it more, and so I intend to lay in a provision of good will towards me in that society before you come; and also that I may have a retreat from the gaming table, which at present is not in a very flourishing state, but I do not know what it will be. If I don't play

* He lived till 1805.

† Or counsellor's?

the fool, as I hope that I shall not, Scott's bond of 1,000*l.* will be paid at Christmas, and soon after one half of . . . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Nov. 16, Thursday night, the Committee Room of the House of Commons.—I received last night, but late, your much wished-for and expected letter concerning the Bedchamber; which, containing what it did, and the style of it being what it was, I carried this morning to Lord G[ower], who seemed perfectly satisfied with the option you had made, and the manner in which you expressed yourself in relation to himself. Lord North dines with him on Saturday, when he intends to expatiate more at large upon your views, and to urge further your pretensions to some more advantageous situation.

I must say for the Bedchamber, you could not have a more honorable post or at the same time a more insignificant one. I ventured to tell Lord G[ower] that I believe (*sic*), notwithstanding the demur you made upon it, if it had been a point with him that you should have accepted it—I did believe that you would. I thought that I ran no risk in making on your behalf that compl[imen]t, as he seemed to be so perfectly agreed with me that it was better not to accept it.

He entered with me on the last account from the Colonies, which is undoubtedly much more favourable than was expected by friends, or enemies; and it agreed so perfectly with the private letters which I I have seen, that I could not but credit it. It is my real belief that the Opposition will be disappointed, and those who have joined them upon speculation and resentment, not a little vexed at being duped. It is impossible to answer for events, but these must be such as are very little expected or probable, before there can be any breach in the present Ministry, or the King obliged to make a change in it.

Burke's speech today was three hours and twenty minutes. Lord Ossory has hoisted his flag, and spoke. It is now about 9 o'clock; it will be midnight in all probability before we rise, for none of the leading persons in Administration has spoke, or the principal squibs of opinion. Charles is down, but has not yet spoke. I am more desirous myself of hearing Lord G[eorge] G[ermaine] than anybody. He looks very confident, and I take for granted is prepared for all kind of abuse.

Rigby came to me in the House last night to know if I had heard from you, adding, "I hope to God that he will accept the Bedch[amber]." I was not more desirous that you should, because that was his opinion. I thought that Lord G[ower] had been talking to him, but he assured me that he had not; so from what quarter his intelligence came I know not. Lord G[ower] thought that it was most probable from Lord North. If you had made that your option, I should have proposed that you should at the same time have been sworn into the Privy Council, as an earnest that more was intended, and in a Line of Business, and I think that they would not have objected to it.

Adam Hay, Lord March's Member for Peebles, died yesterday, I am afraid to say suddenly, because it is a suspicious word, and will be more so in his case, as I believe Fortune has not been favourable to him. But I do not believe anything of that sort; his general state of health has been bad for some time, and I was told that his last and fatal attack was in his bowels. The two Lascells and (*sic*) dined at his house not a week ago. Sir R. Keith comes in, in his room. Lord N[orth] and

Lord Suffolk recommend him. March has demurred upon it, but seems not determined for particular reasons. I have been employed about this, this whole day at Court, and then with Lord North, and going backwards and forwards. March will not do what he should, at the time it ought to be done, and then things are in confusion, when they should be adjusted, and carried into execution. It is to no purpose endeavouring to persuade him; if you tell him what may happen, he silences you with some adage, or a *qu'importe*, and so drives everything off till he does [not] know what party [*parti?*] to fix upon.

On foolscap paper.

Lord Gower to Lord Carlisle.

1775, Nov. 25, Whitehall.—I was very sensibly affected with your Lordship's expressions of affection and attachment to me in your last letter, as I own it has been my object, ever since I have had the honour of an alliance with your Lordship, to cultivate your friendship and to give you every reason to think that I meant so.

At the meeting of the Parliament, reasons to apprehend the loss of Quebeck and Halifax, and a want of spirit and activity in a department of Government where it was absolutely necessary such a spirit should prevail, afforded but a disagreeable and melancholy prospect both for the Administration and the country; but I think these clouds are now dispelled and the storm is taking place on the other side. The Administration at home (extraordinary events out of the question) is firmly establisht, and our accounts from America daily growing better; the people begin to feel the tyranny of their Congresses. Halifax is safe, and we have great reason to believe that their expedition to Quebeck has proved abortive.

With respect to yourself, I rather think that it would have been better had you Lordship accepted the Bedchamber at present, as it would not have impeded, but rather have conduced to an advancement from thence; the Duke of Richmond and Lord Weymouth were both of the present King's Bedchamber. I have however acquainted Lord North with your declining it, and have laid in my claim for your Lordship on some other occasion, and hope and believe that I shall not be deceived in my hopes of bringing about something that may be agreeable to you. Give me leave to congratulate you on Mr. Eyre withdrawing his petition, which I understand he did yesterday.

P.S. Give my love to my dear daughter.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Nov. ?].—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . . We shall meet at Lord Gower's on Saturday. After that I shall repeat my visits. But it will revert to what I have been saying. If he has power to change your situation, he must have a power which he is not as I apprehend as yet invested with.* I can never imagine that he will want a spur to it, as Rigby told me. But suppose that he does; then I am afraid that the longest and sharpest will not make him feel. But if you adopt the whole of my scheme, you will not want either his zeal or his power; you will do without it; and it is what I infinitely wish the most for you, that you may have no emoluments from Government till Government is persuaded that you can live without them, and till it is your

* The next portion was found apart.

consequence and not your difficulties which plead for you. But after all come up here, and let us take our resolves what to do. . . .

Every year you postpone it, increases the difficulty, till you shall be obliged to fly for refuge to the worst of all asylums, the want of feeling, which want of feeling if it was perpetual might have something to recommend it; but there is no perpetuity in that, take my word for it, and Charles and Bully would tell you so, if they dared to own it. This is, altogether, which I have been writing, a monstrous bore, but I cannot help it. It is one of my *épanchements de cœur*. I will finish it for tonight. I will write on Saturday again, and tell you what passed at Lord Gower's. I think that we shall all agree to have you here in town, and when you are here, to live as frugally as you can. It is no secret, or can be a secret, that your affairs have been deranged. I shall wish it as public, that in the restoring them you testify that you have the sense and honour which all the world is ready to attribute to you. Eyres intended today to renew his petition, so Gregg and I went down to the House. I left him there, to come home and write to you, because, if he had, nothing could have been said about it, today. Delmé, Lady J[ulia] and Lady Betty were to have gone out of town today; they go tomorrow, till February, as I understood Lady Jul[ia]. . . .

* Mrs. Damer had a supper last night. Lady B[etty] and Lady Julia stayed supper at Lady Sefton's, and I should have been the fourth, but I wanted to go home and get into bed. I was *fort abatu*, to tell you the truth. I had my head very full of the letter which I received from you yesterday, comparing it with others; and I stayed at home all day, as I hoped to comfort myself with my dear little Mie Mie, and she was, and has been today, so much out of order, that my head is full of the measles. . . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Nov. ?]—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . . Stavordale is returning to Redlinch; I believe that he sets out tomorrow. He is also deeply engaged in this Sedgmoor Bill, and it is supposed that he or Lord Ilchester, which you please, will get 2,000*l.* a year by it. He will get more, or save more at least, by going away and leaving the Moor in my hands, for he told me himself the other night that this last trip to town had cost him 4,000*l.* I have no doubt [of] it, or that if he stayed it would cost him double that sum. He is the most framed to be a victim of any young man I ever saw. Lord I[lchester] is, as he has been for some time. He is said to be better in point of understanding since the last attack, which is what I do not comprehend or believe. But, however, it is agreed on all hands, that he is so weak in body, that he can last but a very little while longer.

I told you of the altercation here between Charles and his cousin Ackland, who by the way is going to America. Lord Edgcumbe says it was a dispute between Mr. Ackland and Mr. Lackland; *cela est bien de lui. Ce charactère d'esprit est à lui seul, et unique dans son espèce.* Lady Harriot and Foley &c. arrived yesterday. Old Foley pays another 70,000*l.* of debt, and settles, I hear today, 4,000*l.* in present upon his son, and 6,000*l.* a year more at his death. Lady C. Edwin is dying, and her house near Putney will in all probability be to be disposed of.

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* Found apart. Qu. whether continuation of preceding.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1775, Dec. 5, Tuesday night, H[ouse] of Commons.—I left off with telling you that I should meet Gregg at Lord Gower's yesterday morning; we met there, and the Duke [of] Bridgwater promised to come there also, but forgot it. . . .

I dined afterwards at Lord G[ower's]; there was nobody but the family except Bab. Leveson. I stayed and played two rubbers at Whist in my usual manner. Lady Dunmore came, and Lady Waldgrave. I went afterwards and supped at the Old Club; and I did so, having called in at Almack's, and finding that they were going to Hazard, and having found, as everybody will do, who makes the experiment, that it is much easier to avoid a temptation than to resist one. And this is what I intend to do, that I may receive no more letters with "Alas, alas, alas!" by which I find that you are still apprehensive of all the follies and scrapes which I have formerly got into. I do not say that you have not reason, if I was to go on, and try to limit my play; but if [I] assure you, as I do, that I will not meddle with it at all, then I hope that these apprehensions will vanish. I am come to that resolution from a variety of motives, and I have formed it [at] a time that it is the least painful to keep it, and that is, when I have no money to recover, at least none that has been lost since we parted. I think March should have kept me tied up; but if he will not do so, I must stand my own friend, and tie up myself. So that from this time till I see you again, you may rely upon my being as I now am, and that is very easy, considering what happened the 5th of last March, which was the great æra from whence I date my loss; since which, I say, I am not worse; I am some few hundred pounds better, for these late skirmishes; and so let us end this chapter for the present, and when you see me, you shall lay me under what restraint you please—the stricter the better, and the easier also.

When I left Lord G[ower's] I came here to attend the Sedgmoor Committee, but very little intending or imagining that I should be so deeply engaged in that business. I was desired to take the chair, and was . . . . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Dec. ?]—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . . . Lady Holland has been extremely out of order for above a week, and I have not been admitted to her. She sent me today a present of two views of Paris, which, perhaps, you remember to have seen in the drawing-room at Holland House, above stairs; they are extremely pretty. The books will be sold next week. I believe that there are very few which you have not.

10 o'clock.—The House is going to rise, so I shall wish you a good night. I will only once more beg you to suspend your judgment about Hazard, &c., *et de ne pas forger des monstres*, for I am very much determined to come down to Castle H[oward] without any melancholy story to tell you, or anything which can damp the pleasure which I shall have in seeing Lady C[arlisle] and the children, to whom I beg my hearty love, particularly to my dear little Car. Adieu. You must supply all omissions; my eyes are not good enough for a revisal.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Dec. 8.]—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . . There is only one day more, as I am assured, of attendance, and then I will form my arrangements for going to Castle H[oward]. Storer said yesterday that he would go with me, and John St. John also. I shall seek out for no more. I shall propose that we stop one day at Milton, and the third day be with you. There is I find a suspicion that Lady Fitz[william ?] is with child. I asked Lord Besbor[ough] about it last night; he told me that it had not been announced to him, but that he hoped it was so.

I did not tell you in my last that Storer spoke on the motion made by Oliver, for it was by accident that I heard of it, not having been at the time in the House. I heard no great commendations of his eloquence, but no abuse of his speech neither. I was told, and perhaps you may have seen the same in the papers, that there was rather too much flummery about Lord North, and that was all. I would not have advised that, but I wish him very much to pursue his speaking; I see no reason to imagine but that by application and attention he will succeed, and, as I said before, I shall be glad of it both for his sake and yours.

Lord Chewton goes with Lord Cornwallis to America, and I believe they set out this week; that is, first for Ireland, from whence the Regiment embarks. Lord G. Sackville seems in very great spirits—is quite persuaded that all this will end after the first campaign, and that he himself, as I take for granted, shall establish his reputation as a Minister by it.

Your affair of Morpeth being now settled, it was Gregg's intention to have seen and spoke to D. about the 1,500*l.*, but he went out of Town so precipitately, that it was impossible to get hold of him; and I am afraid that it will be at least as impossible to get anything from Charles. But you will see. The very day after I dunned him for half a year's annuity of Spencer's, amounting to 50*l.* only, he won, and received, 500*l.* He every now and then gets, by some contrivance, as much, but the devil a bit will he ever part with, but by putting it into the Ring, where he is nicked, and the money gone.

My dear Lord, if your delicacy is such that you will not be pressing with him about it, you may be assured that you will never receive a farthing. I have spoke to Hare about it,* who [was?] kept in it till half an hour after 4; as I was also today, and shall be tomorrow. I thought that it was a matter of form only, but had no sooner begun to read the preamble to the Bill, but I found myself in a nest of hornets. The room was full, and an opposition made to it, and disputes upon every word, which kept me in the Chair, as I have told you. I have gained it seems great reputation, and am at this minute reputed one of the best Chairmen upon this stand. Bully and Harry came home and dined with me, and I am returned hither to stay till 12 this night upon what is called the Intercourse Bill, by which name you would not, I suppose, think that it was to prohibit an Intercourse; but so I understand that it is.†

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* This appears to refer to another matter—the Sedgmoor Inclosure Bill.

† The debate and division in the Commons took place on 8 Dec.; the Lords' amendments were considered on 21 Dec. *See* H. C. Journals, vol. 35, pp. 482, 492–4.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Dec. 9, Saturday m[orning], at home.—By accident you will receive no letter from me tomorrow, but by no accident *fâcheux*. For the future, however I conclude my day, I will begin it by writing to you, when the day comes that I am to write.

Yesterday I dined at Lord Gower's ; there were the B[isho]p of Worcester, Lord Stanley and Lady Betty, Lord March, Storer, K. Stewart, and *la famille ; en vérité votre beau-père est bien servi ; le dîner fut superbe*. I was obliged, without staying for my coffee, to go to the House, where we were till about ten. I hope that it is the last day of business before the Recess.

I sent your letter last night to Lady Carlisle, and wrote to her myself. But I will defer no more writing to anybody till the evening, excepting to Ald. Harris, who is at present very clamorous for a letter, for he has not heard from me in God knows how long a time, and at this minute I have mislaid his last letters.

I have contrived to wrench out of Charles's black hands 50 pounds for Spencer, by watching the opportunity of his play, and should have got from anybody but himself one thousand of the 1,500*l*., for he had won that, and more, the other night, and it was to have been paid to him the next morning. I sent immediately to Gregg, and it was my design to have carried your bond to Brooks, who should have intercepted the 1,000 for his own use, and then I should have applied the same sum afterwards to the tradesmen; but he was too quick for me, and sett [sat] up and lost it and more to Lord Stavordale. I know that he could have pleaded his debt to Lord Cholmondly, and to Brooks himself, &c., neither of whom probably would have received a groat; but that matter is over for the present. However, Brooks has promised me that (*sic*), if any event of this kind happens again, to avail himself of it, for your convenience.

I have taken the liberty to talk a good deal to Lord Stavordale, partly for his own sake and partly for yours, and pressed him much to get out of town as soon as possible, and not quit Lord I[lchester] any more. His attention there cannot be of long duration, and his absence may be fatal to us all. I painted it in very strong colours, and he has promised me to go, as soon as this Sedgmoor Bill is reported. I moved to have Tuesday fixed for it. We had a debate and division upon my motion, and this Bill will at last not go down so glibly as Bully hoped that it would. It will meet with more opposition in the H[ouse] of Lords, and Lord North being adverse to it, does us no good. Lord Ilchester gets, it is said, 5,000*l*. a year by it, and amongst others Sir C. Tynte something, who, for what reason I cannot yet comprehend, opposes it.

The comparison of me to Arlequin, I allow to be in a great measure just. The events have frequently called his (*sic*) to my mind. But I beseech you do not say that you do not desire to hinder me from a favourite amusement. If it was an innocent one also, *passe* ; but it is not only dangerous, but in its consequences criminal, and there is no dependence upon any one man breathing, who pursues it with the *chaleur* which I have done. How can I expect another man to trust me, if I cannot trust myself ? Therefore, although March has dissolved the tie,* I beg that you will lay me under some sort of restriction about it. I do not speak this from having now suffered, for I have not, as I told you before, since March last; that is, by the event. But I have been susceptible [since ?] then of more than once, and it has been my good

* *See* letter of 23 July 1774.

fortune and not my prudence which has kept me above water. I can come easier now to any resolution than if I had had a small loss; then there must have been a *raccommodement a faire*, and now *tout est bien arrondi*, considering all things, and we shall go through this year better than was expected.

What I propose is, to receive a guinea, or two guineas, and to pay twenty, for every ten which I shall lose in the same day, above 50, at any game of chance. I reserve the 50 for an unexpected necessity of playing in the country, or elsewhere, with women. All things considered, it is the best tie, and the tax the easiest paid, and restrictive enough, and twenty guineas you will take; and if you tie me up, I beg my forfeitures may go to the children, and then perhaps I may forfeit for their sake, you'll say. I really think it will be a wise measure for me, and a safe one; and let this tie be for this year only, and then, if it is demonstrable that my fortune is impaired by not playing, the tie will be over, and not renewed the next. In the mean time, and till I shall hear your sentiments upon this, I must avoid going to Almack's, and so I will; for, as I told you in my last, *Dulcius amicis occurram;* and I'm resolved not to have the pleasure of meeting you marred by disagreeable recollections of how things might have been, which are, at this present writing, as they should be, considering what has past, which it is to no purpose to reflect upon more than I have done.

I have heard nothing as yet about the Bishop of Bristol, and there was no opportunity yesterday of my speaking about him or Ekins. Lord Stanley's balls and suppers are constant; *omnibus modis pecuniam vexat,* as Sallust says; and now that he has been winning he thinks he has contrived it so well, as to do all he does *aux depens des autres.*

Lady Holl[an]d has been really very ill. Her fever is gone, but she has a cough, and a hectic look, which I do not like. She wants me to go out of town with her for a few days. I have proposed Salt Hill. They have prescribed changing the air, and an inn is the safest from catching fresh cold. But then she wants to have her children with her, and is afraid of infection for Henry.

I did not tell you of Storer, for I really knew nothing of it. I hope he will from time to time get up and speak a little, and upon some critical occasion make a well-considered speech. He is very capable of it, but he seems to want judgment in some things, and I would therefore wish him to consult some old Member if he makes another set speech. He is an excellent attender, and I am glad that you made choice of him, for many reasons.

You ask what is Hare about? He is about the town; he plays at night, but not very extravagantly; *il joue pourtant*, and what will be the end of him God knows. He can have no apprehension that it will be a bad one, for he is in very good spirits. But how he lives, and how long he will live so, neither I, nor the Fellows, [n]or Provost can tell. We should have been all better pleased, *s'il n'avoit jamais sorti de son état.* I am sure that you will agree with me in that. But that he has been deluded, that he has been precipitated into what both his head and heart condemn, is what I am very sorry for. It is impossible that I should not wish him well, for he is perfectly good humoured, and to me; and if I disapprove of what he has done, if the world will not talk of it, I will not; and if they do, I will join with you in the best apology that can be made for it. And yet between you and I [me], be it spoken, it is much to be feared that there is one spot which will be totally indelible. But I will either be silent upon it, which

indeed it becomes me most to be, or say just what you, who love him the most, wish that I would say, if my opinion was necessary; I can mean only in regard to his wife, for that is the heaviest charge against him.

I received your letter yesterday at Lord G[ower's], and told Storer what you said about writing to him. I dine today at Harry St. John's, and tomorrow at Eden's; and on Monday all the St. Johns in the world, old and young, dine here.

Lady Carlisle's rheumatism concerned me, but Lady G[ower] assures me it was a trifle. Gilbert calls the children in his letter rosy, which is an epithet I like for them; it is a sure indication of their health. I was pleased also with another expression which I met with the other day.

Lord Northington brought me home two nights in his coach, and in one of them the conversation turned upon you. He said there was nobody had a better idea of what a gentleman should be than Carlisle; that you was so throughout. There is a singularity and frankness in some people's manner of delivering their sentiments, by which they receive great advantage. You remember Sir R. Payne's way of describing you, which was still more odd; he said if anybody looked through the keyhole at any time to see how you behaved when you was alone, that he was sure there would be no more impropriety in it than if you had a hundred eyes upon you. I don't like commending you myself, but I like to hear others do so, and especially when they speak about what they think, and when what they think has the air of *vérité* in it.

I hope you make my compliments to Ekins, and that he has by this time read Atterbury quite through. I do not propose the Bishop as a pattern for anything but for eloquence; and for argument, *on n'en trouve pas, chez lui.*

I think that Storer, John St. John, and I, shall set out in about ten days. My coach, cloak, and muff are ready. Adieu most affectionately. My respects to Lady C[arlisle] and my love to the children, and last of all do not despair of me about Hazard, for it being what I love so much, is precisely the reason why I shall be more upon guard in respect to it. I do not mean by this to limit, but the *ense recidendum;* every other *parti* is delusive and childish.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Dec. 12, Tuesday night.—General Scott is dead; *sic Diis placuit.* Bully [Lord Bolingbroke] has lost his Bill. I reported it today, and the Question was to withdraw it. There were 59 against us, and we were 35. It was worse managed by the agents, supposing no treachery, than ever business was. Lord North, Robinson, and Keene divided against. Charles said all that could be said on our side. But as the business was managed, it was the worst Question that I ever voted for. We were a Committee absolutely of Almack's; so if the Bill is not resumed, and better conducted and supported, this phantom of 30,000*l.* clear in Bully's pocket to pay off his annuities vanishes.

It is surprising what a fatality attends some people's proceedings. I begged last night as for alms, that they would meet me to settle the Votes. I have, since I have been in Parliament, been of twenty at least of these meetings, and always brought numbers down by those means. But my advice was slighted, and twenty people were walking about the streets who could have carried this point.

The cause was not bad, but the Question was totally indigestible. The most conscientious man in the House in Questions of this nature, Sir F. Drake, a very old acquaintance of mine, told me that nothing could be so right as the enclosure. But they sent one Bill into the country for the assent of the people interested, and brought me another, differing in twenty particulars, to carry through the Committee, without once mentioning to me that the two Bills differed. This they thought was cunning, and I believe a happy composition of Bully's cunning and John's idea of his own parts. I had no idea, or could have, of this difference. The adverse party said nothing of it, *comme de raison*, reserving the objection till the Report, and it was insurmountable. If one of the Clerks only had hinted it to me, unexperienced as I am in these sort of Bills, I would have stopped it, and by that means have given them a better chance by a new Bill than they can have now, that people will have a pretence for not altering their opinion. . . .

I wish that you would send me up some doe venison for Woodcock and Forsyth, and reserve a couple of tickets for people of that sort for the Duchess of King[s]ton's trial. I do not find that the Lords have agreed with their Committee in regard to the circumstance of her trial in Westminster Hall, but I believe it will end in her being tried there after the holidays; and what will be the issue of the trial besides the Lord knows. There is hardly a crime upon earth for which she may not be tried; and when once this abyss of guilt comes to be plumbed, what they will find nobody can say. There is forgery, and perjuries without end; and a more complete rogue, fool, and bitch I take for granted cannot be found in history than are represented by the three *dramatis personæ*. Lord Stavordale has resigned his Commission; he was otherwise to have gone to America. *Jugez de ce qui* . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Dec. 12 ?]—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . The D[uchess] of Kingston has cooked up a complication of disorders which she intends shall last till after the holidays. Lord Littleton spoke today for her being tried in Westm[inste]r Hall, and Lord Dudley.* Mrs. Rudd is now in Tavistock Street. The Perreaus will, I believe, be hanged. The D[uche]ss of K[ingston] will afford conversation for two months, a great show for two days, and a trial for the astonishment of many years.

The Bishop of Bristol is not dying. The place of Nickster, which is in the Devil's gift, and vacated by John Scott,† is not disposed of. We go into mourning on Thursday. The waiters are to have *crêpes* around their arms, and the dice are to be black and the spots white during the time of wearing weepers, and the dice-box muffled.

I supped last night with Foley at Lady Harrington's. . . . I went there when they were going to Hazard. I sate the night before at supper, and stayed till one in the morning: Hazard the whole time in the next room. I will firmly resolve to have done with it, or not come within 10 miles of London. It is *à faire le faut* (?), and I am now well and whole, *après plusieurs mauvais coups*, but none, I say, since we parted.

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* *Qu.* Dec. 12 or 14 ? *See* H. L. Journals, vol. 34, pp. 531, 533.

† Major-General John Scott, M.P., died 20 Dec. 1775 according to the Annual Register, but see the letters of 12 and 14 Dec.

Anthony Storer to [Lord Carlisle].

1775, Dec. 14, Portugal Street.—I did not give Selwyn my promise concerning our expedition to Castle Howard, and therefore should not have mentioned it to you; but if I am not able to come, it will be some comfort to me to know that you will have him and St. John; so that if you fail of getting any politics out of George, I think you must be very unlucky if you have not, what you wish, a boar (*sic*) of politics from the other.

I assure you, at least so it appears to me, that American politics are very much altered. Taxation and the exercise of it are totally renounced. You never hear the right mentioned, but in order to give it up. The rigid politician of last year, such a man for instance as Wellbore Ellis, stands now almost single in the House of Commons.

You ask me if the *Intercourse* Bill, as it is called, cuts off all commerce and communication with the Islands. You may guess why it is called the Intercourse Bill; it is *lucus a non lucendo*. The Americans are neither to trade with the West Indies [n]or Great Britain; they are not interdicted any commerce with us, but they are to be treated, both themselves and their vessels, as enemies in open time of war, and the captures are to become the property of the commanders and the sailors.

This is the winding up of our catastrophe. If it lasts more than one year, it seems even to moderate West Indians to be totally ruinous to them. What seems to affect them most by the passing of this Bill is not the fear of starving, which they have their apprehensions of, but the danger there is of their being taken on false pretences by the men of war that are to protect them, or by the Americans, on whose coast they are always obliged to pass very near. In short, every West Indian, except Jack Douglas, is in the utmost consternation.

Parliament, that is, the House of Commons, have done their business; we are now waiting for this Bill to pass the Lords, and then we adjourn for the holidays. The day before yesterday, the Sedgmoor Inclosure Bill, in which Lord Bolingbroke was very much interested (G. Selwyn was Chairman for and in the Committee) was thrown out, owing to some irregularities—some differences in the Assent Bill and the House Bill. As you have had something to do with enclosures, you understand those two words, so I need not explain them.

It is true I have spoke, and as you say, and as I meant, not brilliantly. *Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*, is a very favourite maxim of mine. Perhaps, as this is one of my great undertakings, it is more owing to you, than to any other motive. I know you will laugh at me, for saying so, but I really believe it. I said a few words too, upon your Morpeth business, which encouraged me perhaps to do afterwards, what I did with respect to Mr. Oliver's motion.

Lord G. Germaine's coming into office seems to have been a greater acquisition on the side of Government, than on his. Office adds dignity and respect to some men; others, who derive no dignity from it, generally lose by it. This I think Lord G.'s case. He seemed to speak with much more weight, before he was in office. The Ghost of Minden is for ever brought in neck and shoulders to frighten him with. Willes [Wilkes] and Sawbridge have attacked him more than once with the British Cavalry; and thus, he must either turn absolute knight errant, or else put up quietly with constant affronts.

The news-papers must have given you the general features of this year's politics. The complexion of them, I own, is somewhat altered; and so much, that I dare say you will hardly know 'em again. You

will soon grow used to them, however, and upon very little acquaintance, will be as intimate with them as ever. So much for the affairs of the Nation. You, who hear no politics, will be astonished at this boar (*sic*), but must excuse it from me, who hear nothing else.

Indeed, there is another operation which breaks in upon this subject, *i.e.*, the game of Commerce. Lady Betty has taken to this game, and she makes all the world, *bon gré, mal gré*, play at it till five o'clock in the morning. I live there almost; what with Balls, B^{t} (?), Tessier, Commerce, Supper, and Quinze, I am never out of the house. They have invited me to go to the Oaks, this Christmas, but if Castle Howard is too far, the Oaks, I assure you, will be much farther. I rather think I shall go for a fortnight to Bath. You have heard of Gen. Scott's death. George's motto for his achievement is—*sic Dice placuit;* and for his sarcophagus—*Dice Manibus*, &c. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Dec. 19, Tuesday.—I write to you before dinner, and before I have all the opportunities which I might have before night of sending you news, for fear that it should happen as it did last Saturday, that I fall asleep, and so let pass the hour of the post. The cold drives me to the fire, and the fire into a profound nap, in which every earthly thing is forgot; but it shall happen no more, that a post goes without something to indicate my existence.

Today I dine at Lord E. Bentinck['s]; I have been often asked there, but it has never yet happened that I could go before. There are to be there, Charles, Richard, Monsr. l'Ambass[adeu]r, Monsr. Tessier, Lord Monson, Lord Cholmondley, &c. March was to have been of the party, but is gone this morning down to Cashiobury.

Last night and the night before I supped at Lady Betty Stanley's. Their suppers are magnificent, but their hours are abominably late; however, they do not discourage my Lord of Worcester from staying them out. We are very merry, all of us, and I think Mrs. North the merriest of us all. At 2 this morning, the Bishop and I were almost left alone; the rest of the company were in their domino's, and going to the Masquerade. I have seen nobody today to tell me what passed there. I have been with Mie Mie at Gainsborough's, to finish her picture. I thank you for inquiring after her; it has been one of my comforts that she has escaped any of these colds. She seems to grow very strong; so far, so good.

Sir G[eorge] M'Cartney and Lady Holl[an]d dined here yesterday, and we had the contrivance to keep our party a secret from Craufurd, for, although he was engaged to two other places, he told March that he should have been glad to have come, and certainly would, if he had known it. I think verily he grows more tiresome every day, and everybody's patience is *à bout*, except Smith's and Sir George's.

Sir G[eorge] has been telling me today, that Lord Stormont is coming from France, and is to have Lord Marchmont's place, who is satisfied by the peerage of his son, and that Lord Harcourt will stay but a very little while longer in Ireland. This must produce in all probability other removes.

I dine tomorrow with Lord Gower, Lady G[ower], Lord and Lady Waldegrave, l'Ambassadeur, and Monsr. Tessier, at Bedford House. I I shall know, perhaps, something more of this then. Her Grace has suppers for the class I dine with today, but I am not of them. Monsieur Tessier is to read to the Queen, and till then, will read no more; he

goes down to pass his Xmas at Wilton. I wish, for Lady Carlisle's entertainment, that you had him for two or three days, at Castle H[oward].

I should, with your approbation, have been glad to have carried him with me. I shall be glad to bring anybody, but I have no prospect, but of John St. John. Storer tells me that he goes to the Bath. Eden would be excessively happy to go, if it was for a few days only, but his attendance at this time seems scarcely to be dispensed with. Our last news from America are certainly not good, but it does not alter my expectations of what will be the issue of the next campaign. It is a great cause of amusement to Charles, but I see no good to him likely to come from it in the end.

I wish to know, if I could, precisely your time of leaving Castle H[oward]. I should be glad to contrive it, so as to return with you. You will be here for the Trial, I take for granted. It will be altogether the most extraordinary one that ever happened in this or I believe any other country. It is a cursed, foul pool, which they are going to stir up, and how many rats, cats, and dogs, with other nuisances, will be seen floating at the top, nobody can tell. It will be as much a trial of the E[arl] of B[ristol] as of her, and in point of infamy, the issue of it will be the same, and the poor defunct Duke stand upon record as the completest *Coglione* of his time. The Attorney and Solicitor General have appointed Friday, as I hear, for a hearing of what her Bar can say in favour of a *Noli prosequi*, which is surely nothing.

Incomplete?

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Dec. 19?] (*Continuation?*).—It is now near 5 o'clock, I must go to dress for Lord Edward's [Bentinck] dinner. But I have wrote this, to prevent the consequences of long sleep after the *chère exquise et recherchée* which I am made to believe that I shall see today. The Duke of Portland pays his debts, to the last *obole*, as Lord E[dward] has told me, and they amount to 27,000*l.*; and what is as extraordinary he pays his own, which amount, I suppose, to an enormous sum. All this is owing to a flaw in his grandfather's will. I have ordered mine to be laid before council [counsel], if that will do any good. It would make me very miserable if I thought that what I have intended should not be executed. I have at present only Woodcock's belief that it is incontestable. Adieu, most affectionately. If I hear in the course of this evening anything particular, I shall write again; this *par provision.*

I was in great pain till I received your letter yesterday. It had been so long since I heard from you. Poor George, is, I hope, quite well, and the other two, and Caroline in great beauty and favour. You tell me nothing of her, and you cannot say too much. *Elle me tirera chez vous plus* [*que*] *quatre bœufs.*

The venison which you are so good as to say that you will send, shall, when it comes, be sent half of it to Mr. Woodcock's in your name, and I will think what is to become of the rest, if there is more than half a doe, which there need not be; for I gave myself a piece of venison the other day to Forsyth, *à votre considération.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775, Dec. 21?] Thursday night.—It wants but four minutes of 11, which is all the news there is, and if there was more I have no time to tell

it. I had the pleasure of a letter from you yesterday, as well as on Monday, for which I thank you. I will set out the instant I have the courage to do it; what the want of it proceeds from, you must yourself devise; but I think that as soon as I can get a companion, I shall depart, and without one, if you are not coming soon. I am sorry to hear you say that Lady C[arlisle] must be in town in February; I hope, sooner.

We had a dull dinner enough at Bedford House, and a nasty one in *comparaison* of Lord Edward's [Bentinck], which was the perfection of cookery and elegance. I carried Tessier in my coach, but I hear that her Grace did not intend that he should have come, because he could not bring his plays. I would not for the world that he had had such a conception. There was Masserano, Lord and Lady Gower, Lord Waldgrave, and the family.

Everything goes well, and the last news from America is forgot, or not credited; it is at [all ?] *problématique*. Lady Holland has had a relapse, but is today a little better. She is disappointed about her house; the man will not let it for less than seven years, but chooses to sell it. The town is beginning to empty. I must conclude for fear of missing the post. . . .

Anthony Storee to Lord Carlisle.

1775, Dec. 28, Bath.—To pursue the thread of my history, I must now, according to my promise, give you the list of those proposals, which were made during the part of the present Sessions which we have passed, by Opposition. And, if I had the Votes of the House of Commons with me, I should perhaps be more satisfactory to you, because I could then give you the tenor, as the lawyers say, of their motions; but as it is, you must be contented with the purport of them, as far as Scott and I can recollect.

The first motion in point of time, I believe, was Luttrell's; then followed Burke's, afterwards Oliver's, and last of all Hartley's. Luttrell's was to allow the Commissioners to treat with the Congress—very long, verbose, and historical. Nobody listened to his long oration, and nobody spoke in answer to him but Rice, who objected to his proposal of our treaty with the Congress, as a thin[g] derogatory to the dignity of this country to treat with an assembly of Rebels. I do not suppose, if Administration should ever find it absolutely necessary to treat with the Congress, that they will think themselves bound by Rice's objections.

Burke grounded his motion upon an Act of Parl. in Edward the First's time (if I recollect right) *de tallagio non concedendo*, where the King relinquishes the right of taxation: he meant to have a parallel to be formed, and in the same manner to renounce at least the practice of taxation. Another part of his proposition was to enable the Assemblies to send delegates to treat with the Commissioners; to which it was answered that this was superfluous, because the King was empowered already to do such an act as this; therefore this part of his measure was nugatory.

Then he proposed to repeal various Acts which the Americans have stated as grievances to them, and upon this ground I think Administration objected to the receiving his motion; and the previous Question was put, in which there was a very handsome minority. I think they had exactly one to two.

Soon after Burke's, which had been put off from day to day on account of his father-in-law's death, Oliver's came on; which he had

not communicated, to his brother Members of the City, and which wore such an unparliamentary shape and appearance, that it made a very ridiculous figure in the House, as well as Sawbridge, who spoke in favour of it. The tendency of his Motion was to know who had advised his Majesty to undertake various measures. Some of these measures—most I believe—had been adopted before Lord North's Administration, some by Conway, some by Lord Chatham, I believe and there was an Act of Parliament past in Henry 8th['s] time, which he moved to know the adviser of!

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1775, Dec. 29, Bath.—I broke off very abruptly in my last, telling you that Oliver's Motion came into Parliament in so strange a form, that it met with very little encouragement; Wilkes counted twelve who divided with him on the main Question, and he dignified them by calling them his twelve Apostles.

Sawbridge had attacked the present Administration for their intended folly of taking up four other persons besides Mr. Eyre upon the news of that plot, that made so much noise for a day or two at the opening of Parliament; and said that some person in Administration had very wisely objected to it, because instead of having the Wilkes, there would immediately be five.

To which Lord North answered by saying, though he might believe a Buckingham House Junto might do a great deal, yet he had so much respect for Mr. Wilkes, as not to imagine that they could easily make another person at [all ?] similar to him; that he had seen the difficulty of such an undertaking by observing, that gentlemen who made it the whole object and study of their lives to resemble him, had failed in the attempt. He ended by quoting—*Non cuivis homini contingit*, &c.; some of the Treasury prompted him—*Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*.

We divided twice that day, besides having a third Question. The order of the day was first put, then the previous Question, and the main one. So that Wilkes and his party divided with us upon the previous Question. Lord North upon this desired, while the minority was in the Lobby, that gentlemen would stay for the main Question, as we should not have some of the present majority with us. Upon the whole, I never saw a Question in Parliament treated with so little respect.

Now I ought, according to the course of proceedings, give you some account of Hartley's; but as he has printed his speech, I will not take that out of his hands, which he has so much more right to. He spoke for above two hours. Good God! I shudder even now at the thoughts of it. No one can have a complete idea of a boar (*sic*) who has not been in Parliament.

Thus you have seen an epitome of what we have been about; what we are to do, you are more likely to know than I, having a direct avenue to the Cabinet; but I believe it is scarcely in their power to say what we are to do. Whether we are to send Russians, or French, or what nation the troops are to be of, I cannot guess. They say Russians cannot go on account of the ice in the Baltic; and then if they could, they say the French and Spaniards would not let them. We are playing *très gros jeu*, and in every way a losing game.

As for conquering America, without foreign troops, it is entirely impossible; and I think it pretty near a certainty that the Rebels will

be in possession of all America by the spring. By the news of Fort St. John's and Chambley, and the investiture of Quebec, their diligence and activity is wonderful, and it must end in the possession of all N[orth] Am[erica]. They have taken a store-ship, and have several ships at sea. *De peu à peu nous arrivons;* if they go on so another year—*fuit Ilium et ingens gloria*—we shall make but a paltry figure in the eye of Europe. Come to town, and be witness to the fall, or the re-establishment, of our puissant Empire. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1776, Feb. ?]—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . . . Blood (*sic*) is in the worst state possible. I wish that you may contrive, when you come to town, or before, to get him so to manage matters with his father's executors, of which number he is himself one, that I may pay 1,500*l.*, that is, half of my debt to his father, by a bond from you. If so, and that I shall have by that means an acquittance for that sum from the executors, I shall then immediately pay into Messrs. Childs' hands the same sum, to accommodate you. It will go a great way towards satisfying the tradesmen, whose bills are paid but in part, and [who] want the whole of them. This must be done by a strong letter to Charles, that he may direct what he would have Powell do, who perhaps might not object to it, unless he sees a security for the money due to him from Charles invalidated by it. But what I am the most apprehensive of is, and with most reason, that Charles will anticipate everything, and when the account is closed, think he has a good reason to offer for not discharging your bond, that there are superior claimants.

We shall have a long day in the House today about the Militia. Lord Robert [Seymour ?] and I dine at Lady Holland's, and go down at about six. I think that there will be some very tedious work still to do, and a great deal of heat in both Houses before the recess, and that this new acquisition in each House will have so many gross things said to them that I do not know what may follow from it. The talent of public speaking bears certainly a great price in this country, and the strongest proof of it is that Ministers will *remuer ciel et terre* to get one of these glib orators of their side, in spite of the most odious or despicable character whatever.

I hope that Storer gives you a more particular account of what is said in the House than I can do. What is he employing himself about? Why won't he attempt to say something? What signifies knowing what Cicero said, and how he said it, if a man cannot open his mouth to deliver one sentiment of his own?

I have got a little of the influenza this morning in my head, so, although it is a very fine clear day, I shall stay *au coin de mon feu* till I go to call on Lord Robert to carry him to dinner. Lady Holland is plagued to death with that Low man, who is to be her tenant. The goods, at least a great part of them, will be sold immediately by auction. If I thought that there was anything that Lady Carlisle would particularly like, I should go and bid for it. Is there anything that she wishes to have done for her convenience in her apartment in St. James'[s] Place? I am afraid that now she will be scrupulous to mention it, for fear of the expense. If you find out that, pray let me know it.

I shall undoubtedly take the first agreeable house which I can find, at the distance of about six or seven miles for this next year, *à telle fin que de raison.* I am in great hopes, if I find one, that Lady C[arlisle]

will consent that the younger children and their servants go there in the spring. I have spoke to Gregg about it; my thoughts are upon Chiswick, or on the road to the Oaks. *Qu'en dites-vous?* Well, I could not keep my promise, I see, of one sheet.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1776, May?] Thursday night, White's.—. . . Lady Holland has rejected the house at Muswell Hill. Lord North dined yesterday at Sir Ralph's [Payne],* and I was asked to meet him today at Col. Keene's. I am likely to be put to some difficulties in relation to the new election for the county of Gloucester.† It will be hard upon me, if I may not be permitted to be neutral, for I think that if I give my interest against Lord Berkley, which I am inclined to do, I shall find the inconvenience of it at another time. But Lord N[orth] I am told is desirous to support the recommendation of the Duke of Beaufort.

I suppose that you have heard of the accident which has happened to the Duke d'Aremberg's son. Poor Sir W. Gordon is quite distracted about it, although it is manifest, as they assure me, that the Duke d'Aremberg himself would have shot his son, and perhaps have killed him if Gordon had not fired, which they say has mangled the face of this poor young man in a most horrible manner. He was reckoned also very handsome. Whether he will be entirely deprived of his sight or not, is not decided.

We have here for society, and to sup I believe tonight, Lord March, Lord Robert, Lord Waldgrave, Sir W. Draper, the Chancellor St. John, that is to be, James, Richard, Lord Egremont, and myself, and it may be the Duke of Grafton, who has begun this third winter with me, *en me boudant*. Harry St. John *boude aussi*, because that there is an Aid-de-camp to the King made preferably to himself, and threatens not to give us his assistance in Parliament.

I beg that you will thank Lady C[arlisle] for me, that she has endeavoured to procure me a letter from little Caroline, which will give me great pleasure. I told Mie Mie what I expected, to excite her emulation. I beg my most hearty love to her. I have more *bonjours* and *bon soirs* for her *en poche*, than I shall be able to give her during the whole time I shall stay at Castle H[oward]. St. John says that he shall be ready to go with me when I call upon him. Adieu, my dear Lord, for the present. I have nothing more to trouble you with, this post.

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1777, Feb. 13, Portugal [Street].—(The first portion of this letter relates to a vacancy and an election at Morpeth, and mentions Sir G. Elliott, Sir Ralph Payne, Mr. Egerton, Mr. Stoney, and Eden.)

I presented yesterday a third petition for you to enclose Bulmer Field, &c. We had yesterday a debate in the House, in which I was perfectly persuaded, though I rather felt myself an enemy to the Bill at first, that Administration were in the right. Indeed, Charles Fox and Dunning convinced me themselves, by their arguments against it, of the propriety of the Bill. Charles Fox spoke very ill.

Instead of either going to the Pantheon or to the masquerade, I sat playing at whist till one o'clock, and then stayed *tête à tête* with Charles

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* *See* Jesse, III., 201.

† There were bye-elections in May 1776, Jan. 1781, and April 1783.

till four. His ideas, if they are his real ones, almost make me think that he is mad. I must have perfectly lost the use of my eyes, before I could be made to fancy things are as he represents them.

The drift and main design of the Bill passed yesterday is, that we should not be obliged to try any Americans that may be taken and brought into Great Britain. It was the second reading of the Bill yesterday, and it will in the Committee certainly undergo many alterations, in order to make it clearer in many respects, where it was before thought obscure. It is levelled merely against those persons who have committed, or are suspected of having committed, treason in America. I might perhaps have said something more on this and other matters of the great world, but the bounds of my paper will not permit me.

[Anthony Storer] to Lord Carlisle.

1777, Feb. 13, Portugal Street.—It is impossible to omit for an instant the news of last night. The taking Gen. Lee seems as important an event as any that could possibly happen during the continuance of the American War. Col. Harcourt, with a few men, by chance took a peasant who had a letter from Lee. After having read the letter, on examination he found that the wafer was wet, which made him conclude that Lee was not very far distant; upon which he immediately threatened the countryman with instant death if he did not discover where Lee was. The poor man preferred life to every other consideration, and conducted them to a small house, where the Arch-rebel was. He shot from the window two of the soldiers, and fired at Harcourt, and hit him upon his helmet. However, the doors of the house being soon broken open, he immediately run down stairs with his sword in his hand, which he presented to Col. Harcourt, and demanded the benefits of the Proclamation.

This is but a bad end for this adventurous hero. He ought to have died undoubtedly with his sword in his hand; as it is, I hope he will only live long enough to grace the funeral of Dr. Dodd, who they say will have more courage than him, for it is said he will certainly kill himself rather than consent *à se donner en spectacle* under the hands of the executioner. Lee is on his way home. If he is on the half-pay list he may be tried for desertion, and the Proclamation may not save him.

I own I feel a certain rancour against this man, and nothing but compassion for every other of the Rebels. I do not perceive that I entertain the least spite or hatred against Hancock and Adams, with all the rest of the rebellious host, but against this fellow I really wish all the rigour possible to be shewn, which can be done, without straining or forcing the Law from its proper course.

Besides the importation of this celebrated person, I hear we are to have soon a cargo of foreigners, with Hanger and the Duke of Dorset at their head, imported among us. They will find *la galanterie bien reduite*. As Boothby says, the women are out of season, and so off he goes into Leicestershire to wait till the R is out of the month. May and Ranelagh will bring the women and the butterflies together. I do not mean that it is apropos, but by that time you will be coming yourself. By your silence upon this head, I begin to despair of seeing you. I hope you do not mean to stay much longer at Castle Howard. You must come up to town to make up for the loss of Richard, *velut unda supervenit undam*. I scolded Lady Jersey last night for not having wrote to you. She seemed to think herself to blame, and so I suppose will correct her fault.

Lady Derby has kept house this week past. The coterie as usual has resorted thither, and gaming engrosses every thought of every person almost of every age. If gallantry was the characteristic of Charles the Second's reign, and religion of his father's, politics of Queen Anne's, and chivalry in times of yore, gaming is undoubtedly the predominant feature of the present. This rage for play always puts me in mind of a passage in the Oration for Archias the poet, where, speaking in commendation of the *studia* of Archias, first that they are *omnium ætatum, temporum et locorum*, he goes on and says, *pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur*—I have heard, at least, that line—*Aleaque et longo tempora quassa mero*, [and] says that play is one of the sure avenues to the pains of love ; but *tout est changé*, and it now should be looked upon not as a provocative, but as a febrifuge—not one's bane, but one's antidote, in love. I have heard nothing more of Elliott ; the weather has been so bad both yesterday and today, that I have not stirred.

Not signed. Incomplete?

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1777, Feb.,] Tuesday night.—If it was not for the pleasure of writing to you I need not trouble [you] by this post with any letter, because I believe that Mr. Gregg will by this post acquaint you that we were both yesterday in the evening and today before dinner at Lord G[ower's], talking upon the subject of Morpeth, which, if it has alarmed you, is, I believe, at present safe from any change.* But I must own myself much surprised at Sir G[ilbert] Elliot's conduct. However, if it be true, as Lord G[ower] seems to think, and with reason, that there will be no re-election, you may be more moderate in what you say in regard to Sir G. E[lliot's] conduct. If there really was more probability of his design to be chose at Roxb[urgh], and Lord N[orth] consented to it, I should undoubtedly, in your situation, explain myself with great freedom to him, and indeed both he and Lord N[orth] would be inexcusable in putting your affairs to such a hazard.

This match of that lunatic's, Lady Strathmore, with Mr. Stoney,† does indeed present no pleasant prospect to me, but as you will have now time to guard against his encroachments, so perhaps his attempt in future times, if he should have such views, may become abortive.

Nothing else came on the *tapis*, nor do I see or hear of just at this moment any opening which can be advantageous to us. In short, the occasion, whatever it is, lies in embryo; what accident will give it birth I know not. I only hope that, when it offers, we shall, upon a trial of their sincerity, not be disappointed. I do really believe that we shall not.

As to my own situation I cannot say it is a happy [one], although I have so much more than I could have expected. I have, indeed, for the present all I ever wished, but I have also the strongest assurances given me that at all events things shall continue for some time in the state in which they now are. But whoever upon that concludes that I must be easy is either ignorant or indifferent to the feelings of mankind. The bare possibility of be[ing] rendered so unhappy as I should be made upon a change of their resolution, or from the operations of caprice

* Sir Gilbert Elliott had been elected for Morpeth 16 July 1776. There was a re-election in Feb. 1777.

† *See* the Annual Register, 1777.

and *travers*, I say the mere apprehensions of that, even slightly founded, prevent my mind from being in that *équilibre* which is absolutely necessary to my tranquillity. We are, I say, at present going on very well, in as good and regular a progress of education as it is possible; both Mie Mie and I as tractable as it is possible; *et troubler ce ménage seroit une cruauté sans example.*

I have also to grieve at other times for a great deprivation of part of my happiness; that, I mean, to which you contributed, Lady C[arlisle] and your children. There is a *hiatus valde deflendus*; indeed, a *lacune* which I do not know how to fill up, and I sigh over the prospect of it perpetually, and without seeing my way out of it.

I have, at another part of my day, a scene, which time or use cannot reconcile to me. I see my mother's strength grow less every day, without any consolation, but that her mind does not decay with it. In short, my dear Lord, as I have often told you, *j'ai l'esprit et le cœur trop tracassés* for me to be happy at present, and all I can say is that I might, by untoward accidents, be more miserable, and these are removed from my view *pour le moment;* but I wait for a period of time when I shall be relieved from uncertainty of what may happen, and when I may live and breathe without restraint and apprehension. That period will, as I imagine, arrive in about two months, and till then *les assurances les plus fortes sont trop foibles pour mon repos.*

It is some time since I have had a long letter from you. I hope to have one of some sort or other tomorrow. I hope all goes quietly, at least Gregg says that you write cheerfully. *On s'accoutume à tout*, they say, but I know and feel very sensibly that there are exceptions to that adage.

The author of a new Grub Street poem, I see, allows me a great share of feeling, at the same time that he relates facts of me, which, if they were true, would, besides making me ridiculous, call very much into question what he asserts with any reasonable man. I do not know if you have received this performance. If I thought you had not, paltry as it is, I should send it to you. The work I mean is called "The Diaboliad." His hero is Lord Ernham. Lord Hertford and Lord Beauchamp are the chief persons whom he loads with his invectives. Lord Lyttleton [and] his cousin Mr. Ascough are also treated with not much lenity; Lord Pembroke with great familiarity, as well as C. Fox; and Fitzpatrick, although painted in colours bad enough at present, is represented as one whom in time the Devil will lose for his disciple. I am only attacked upon that trite and very foolish opinion concerning *le pene e le Delitté* [*ed i delitti*], acknowledging [it] to proceed from an odd and insatiable curiosity, and not from a *mauvais cœur.* In some places I think there is versification, and a few good lines, and the piece seems to be wrote by one not void of parts, but who, with attention, might write much better.

I forgive him his mention of me, because I believe that he does it without malice, but, if I had leisure to think of such things, I must own the frequent repetition of the foolish stories would make me peevish. Alas! I have no time to be peevish. *Quand on a le cœur gros, et serré, comme je l'ai souvent à cette heure, il est rare que l'on a de l'humeur; l'âme est trop sérieusement attaquée et touchée pour prêter attention à de petites choses; chez moi, je suis triste, je soupire, mais je ne gronde plus, je ne m'emporte pas.*

Richard, I hear, goes in about a fortnight. Fish Craufurd thinks, as I am told, that Lord O[ssory?] should pay his debts; that is, give him 40,000*l.* from his own children, *pour le délivrer des Juifs.* He pays

already to one of them out of his * 300*l.* a year, which he meant to have paid to his brother for a more comfortable maintenance.

I dined on Sunday at the French Ambassador's; a splendid and wretched dinner, but good wine; a quantity of dishes which differed from one another only in appearance; they had all the same taste, or equally wanted it. The middle piece, the *demeurant*, as it is called, a fine Oriental arcade, which reached from one end of the table to the other, fell in like a *tremblement de terre*. The wax, which cemented the composing parts, melted like Icarus's wings, and down it fell. Seventy *bougies* occasioned this, with the number of persons all adding to the heat of the room. I had a more private and much better dinner yesterday at Devonshire House.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1777, Aug. ?].—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . . . I am convinced that I shall be free some time hence from that agitation of mind with which I am now so tormented, and from those almost constant sinkings of my spirits; but, my dear Lord, you may be quite assured that *des plaies comme les miennes ne se referment pas bientôt*, and when they do they have altered the whole constitution of the mind to such a degree as never to let it feel as it did before. But *brisons là.*

Mr. D'Oyley tells me that no important news is likely to come from America before the 20th of this month. Lady Cornwallis told me yesterday she expected some much sooner. Mr. D'Oyley's picture of affairs was not a joyous one, but he gave an infinitely better account of them to me than I have had from anybody else.

The Opposition affects great spirits, and to be sanguine about a change of men and of measures. *Je n'en crois rien.* Charles said last night if I would give him five guineas he would give me 100 if I lost my place. He must get one himself to justify my accepting the proposal. The match of tennis stark naked was not played, which I am sorry for. Another red Ribbon vacant, Sir C. Montague. Clinton anticipated that which Lord Inchiquin had.

I saw Horry W[alpole] yesterday for a few minutes; *his distresses* are, Lord O[rford's] † lunacy, and the Duchess of Gloucester's situation if his R[oyal] H[ighness] dies, who will probably come and die in his own country. I wish these were mine, and I had no other, but we cannot choose our own misfortunes; if we could, there is nobody who would not prefer being concerned for a mad nephew whom they did not care for, or a simple Princess whom they would laugh at, *si l'orgueil ne s'en mêloit pas.*

The great rendezvous of the White's people has been at my Lord Cadogan's, as that of the Macaroni's at Lord Egremont's. *Adieu pour aujourd'hui;* I need not conclude, as this letter does not go till Tuesday.

Monday morning.—At Almack's last night:

Duke of Grafton	Lord March,	2 Craufurds,	Sir W. Draper,
Lord Egremont,	Varcy,	Thompson,	Sir C. Davers,
Jack Townsh[en]d,	Barker,	Lord North[ingto]n,	Self,
W. Hanger.	Hare.	Foley.	Boothby.

* A word omitted ?

† *See* Jesse, III., 215.

There was no news last night, and but little play. Boothby loses regularly his 300, and, if he had a run in his favour [has] nobody to furnish him with materials to profit by it. Lady Harriot came again to fetch her husband in their *vis à vis*, and I crammed myself in too. I left Draper and Sir C. Davers travelling through the worst roads of Canada, Triconderaga (*sic*), and the Lord knows what country. But it was so tiresome that I was glad to leave them in the mud in[to] which their conversation had carried them.

Lord North[ingto]n is very sour about Lord Cov[entry]'s treatment of his sister, and talks of going to Crome to expostulate with him about it. I hope that he will not. It will do the cause no good in any respect. I am for leaving everything for the present, bad as it is, where the ill stars of them all have placed them. Cov[entry]'s mind will take another turn, and [he will] do of his own accord perhaps more than he ought.

Mademoiselle D'Eon goes to France in a few days; she is now in her *habit de femme*, in black silk and diamonds, which she received from the Empress of Russia, when she was in the army and at her Court as minister. A German of her acquaintance has promised Lady Townshend to contrive that she and I shall have a sight of her before she goes. She met her grandson coming to town in a chaise and four, *ventre à terre*, from Brighthelmstone; he dined with us. Storer's attachment at present, as he says, is to Lady Payne. O'Brien gets 9,000*l.* a year, and the title, by Lord Inchiquin's death.

Memoranda by William Eden.

[1778,] Feb. 17—March 31.

Conciliatory proposition was 17th February.

Sent the 20th from London, to go by the Andromeda.

Lord Carlisle accepted, 22nd.

23rd, I offered to go if certain persons whom I named could not be induced to go, and if the Commission were filled up by those whom I should like.

25th, I called at Lord Carlisle's.

March the 5th, I accepted.

7th, met Jackson by appointment.

8th, passed the evening with the Attorney General.

12th, we all dined at Sir Gr[ey] Cooper's.

13th, we met at Lord North's, on the night of the French declaration.

16th, Gambier sailed with the Acts.

From this day to the 25th I never saw Lord North alone.

29th, we met, and Jackson showed his intentions not to go.

31st, the Solicitor General spoke to Johnston.

In Eden's hand.

Instructions by King George III. to his Commissioners to treat with the North American Colonies.

1778, April 12, St. James's.

(Royal Seal.) George R.

Orders and Instructions to be observed by Our Right Trusty and Right Wellbeloved Cousin and Councillor Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, Knight of the most antient Order of the Thistle; Our Right Trusty and Wellbeloved Cousin and Councillor Richard, Lord Viscount Howe,

of Our Kingdom of Ireland; Our Trusty and Welibeloved Sir William Howe, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Lieutenant General of our Forces, General and Commander-in-Chief of all and singular Our Forces employed or to be employed within Our Colonies in North America, lying upon the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia on the North to West Florida on the South, both inclusive; William Eden, Esq., one of Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; and George Johnstone, Esq., Captain in Our Royal Navy; being Our Commissioners appointed by Us with sufficient Powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the Disorders now subsisting in certain of Our Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces in North America. Given at Our Court at St. James's, the Twelfth day of April 1778. In the Eighteenth Year of Our Reign.

Appointment.

With these Our Instructions, you will receive Our Commission under the Great Seal of Great Britain, constituting you, or any Three of you, Our Commissioners, with certain Powers to Treat, Consult, and Agree upon the means of quieting the Disorders now subsisting in certain of Our Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces in North America. You are therefore to repair, with all convenient speed, to New York, or such other Place in North America as you shall judge most proper; and when you shall have arrived in any of them, you are to proceed to the execution of the Trust We have reposed in you, and for that purpose you, or any Three of you, are to communicate your arrival to the Commander-in-Chief of the American Forces, or to any Body of Men, by whatever name known or distinguished, who may be supposed to represent the different Provinces, Colonies, and Plantations in America.

Proceed to America.

Communicate arrival to their Commander-in-Chief.

Address them by any Style.

And you are hereby directed to address them by any style or title which may describe them, and to lay before them a Copy of the Act of Parliament by virtue of which We are enabled to appoint Commissioners, together with a Copy of Our Commission; and We do direct you, or any Three of you, to express your desire and readiness to receive or meet them, or any of them authorized for that Purpose, at New York, or any Place which shall be mutually agreed upon; and that upon notice of the Intention of all or any such Persons constituting such Body as aforesaid to confer with you, or any Three of you, upon the subject of this Our Commission and these Our Instructions, you do immediately dispatch safe Conduct for them to the Place at which it may be agreed to Consult and Confer.

Safe Conduct.

You may likewise assure them that, as soon as Peace is established, they shall thenceforth be protected in the antient course of their Trade and Commerce by the Power of Great Britain; and We authorize you to admit of any Claim or Title to Independency in any description of men, during the time of Treaty, and for the purpose of Treaty.

If they urge Reference to Parliament as matter of Objection,

If, under pretence of diffidence and distrust, they should decline Treating upon the ground that you are not authorized finally to conclude any Treaty or Agreement, inasmuch as any Resolution must be reserved for the future approbation or disapprobation of Us and Our Two Houses of Parliament, after observing that the Legislature might reasonably imagine that the matters to be discussed were of too great Concernment to be delegated to Individuals, especially as you could not expect to meet with equal and corresponding Powers in those Persons who might act for and on the behalf of the Thirteen Revolted Colonies, you may remind them that as a proof of the Good Faith and Sincerity of the Intentions of Great Britain, to promote a full and permanent Reconciliation between Great Britain and the said Colonies, the Legislature have spontaneously passed "An Act for removing all Doubts

Commissioners will urge Acts already passed

and Preliminaries as proof of Sincerity.

" and Apprehensions concerning Taxation by the Parliament of Great " Britain in any of the Colonies, Provinces, and Plantations in North " America and the West Indies; and for repealing so much of an Act " made in the 7th year of Our Reign as imposes a duty upon Tea " imported from Great Britain into any Colony or Plantation in " America, or relates thereto." And they have also passed " An Act " for repealing an Act passed in the 14th year of Our reign, intitled, " An Act for the better regulating the Government of the Province of " Massachusetts Bay, in New England"; and also the Act enabling Us to vest you, or any Three of you, with the Powers and Authorities with which We have entrusted you and do intrust you, of suspending all Acts passed since 1763, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

Preliminaries to be consented to.

If they will provide Provincial Troops, no standing Army to be kept in America in time of Peace.

Nor any Alteration in their Governments or Charters but by their own Consent.

And as a further proof of such Sincerity, you, or any Three of you, are authorized to Consent, as you are hereby authorized to Consent, to make any Propositions that they can offer, and that you shall think reasonable and fit to be entertained, the subject of an immediate Reference to Us and Our Two Houses of Parliament, separate from the other Points of the Treaty, in which the disposition of Us and Our Two said Houses of Parliament to promote, by every proper Concession, the Restoration of Peace and Union can with no probability be doubted. You may particularly agree to a Proposal that if, in the ensuing Treaty, any mode can be settled of providing by Provincial Forces for the sufficient security and Protection of Our Subjects, no standing Army shall be raised or kept within the said Colonies in time of Peace without their Consent. And also that none of the antient Governments or Constitutions in the said Colonies shall be changed or varied without the Consent or Request of such of Our respective Colonies, signified by their general Assemblies.

If Treaty with Congress fails, apply to Bodies of Men or Individuals.

If this should likewise fail to produce the desired effect of entering into a Treaty, it may be proper that such Propositions and Offers should, in such manner as you shall see fit, be made public and known as generally as possible; and the first appearance of a desire in any Province to revert to the antient form of Government must be watched with the utmost attention; but, nevertheless, if an Assembly could be formed under your Power of appointing a Governor, in the case in which you are at liberty to enter upon such detached Treaty, the good Consequences and the extensive Effects in the operations of such Assembly are obvious. You are, however, to avoid giving umbrage or jealousy to the Powers with which you are publicly treating, and you are not to make any public appeal to the Inhabitants of America at large until you shall be satisfied that such public Body of Men, and the Commander-in-Chief of the American Forces, shall refuse to enter into or proceed in such Treaty.

But such Caution is not to prevent you, or any Three of you, from entering into any Correspondence or Treaty with particular Colonies, Bodies of Men, or individual Persons, to answer the purposes of the Commission wherewith We have entrusted you, if your attempt to enter into a Treaty, or come to any conclusion, with such Representative Body of Men, as We have before described, should fail or miscarry.

Proclamation.

And if you should at length despair of bringing such Body or Bodies of Men to a Treaty, or effectually to proceed in such Treaty, you are, if you find it proper, finally to set forth a Declaration, for the information of Our well-disposed Subjects at large, in which, after reciting the Act and the Commission with which We have thought fit to empower you, or any Three of you, you shall, if you think proper, publish a Proclamation, containing a Declaration of the earnest wishes of Us and

Our Parliament for composing any Differences that have unhappily subsisted between Great Britain and Our said Colonies, and for the re-establishment of Peace and Union upon firm and lasting Foundations, and the means which have been used to obtain such salutary and happy Purposes.

Suspension of Arms.

The propriety, nature, and extent of a Suspension of Arms will be best determined upon the Spot in conjunction with the Commanders-in-Chief of Our Army and Navy; but in the present apparent situation of things it does not seem to Us to be necessary or advantageous that the first overture should come from you; nevertheless you, or any Three of you, are to determine on this point as you shall deem most expedient on due deliberation.

If it should be proposed to accede to either a local Cessation of Hostilities within a certain district round the place of Treaty, or in general by Land, and on Rivers, or entirely by Sea and Land, with such Provisions as are usual or proper for the security and accommodation of the Persons assembled and for the facilitating the Treaty, you, or any Three of you, are at liberty to agree to the same.

The Proposals which among others appear to Us to deserve your attention, are, as to the Operations at Land:

That a Line of Quarters shall be marked out for the respective Forces beyond which neither side shall advance during the Truce, except with leave given by the respective Commanders of the opposite Forces.

That there shall be a free and open communication for Provisions to the respective Quarters, and no Persons supplying Provisions to be molested in going or returning, except only as to such restrictions as the Commanders may think fit to impose in their respective Quarters, for the more orderly supply of their Forces.

That no new Levies shall be made, nor any Augmentation to the Force of either Army, during the Truce.

That the Militia shall not be called out and trained during that interval.

And that a removal of Our Troops cannot be required till Peace shall be restored; and

That no Arrays or Drafts shall be made of the Militia, or any Military Works whatever carried on, pending such Treaty.

Cessation of Hostilities by Sea.

The Naval Operations cannot be put under similar terms. A Cessation of Arms supposes no Augmentation of Force during that period. It would be incongruous with that Idea, to permit Military Stores to be imported. The only provision that can be made, consistent with the seizure and detention of such Vessels as are employed in carrying Military Stores is, that you should permit, and you, or any Three of you, have hereby Our Royal Authority, to permit all Vessels sailing from America to have Passes from you, or any Three of you, for their Protection, and that all Vessels under Sixty Tons burthen shall pass from place to place in North America without interruption, and all other Vessels above Sixty Tons, without passes, or seized and detained as having Arms or Ammunition on board, shall be restored to the Owners, if the Accommodation shall take place, otherwise to be proceeded against as Prize.

You will also require and insist, as far as circumstances will admit, that after the Commencement of any Truce, no Person shall be molested in any of the Provinces for declaring his opinion upon any point of Government, or for refusing to sign any Test or Association, or to take any Oath.

That all persons now confined for any of the above Causes, shall be restored to their liberty.

That no Person shall be punished from the above period, but for some Crime, and according to the known Laws of the Land, or for Military Offences, if that Exception must be admitted.

That all Proceedings on Forfeitures, Sequestrations and Confiscations against Persons for their Attachment to the antient connexion with Great Britain, or against the Estates of such Persons, should be discontinued during the Treaty, and in the progress of the Treaty you will make it a Condition, that they shall be annulled and revoked.

And you are to agree to the same with regard to any similar Proceedings on Our part, if any such shall have taken place against any of our revolted American subjects.

You will also insist that all Persons may reside freely at their dwelling Houses, and remain in quiet possession of their Estates.

That all Churches and Places of legal and tolerated Worship shall be opened, and the Ministers and Congregations protected in the Exercise of their Religion.

It is Our Will and Pleasure that you should make these Demands with due earnestness, even if upon some or all of them there should be found a necessity of relaxing.

Basis of Treaty Condition of 1763.

It being to be understood that the design expressed by Our Subjects in America, to return to their Condition in 1763, is the Principle of the Present Negociation, that Proposition, in general terms, must be agreed to at once. But the Explanation of it will lead into some Discussion, and it is very essential not only to evince the good faith of Great Britain, but, for the successful Result of the Treaty, to proceed by ascertaining in the first place the Demands of Our Subjects in America, and the extent to which We mean to acquiesce in those Demands, reserving the Terms to be proposed to them as a subsequent Consideration.

If they should require any security that the Benefits held out to them by the 11th and 12th Ch. of the 18th of Our Reign, should not be at any future time annulled or revoked, the demand is not to be rejected. But it would be proper to place it in the class of those Demands which have been made to Us and Our Two Houses of Parliament for the Alteration and Improvement of their Constitution, which Great Britain is desirous to consider with the utmost Attention; and it will be reasonable to put them upon proposing the Security they may require.

Contribution.

As to Contribution, it is just and reasonable that you should remind those with whom you treat, that you are led to hope they will now make good, in the Name and on the Part of Our Subjects in America, their own repeated Declarations of their readiness to contribute to the Public Charge, in common with all Our other Subjects, seeing they are to enjoy the Common Privileges of all Our other Subjects; and they are the rather called upon to exercise this Act of Justice, as such Contribution would now be a mere act of free will.

If they are disposed to consider that Idea without prejudice, they will find their advantage in fixing upon a ratio by which the amount of a Contribution may be regulated.

Means of raising Contribution

The sum required will be moderate. It may be taken upon a Ratio of their numbers, their Tonnage, or Exports. The increase of the payment can only be in proportion to the increase of their Abilities; and it becomes the interest of Great Britain to promote the Industry, the Trade, or the Population of Our Subjects in America. If, however, no such specific Measure should be agreed upon, they will probably be easily brought to see that it would be their own Interest to maintain some Force at their own Charge; and as it was granted in the Pre-

liminary Articles, that no standing Army should be raised or kept within the said Colonies, except in the Cases therein mentioned, you may urge the propriety of providing for the Establishment and maintenance of a Provincial Force, Regular or Militia, for the Defence of the said Colonies, the Preservation of the Public Peace, and the Protection and Security of Our Subjects.

Provincial Force proposed.

You will therefore enter into the Consideration, and settle the number of Troops proper to be kept on foot in each Colony, together with all Regulations necessary for the raising, exercising, clothing, and paying the same. But they are to be under Our Command, or under the Command of those whom We may think fit to appoint, and all Commissions are to be in Our Name, and by Our Authority.

Officers to be appointed by The King.

If Obstacles should arise to either of the Modes in which the point of the Contribution to the Common Defence hath been stated, there is still another Mode in which the Proposition may be put.

Other Means of Contribution proposed—

There are Duties payable in the Colonies under Acts of the Legislature, passed long before 1763, to which they never made any objection: the Port Duties, Postage, the Escheats, the forfeited Grants of Lands, and the Quit-Rents. These, tho' not considerable in the state of Collection which will ever prevail while they are to be accounted for here, would form a very considerable Article of Revenue, if collected under a vigilant Authority upon the Spot. In lieu of all these, and upon a cession of them to the respective Colonies, let their Assemblies grant a certain Sum for the Service of the Public, and for a certain Term.

Vizt., by Duties laid before 1763 being ceded, and a certain Sum granted in lieu thereof.

If all these Points should fail, you must then propose to let the question rest in oblivion, and to secure them in fact, by Concessions upon the Repeal of such Acts as you have power to suspend, and such others as they may represent as fit to be repealed. And if the Suspension of the Declaratory Act should be urged as a Condition on their part, you may propose to supersede the necessity of it by a Declaration to be framed upon the close of the whole Treaty of the respective Rights of Great Britain and America.

If these fail, question to rest.

If they propose Repeal of Declaratory Act, refer it to a Declaration to be framed at close of Treaty.

These four Expedients, in the order in which they are placed, will afford you the means of avoiding the difficulties of settling this important and delicate Point. But tho' We have suggested them in this place, you are always to remember that it will be more advantageous to postpone the Discussion of them, or at least the Decision upon them, to the second part of the Treaty, concerning those Terms which may be required from Our Subjects in America.

Better to refer these Propositions as Terms to be required from America.

If, however, they should propose to fall into any other Measures for the purpose of contributing to the Public Charge, in common with all Our other Subjects, or should entertain a prejudice in favour of the mode adopted by their Articles of Confederation lately proposed in Congress, and signed "Henry Laurens, President," you will so frame your Discussions upon that Matter as to facilitate the same, in such Mode as you shall judge most advisable.

To encourage any proposed Mode of theirs for such Contribution.

But if you find them peremptorily fixed on coming to no Resolution favourable to any Proposition of Contribution at all, you, or any Three of you, have hereby Our Royal Authority ultimately to declare your acquiescence.

Contribution not to be, at all Events, a Condition of the Treaty.

The Preservation of their Charters is another Article upon which Our Subjects in America may require some security. It is not to be supposed that they will desire that in no case any alteration shall ever be made in any of their Charters, because it is certain that numbers of them wish some Charters to be materially altered; but if the example of the Repeal of the Act for altering the Government of the Massachusetts Bay, and

Charters.

Our Royal Declaration made, or to be made, in the Preliminaries to this Treaty, are not sufficient to quiet all their alarms on this Head, you may admit, as a stipulation on their part, to be declared by Us and Our Two Houses of Parliament, that no Bill for the alteration of any of the Constitutions of the Colonies shall be brought into Parliament, but upon Petition from the Assembly of such Colony or Colonies, as is declared in the Preliminaries above referred to.

It is to be presumed then, that the Proposition of restoring Our Colonies to the same situation in which they stood in the year 1763, may lead to an examination of the several Acts passed since that Period, of which they have desired a Repeal.

You may therefore consent to the Suspension of all or any part of them, in manner hereinafter mentioned. The 15th Ch. of the 4th of Our Reign, and the 52nd Ch. of the 6th of Our Reign, and the 2nd Ch. of the 7th of Our Reign; as far as these Acts concern the Regulations of Trade, they ought to be postponed to the general head of the advantages of Commerce to be allowed to America, which advantages must be taken up upon a larger view of things, than merely upon the Acts of Our Reign passed since 1763.

The 29th Ch. of the 4th of Our Reign is for the benefit of our Colonies, and falls under the Regulations of Trade.

Paper Bills of Credit not to be legal Tender in private payment.

The 34th Ch. of the 4th of Our Reign regulates and restrains Paper Bills of Credit. It is impossible to agree to so unjust a Regulation, as that Paper Bills of Credit should be a legal Tender in private payment, nor can it be seriously demanded. If the great extent of Paper Currency issued since the rupture began, is urged in support of such an Act, it will be competent to you to point out a mode of relief which we will more fully explain, in the course of these Our Instructions, and which may be adopted for that Evil without the Injustice of admitting so many Creditors to suffer. The Act above-mentioned has been varied and explained by Ch. 35, of the 10th of Our Reign, and the 57th Ch. of the 13th of Our Reign, which, from their date, have also been stated as Grievances, but the Restraint now subsisting extends no farther than strict Justice requires: Bills may be issued, may pass at the Treasury of the particular Colony in which they are issued, but are not to be legal Tender in private Payment. Beyond this Line it cannot be expected that any further Concession should be made, in Justice to private Rights; but this Article need occasion no specific Difficulty in the Settlement of the Treaty. If, on other grounds, the Provincial Legislatures are finally allowed to have the Power of passing Acts of a local Nature, the Regulation of a Paper Currency is one of these Acts, and the Evils which will arise from an improper Exercise of the Power in this Instance are of a sort to correct themselves.

The next Act is the 18th Ch. of the 6th of Our Reign, for quartering Troops. This, which is now expired, and the several Acts continuing it, including the only one that now subsists, are in fact annulled by the Rebellion, and it will become matter of new Regulation to provide for the Military Force to be hereafter maintained in America.

The 41st Ch. of the 7th of Our Reign, and the 46th and 56th of the same Session may likewise be suspended, as may be the 44th Ch. of the 13th of Our Reign. The 22nd Ch. of the 8th of Our Reign, relating to the Courts of Admiralty, may be referred to the Regulations of Trade. The 24th Ch. of the 12th of Our Reign is a general and necessary Law, not pointed at America, but that part of it which affects America it may be proposed to repeal. The 19th Ch. of the 14th of Our Reign is

repealed, as is Ch. 45 of the same Session. The 39th Ch. of the 14th of Our Reign is already expired.

The 10th and 18th Ch. of the 15th of Our Reign, the 5th of the 16th, and the 7th, 9th, and 40th of the 17th of Our Reign are Measures of War, and must be treated as such, and will of course determine on a Peace being established.

The 15th Act of the 15th of Our Reign is also a Measure of War, and is in fact expired. The Law subsisting on this Subject will cease when the Pacification takes place.

The 31st Ch. of the 15th of Our Reign is a Regulation of the Trade of the British European Dominions. The 4th and 19th Sections of it affect America, and you may consent to a Suspension, and treat for a Repeal of them if necessary.

Paper Currency.

One of the most important Objects of these Considerations is the large Quantity of Paper Currency issued since the Beginning of these unfortunate Disputes.

Modes of discharging it.

From the first Opening of the Negociation you will have opportunities of pointing out the Possibility of an immediate Provision for the Liquidation and Discharge of that Debt by various Methods.

By Bank.

It may be proposed to erect a Corporation in America upon the Plan of a Bank, composed of a certain number of Proprietors, subscribing their Shares, to be made in Paper Currency at a certain rate of Depreciation, and converted into the Stock of that Country; the Corporation to receive from each of the British Colonies a certain Annuity towards the Payment of an Interest upon this Fund, and to have the Privilege of a Banking Company, besides which, any other advantages that they may propose, and that can reasonably be granted.

Or by each Colony liquidating its own Paper Bills, &c.

Another Plan may be that each Colony shall proceed to a Liquidation of the Paper Bills issued within its District, and after providing a Fund to discharge the Interest, that the Capital ascertained shall be created into a Fund, to be charged on the Amount of all the American Revenues, and to be paid in Great Britain.

Or creating within itself a particular Fund, &c.

Another Plan may be to leave to each Colony the discharge of its peculiar Debt, by creating within itself a particular Fund to sink the Interest and Principal of the Debt, and to accomplish the payment by Lotteries.

Or by public Treasury.

Or it may be more eligible to adopt the Plan proposed by themselves, in the Articles of Confederation before referred to by us, by which they are to erect a public Treasury, and to assess such Sums themselves, in the Representative Body, as each Colony should pay respectively, each Colony being to raise such Sum in the Mode and Manner they think most convenient and least burthensome.

Best Plan to transfer Fund and Payment to Great Britain.

The best of the Plans seems to be to transfer the Fund and the Payment to Great Britain, provided it can be done without engaging the Credit of this Country beyond the Application of American Duties; and this Plan would also be the most lucrative to the Holders of the Paper.

You are also at Liberty to concert with the Persons with whom you are to treat, the Mode in which the Expense, not only already incurred, but which is to be incurred for the public Service in America, shall be raised from time to time.

Not to consent that Great Britain should pay Charges of War incurred by Colonies. But may facilitate their Payment of that Charge.

But you are not to consent that the Charges of the War, incurred by Our Colonies in America, should, in any manner whatever, be defrayed by Great Britain, though you may concur in any of the above-named Propositions, or in any Measures which may be proposed, and which should appear reasonable to you, for securing and discharging the same by the said Colonies.

Some of the first Offices to be given to Americans.
Or where not Americans, same appointments to be continued on.

The Appointment of Governors being left to you, and the Recommendation to other Situations in your power, if proper persons occur it would be Our Royal Wish that some of the first and most considerable Offices in America should be bestowed on Our American Subjects. Or otherwise, that such Governors and judicial and ministerial Officers, the Appointment and Nomination of whom was received from Us before the Troubles broke out, should continue in their respective Appointments, but with such Variations and Regulations, as well in the Civil and Criminal, as in the Courts of Admiralty, as you shall think most conducive to the due Administration of Justice, and to have the best Tendency to give all reasonable Content and Satisfaction to Our Subjects there.

May ultimately consent Governors to be elective.
King to approve the Election and issue the Commn. to such Govr.
Same Instruction as to all judicial and civil Magistrates.

If it appears to you that no Pacification can take place except upon a Condition that the Office of Governor, which has heretofore in most of the Provinces made a part of Our Royal Prerogative, should become elective, even this Point may in such case, be conceded; but it must always be provided that the Election shall be approved and the Commission to such Governor or Governors issued under Our Authority. And the same Instruction may be understood to extend to the Appointment of all or any Judicial and Civil Magistrates.

Burthensome Offices may be suppressed and others to be granted, under proper Restrictions.

It is also Our Will and Pleasure, for a further Satisfaction to the Minds of Our Subjects in America, that such Offices there, as they can show to be burthensome shall be suppressed; and the Offices held under Us shall be granted under such Restrictions as may secure the Performance of the Duty.

Further advantages must depend upon advantages they will yield to Gt. Britain.

The Advantages that may be offered to Our Subjects of America at large, beyond the Renewal of the Rights they formerly exercised, and as an Improvement of their Situation, must in some Measure depend upon the terms they are willing, on their part, to yield to Great Britain.

Custom-house Officers would in fact be Officers of the Province.
Appointment of certain Custom-house Officers to be in the Assemblies.

If a proper Contribution could be obtained, it is obvious that all Laws of Revenue would then be reduced into a very small Compass. The Custom-house Officers, though appointed by Us, would in truth be Officers of the Province, to whose Treasury the Amount of the Duties would be carried; and if they desired the Appointment, in such Case, to be by their Assemblies, there seems to be no Objection to give this Testimony of a desire on Our part to comply with their Wishes.

Admiralty Courts.

The Admiralty Courts may be restrained in such manner as will satisfy Our Subjects in America, as far as it can be made consistent with a reasonable Security, and an impartial Administration of Justice on the subject matter of such Jurisdiction in Causes maritime.

Trade.

An Extension of the Trade of America would also be an Object that might be very fairly put in Discussion. The Principle of the Act of Navigation, and of the 22nd Ch. of the 7th and 8th of King William has been relaxed in favour of many Articles of American Production, which are allowed to be carried directly to an European Market upon condition only of touching at an English Port.

It is impossible to foresee the particular Demands which may made to you in behalf of particular Branches of Trade. This only We direct you to observe in general, that no Check should be given to any of them. One caution however, should be attended to, that of all Advantages, that of Bounties should be the least favoured.

Bounties to be least favoured.

Upon the subject of Commercial Regulations, the prevailing Principle has always been to secure a Monopoly of American Commerce.

The Fetters of Custom-house Regulations are but a weak Security for this Monopoly in Practice, and it should seem that the most effectual way to insure its Continuance would be to lay, upon Articles of foreign Produce, not imported from Great Britain, the Amount of the Provincial Duties, whether collected for general or local purposes. This is a Point to be watched in the course of the Treaty; and if there is, on the one hand, a Relaxation from antient Restraints, that new Stipulation may reasonably be required on the other. The Articles agreed upon by you, under the Head of Regulations of Trade, must necessarily pass into an Act of Parliament, and to avoid the Revival of any Question upon Right and Authority, a Representation from our Colonies may precede the Act.

Lay upon foreign Produce the Amount of Provincial Duties.

These Regulations must be subject to Act of Parliament.

Representation from the Colonies may precede the Act.

There are, however, some advantages, unconnected with this Subject, which you will have in your power to offer immediately.

The Regulation of the Judicatures in America is a Point in which it would be very easy to improve the Condition of Our Subjects there, but upon which it is very difficult to give pointed Instructions. They have objected to the Judges holding Commissions during good Behaviour. If they are disposed to think differently, and also to give an independent Provision to the Judges, there could be no Objection on Our part to giving them Commissions, if they are to receive their Commissions from Us, during good Behaviour.

Judges Independent.

You will likewise acquiesce in any just and proper Regulations that may be proposed relative to the Courts of Justice, and the Mode of Practice there, and to such Regulations as you may think proper, to render Appeals to Us more speedy and less expensive.

Practice of Courts of Justice to be Regulated.

If it should be proposed that a general Assembly, in nature of the present Congress, or similar thereto, consisting of Delegates from the said several Colonies, should be constituted or established by Authority, to meet in Congress for the better Management of the general Concerns and Interests of the said Colonies, you are not to decline entering into the Consideration of the said Proposal, and to see whether any such Plan can be so settled and digested as to contribute to the Welfare of Our Colonies, and preserve and secure their Connection with Great Britain. But the greatest attention should be given that, in ascertaining the Powers and Functions of that Assembly, the Sovereignty of the Mother Country should not be infringed, nor any Powers given or ascribed to it that should be capable of being construed into an Impeachment of the Sovereign Rights of His Majesty, and the Constitutional Control of this Country. And if it should appear to you that such a Plan may be formed as shall be likely to serve the good Purpose of establishing a lasting Confidence and Reconciliation, yet, after it shall be so digested and matured, as it will make so great an alteration in the Constitution of America, it may be more advisable, if Circumstances will admit, to refer the Approbation of it to the Legislature of Great Britain, previous to inserting it as a concluded Article of the Treaty.

If it should be desired that Our Subjects in America should have any share of Representation in Our House of Commons, such a Proposal

To admit Representation in

House of Commons.

may be admitted by you, so far as to refer the same to the Consideration of Our two Houses of Parliament; and it will be proper that in stating such a Proposition, the Mode of Representation, the number of the Representatives, which ought to be very small, and the Considerations offered on their Part, in Return for so great a Distinction and Benefit, should be precisely and distinctly stated.

Arrears of Quit Rents to be given up.

You may also offer to Our American Subjects a Release from Us of all Arrears of Quit Rents whatever.

Pardon, Amnesty, Indemnity.

And it is Our Royal Intention that a full Pardon, without any Exception, should be offered to all that have been in Rebellion. An Amnesty, and also an Indemnity, shall follow such Pardon.

Trial of Treason in some place adjoining.

And finally, as the Trial in England of Treasons committed Abroad, tho' unquestionably legal, has been a Matter of Complaint to Our Subjects in America, you may treat of, and agree upon any Law to be proposed to Us and Our two Houses of Parliament, similar to that which has been occasionally made in England, in times of Rebellion, authorizing a Trial out of the County, where the Treason hath been committed, but in some place adjoining, where Justice may conveniently be administered.

Obtain Contribution.

In return for all you give, you are, if possible, to attain a reasonable Contribution and Compensation directly from the several Provinces.

Duty on Foreign Articles.

A Duty to be imposed on all Articles not British, or sent from Britain.

Do. on Foreign Trade of America.

A Duty on the Foreign Trade of America paid in Europe, if it shall be further extended.

These are all the Demands that immediately affect the Revenue of Great Britain; but the Honour and Security of Great Britain require other Terms, equally important. For instance:

Restoration of Rights and Compensation for Losses.

A Restoration of all Rights of Private Property, and a full Restitution for all Violations of such Rights, in the most ample manner, ought to be made good by the said Colonies; and perhaps the most eligible Method might be of adding the Amount of such Losses to the Debt contracted by the said Colonies during the War, and discharged in the same manner, unless some more speedy and advantageous Method could be pointed out for discharging the same.

Memorials and Petitions of Merchants and Proprietors of Lands referred to Commissrs.

Many particular Cases of Distress and Losses sustained by Our British Merchants and Proprietors of Estates, during these Commotions, have excited Our most serious Attention and Concern; and you will receive with these Instructions several Memorials on this Head, to which you will give all possible Consideration; and throughout the whole Progress of this Treaty, as far as Circumstances will admit, you will anxiously lay hold of every Opportunity to exert every means of providing for them that Relief which Justice requires, and which it is Our earnest Wish to obtain in their Behalf.

Care of Clergy.

It is likewise to be observed that the Conduct of the Clergy of the Church of England has been so worthy of the Profession and Principles inculcated by the Doctrine which has ever distinguished it amongst all the Reformed Churches, that particular Attention must be paid to the Care of all established Clergymen dispossessed of their Benefices, and for the Preservation of their just Rights, in the respective Colonies where there is an established Maintenance provided for the Clergy. It must, therefore, be your particular Care, and We do especially recommend it to you, to attend to every possible Occasion of repairing their Losses, and establishing their Situations in the same Condition in which they formerly held them.

It should also be agreed, amongst those Points which they should concede to us, that no Vessels of War should be kept up but such as shall be employed and commissioned by Us. No Vessels of War but those commissioned by the King.

All Forts and Fortifications should be delivered up to Us, and the Command of them should be in such Governors, or Officers, as We shall, from time to time, appoint, garrisoned, however, by American Troops. Command of Forts and Fortifications to be in the King.

No Coin should be struck, or Coinage established, but by Our Orders, and in Our Name. Coin in the King.

All Prisoners of War, and Persons in Custody, should be discharged. Prisoners of War and Persons in Custody discharged.

As to the Declaration of Independence dated the 4th of July 1776, and all Votes, Resolutions, and Orders passed since the Rupture began, it is not necessary to insist on a formal Revocation of them, as such Declaration, Votes, Orders and Resolutions, not being legal Acts, will be in effect rescinded by the Conclusion of the Treaty. Declaration of Independence need not be rescinded.

Supposing upon the whole that the Negociation should fall chiefly into the Hands of the Congress, it will still be highly expedient, before the Close of the Negociation, that the several Assemblies should be called. Assemblies should be called.

The proper Time to propose this would be when the material Concessions on the Part of Great Britain are settled, and when it becomes necessary to fix Terms on the Part of America. To give Sanction and Effect to these Terms, each Legislature should empower Persons to engage on behalf of the Colonies, as it is proposed to do by the Articles of Confederation before mentioned. When.

As it is impossible to foresee and enumerate all the Matters which may arise during such an Inquiry, you are not to consider these Instructions as precluding you from entering into the Examination and Decision of any Matters not contained herein, nor of any additional Circumstances relative to such Things as are the Subject Matter of these Instructions. But you are at Liberty to proceed upon every Matter within the Compass of your Commission, and to give all possible satisfaction to the minds of Our Subjects in America, consistent with that degree of Connection which is essentially necessary for preserving the Relation between Us and Our Subjects there. These Instructions not to preclude other Matters of Discussion.

Lastly. If there should be a reasonable Prospect of bringing the Treaty to a happy Conclusion, you are not to lose so desirable an End, by breaking off the Negociation on the Adverse Party absolutely insisting on some point which you are hereby directed, or which, from your own Judgment and Discretion, you should be disposed, not to give up or yield to, provided the same be short of open and avowed Independence (except such Independence as relates only to the Purpose of Treaty). Not to break off Treaty on adverse Party insisting on some Points directed not to be given up.

But in such Case you will suspend coming to any final Resolution till you shall have received Our further Orders thereupon. But wait for further Orders.

And you are upon all Occasions to send unto Us, by One of Our Principal Secretaries of State, a particular Account of all your Proceedings, relative to the great Object of these Our Instructions, and to such other Objects as as you may think worthy of Our Royal Attention.—G.R.

Original, 32 *pages, large folio. Also an imperfect copy of the same, in the Commissioners' Letter-book.*

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

1778, April, Portsmouth.—Several letters written while he was waiting for a favourable wind to sail to America. In one of them he says:

We almost long to be aboard in order to have good provisions, which is a circumstance you will wonder at, but the alternative is in this town to be either starved or poisoned. The insolence of the people is only equal to their dirt and imposition. Mr. Lewes was obliged to beat the landlord last night, which he did greatly to the satisfaction of everybody.

After going on board the "Trident" he writes:—I slept in spite of the noise of twenty sailors walking immediately over my head; my cot was swinging backwards and forwards all night, which did not disconcert me so much as I should have expected. We breakfast at eight, dine at two, sup at ten, and are in bed by eleven—very wholesome hours.

In another letter: We are above six hundred of us in this small space [the ship]. In another: We are just come from church; our crew make a numerous congregation. I cannot say a great deal for the sermon, nor do I believe it would have suited your taste, who are so good a judge of that kind of writing.

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

1778, April 24 to June 17.—A long letter in the form of a diary, giving an account of his experiences on his voyage [on board the "Trident"] from England to America, and on his arrival. Extracts follow.

April 28.—Your father's [Lord Gower] illness made it very difficult for me to talk upon business to him, but the first letter I write to him I shall desire it may be considered that even if the business succeeds, I undertook the Commission only for the time limited by Parliament, which is one year. His situation as a Minister and his personal connexion with Lord Sandwich may prevent any difficulties I may be put to upon that subject. What I mean by his connexion with Lord S. [is] that he may very much facilitate our return in a safe and honourable manner in case of a war—or that we may stay long enough to hear from England on the subject—by the orders that must be issued to the Admiralty for that purpose. If it should be thought prudent to bring you these three thousand miles across this watery waste, you know Ekins has offered to accompany you, but I cannot myself conceive anything that can detain us. For if we *do not* succeed, we have nothing to do in America. If we *do*, all the great essential points must be settled in a short time, and it will be too unreasonable a request to wish us to remain to arrange every possible difficulty that may grow out of such a business; they may be without number, and require ages to dispose of them; besides, I conceive they may be easily given to the management of our successors in inferior situations. . . .

April 29.—Nine sail of ships were so uncivil that they refused all our solicitations to have some conversation with them; they fairly turned back and seemed either to fear or dislike us, very much without reason. The custom is always, upon the sight of any sail which bespeaks any force, to prepare the ship for action, clean the decks, put the men to the guns, beat to arms, and a thousand formalities that appear very serious. The bedding of all the crew is placed upon the

decks to defend the men from the shot of the small arms, and some is placed above for the protection of those who are there. Frederick's bed was not exempted, and when he proposed to retire to rest he found that his bed was at the mast-head, and had been there all the evening in a violent rain.

May 11.—Our weather is very warm, but considering the latitude we are now in, nothing more than we had reason to expect. I have this morning walked over the ship; the heat and stink below is beyond all description; I was obliged to run up for air in a few moments, and yet some hundred poor wretches are obliged to pass half their lives in those infernal regions, and would not part with their existence more easily than a macaroni with all the air of Hyde Park to breathe in, and [a] thousand nosegays to smell to. . . .

May 17.—. . . . We are told we shall find New York* very hot, and the gnats extremely troublesome. You know what enemies they are of mine, and however we may establish a peace in America with everything besides, with the gnats it will be perpetual war. . . . .

May 18.—I have said nothing to you about Dr. Fergurson (*sic*),† Governor Johns[t]one's friend; he is a very plain, mild, and sensible man. Extremely well behaved, Mr. Lewes answers the character fully that was given of him, and I consider myself very lucky in receiving Sir John Stepney's recommendation. Storer has regained his spirits with his health, contrives to play at whist about 6 hours in 12, and sleeps the other 12.‡ Lord Cornwallis and myself are contented with about three rubbers, which fill up the evening pretty well, with some reading and walking.

May 27.—This has been a day of events. In the first place we have a fair wind, which we have not had for a month, for there is a wide difference between a fair wind and a favourable wind. An east wind is the only fair wind. In the morning we were told of three vessels that appeared ahead, and as we were very eager not only on account of our hopes that they might be English lately come from America, and capable of giving us interesting information, but also to compare our longitude, and ascertain our distance from shore, we gave them chase from five o'clock in the morning, and came up with them about twelve. It proved to be Captain Witworth with an American and a French prize. He came on board of us, but could give us little intelligence, except that General Clinton and Lord Howe were both at Philadelphia, a circumstance which has made us alter our course, and steer for that place. An immediate communication with the two Commanders-in-chief was necessary, and we effect it by these means many days sooner.

. . . .

June 4.—At last this great business is accomplished; we are safe at anchor in the Delaware. The fog was so thick yesterday morning that though we found ground the night before by our soundings, we had little hopes of making land that day, but about 12 o'clock the day cleared and land was discovered at the mast-head. You must have been seven weeks confined in so close a prison as a ship before you know the feel that the sight of land occasions. This entrance into America is indeed magnificent. Where we now are I should suppose is above fifteen miles broad. We see by our glasses the shore covered with pines, and some farmhouses, which seem to be made of wood; the country is very low,

* This shows that their destination was New York.

† Elsewhere called secretary to Gov. Johnstone—"a sensible man and a cool man."

‡ In other places the writer mentions Mr. and Mrs. Eden, who suffered much from sea-sickness.

and no ways beautiful. We found a frigate who (*sic*) is stationed to protect the pilots; she slipped her cable and shewed the way in, as the channel is intricate.

We lay at anchor near the Pearl frigate, Capt. Lindsey, who is just come on board, and sends a tender up to Philadelphia to acquaint Lord Howe and Governor Henry Clinton with our arrival, which removes many difficulties we were under upon that subject. Everybody congratulates us on the shortness of our passage. . . . .

Now we are safe, I shall tell you a circumstance which occasioned a good deal of alarm at St. Helen's in the ship. A discovery was made one morning that two of the most material ropes were attempted to be cut during the night. If it had not been found out till the wind began to blow, the consequence would have been that the mainmast would have come down, and when covered with men. The accident would have been most dreadful, as in all probability numbers must have lost their lives, and the ship [been] in great danger, and absolutely incapable of pursuing her voyage without going back into dock. The rope by which the bowsprit is sustained also was attempted. We offered a reward of one hundred pounds upon discovery of the offender, but to no purpose. Nothing [none] ever was made; only the villain must have been an experienced sailor, as he might have cut half the ropes of the ship without damaging her essentially. So we had the comfort of sailing with perhaps another John the Painter on board, or a person capable of risking everything, when the stopping us was the object. Perhaps it may be cleared up some day or another, but at present we are in the dark in regard to the intentions of the person who committed the action. He could not endanger us without sharing the danger; which always inclined me to think that he did not mean so ill as some were of opinion he did. But it is not worth thinking about now.

Philadelphia, Monday.*—We arrived here safe on Saturday night, after spending a very pleasant day in sailing up in a small vessel this magnificent river. The country near was in many respects very beautiful—covered with wood, and to all appearance extremely rich; many farmhouses, though not much cultivation, owing perhaps to so many people being drained by war. We passed in this voyage above 300 sail of different shipping. There is a necessity of having a chain of armed vessels at the distance of a few miles to protect the navigation, for I am grieved to tell you both sides of the river are in possession of the enemy, who are all armed, and absolutely prevent all intercourse whatever with the land. Our small sloop was armed with four-pounders, and had nothing to fear. We found to our surprise that the preparations were nearly perfected for the leaving Philadelphia with the whole army, but we hope to have some answer from the Congress before the necessary time for the troops to quit the place. The distress of individuals is very affecting, but we are not witnesses to the most calamitous scenes. The transports and other vessels are filled with families from this place, who must fly from this town, and have only the choice of ruin in some other place to certain death if they remain here when the enemy take possession.

I have one of the best houses for my quarters. The gentleman to whom it belongs has still an apartment in it; he is perfectly civil, though I feel distressed in coming into his house without asking his leave, and placing a couple of sentries at the door. But if I was not to inhabit it, some other person would take possession (for everything

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* June 8

here is under military law), and not take so much care of his furniture, which is very expensive, or treat him with so much civility.

June 10.—I have been with the General on horseback this morning as far as German Town, which is about eight miles distant—six miles beyond our possessions. In order to do this safely we took advantage of some strong detachments to the amount of about 2,000 men, who were sent forward into the country to protect the market people, who could not otherwise come near the city with provisions. German Town, you remember, is remarkable for the action in which Major Musgrave defended himself in a house against cannon as well as small arms of the enemy. I went into the house, which retains convincing proofs that the defence was of a very extraordinary nature. We saw at a little distance a small number of the enemy, who were too wise to come any nearer.

I shall now finish this long letter, and I think it time that I should. Every vessel is coming down the river, and the town will be completely evacuated by tomorrow. We left Philadelphia the day before yesterday, lay abcard a miserable vessel in the open air, which was rather hazardous, and now are in our old house, the "Trident," lying off Newcastle, about 40 miles below the city. If Lord Howe comes down tonight we shall sail for New York tomorrow. You will hear from me again soon. Our business wears a miserable appearance. This evacuation of the town makes it desperate in my opinion, with other circumstances that I shall soon be more at liberty to mention. . . . .

Off Newcastle, on board the "Trident," June 17, 1778.

Holograph; 14 *pages.*

Queries [by Lord Carlisle ?] and Replies [by William Eden].

[1778, April or after.]—Whether the Conciliatory Bills were sent to America previous to Mr. Eden's acceptation and the date of their departure.—They were.

What was the date of our first meeting with Lord North?—March 13th.

When did the Bills pass for the appointment of Commissioners?—About 12th March.

The date of Clinton's first orders?—12th March.

The date of his second?—22nd.

The date of our Instructions?—12th April.

Of our second meeting at Lord North's?—29th March.

Governor Johnstone's acceptance?—April 1st.

The queries seem to be in the hand of a Secretary (Mr. Lewis?). The replies are in Eden's hand.*

Paper by Lord Carlisle.

1778, May 6.—A paper without title, but endorsed: Heads of Accommodation taken from papers perused May the 6th on board the "Trident," 1778; submitted by G[overno]r J[ohnstone].

15–1. The present Governments to remain. But the King to name a Governor out of these.

5–2. Judges and all civil officers to be named by them; care being taken of the rights of patent officers. Courts of Admiralty for prizes only.

10–3. No negative on acts of Assembly, except such as affect the trade of G[reat] B[ritain], or the trade of any other Colony. But no

* This is in the same hand as the copies of June 17 and Aug. 14, and the extract on p. 362.

negative as to acts for the prohibition of Negroes, or for establishing paper currency, if not made a legal tender in private payments. All acts to be transmitted for due notification. Acts prohibiting luxuries affecting all countries equally to pass without negative.

9–4. No appeals to Privy Council except in prize cases from Courts of Admiralty in time of war.

6–5. Congress to subsist; its powers to be defined. The King to name a president.

7–6. No taxes to be imposed, nor no military force kept up without consent of Assemblies. Officers to have commissions from his Majesty, subject to being removed on address of Assembly.

8–7. The ungranted lands and quit rents to be given to the Colonies upon an equivalent.

4–8. To have a free trade from all places, but not to interfere with the grants to exclusive companies now subsisting. No Officers of Customs to subsist.

13–9. To have Representatives to Parliament.

3–10. Mutual amnesty. Mutual restitution. Mutual compensation for wanton damage.

1–11. Immediate cessation of hostilities by Sea and Land.

16–12. The King is and shall be the only supreme Governor, and to have power of war and peace and alliances after the present general pacification.

16–13. All judicial proceedings and acts of Governments, and new grants of lands and other legal instruments, to run as formerly in his name.

11–14. Forces to be annually voted for defence of Colonies, and paid by them. Officers to have commissions from the King, and removable as above, on address.

12–15. A contribution to be so settled as to increase with their growth.

14–16. All bounties, drawbacks, and prohibitions in their favour to cease.

5–17. The expense of their own civil Government to be paid by them.

2–18. All hostile resolutions of theirs to be annulled.

In Lord Carlisle's hand.

PAPER by LORD CARLISLE.

1778, May 6.—A paper headed: Some observations upon the paper delivered by G[overno]r J[ohnstone].

Article 1st. If they be content with their present Governments, little objection occurs to this article, as the constitutions of those governments are essentially different; any union injurious to G[reat] B[ritain] seems to threaten less by leaving them their antient forms.

2. It is supposed they mean to purchase up all the patent places. As the duties will be abolished, the Courts of Admiralty will want no other power. (Q. *in the margin.*)

3. In regard to the prohibition of luxuries, great care must be taken in making out the most accurate definition of what are luxuries.

4. As far as relates to the Privy Council, requires much consideration.

5. (Blank.)

6. In regard to the military force, *vide* instructions. The removal on address. Q.

(Blank space.)

16. All bounties, &c. to cease. This seems to [be] inserted more with an intention to weaken or rather deprive us of the argument, that G. B. has been to her own prejudice regardful in many instances of the advantange of her Colony's (*sic*), and has sacrificed her own interest to theirs. For though it may be politically true that it is for the advantage of every growing (?) state to come by degrees to the enjoyments of luxuries, &c., and that it should have as few things as possible but its own productions, where Nature will admit, yet it must be still insisted upon that it has been assisted by us, though that assistance might not have [been] exactly of the kind a philosophic Legislator would have permitted his country to have required in that stage of her existence, or to have accepted.

Draft in Lord Carlisle's hand.

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

[1778,] May 10, Sunday.—We are all well, and till now have had fair winds. I have only time to tell you that we see a French ship, which perhaps will bear this to you. I have [a] longer letter wrote to you which I shall send by some safer conveyance than a Frenchman. I am in hopes every day to meet one of our own ships, which will take care of anything delivered to its charge. We have passed the banks of Newfoundland, and had what the sailors call the finest run for the first 12 days ever known; we came in those 12 days near two thousand miles. I have suffered less from sea-sickness than anybody. . . . The Captain will not let me write any more.

Paper by Lord Carlisle.

1778, June 1.—A paper without title, but endorsed: Hints of general reasoning from which to form our letter to the Congress. "Trident," June 1st, '78.

At the opening of this solemn and important business some explanation must of necessity be required from us of the general purport and intention of our mission. I shall endeavour to lay before this assembly its real object in the plainest and simplest manner in my power.

To offer Peace to America upon terms honourable and beneficial for her to embrace; to stay the hand of slaughter and desolation; to apply effectual remedy to every grievance, to quiet all anxiety upon such as exist only in jealousy, prejudice, and apprehension; to fix the happiness, security, and future welfare of G. B. and her Colonies upon a firmer basis than can ever be erected by the precarious events of an impoverishing war; to cover again this extent of ocean with the united commerce of both nations; and to establish for ever that union, which neither the acts, the envy, or the rage of any power of the world shall be able to shake; has induced our country to invest us with powers too extensive to be intrusted to individuals, but for the sacred purpose of restoring tranquillity and stopping the effusion of human blood.

The means employed to effect these salutary ends will be on our part *sincerity*, *good-faith*, unreserved *confidence*; sober investigation of every question that may arise in the course of this business; no time, application, or labour denied to anything that may promote them.

But in these endeavours, success depends not solely upon ourselves. Your exertions are equally necessary. Your love of your country, your anxious care of its interests, your compassion for its sufferings, your honest zeal for its future glory, your fears for its declension will, we

are persuaded, incline you to meet us with equal fairness and alacrity upon this ground of negociation which now lays open before us. And may that Deity who delights not in the miseries of those he has created, receive before we part the noblest worship that the imagination of man can rise to, the most acceptable offering that can be placed upon his Altars, a public, solemn, and unfeigned renewal of friendship and affection, a virtuous oblivion[2] of mutual animosity and a[1] generous forgiveness of reciprocal injury.

If the evident perils to which every people are liable in constructing new governments, or what is in reality more hazardous, the forming a number of new governments, like the states of Greece, in the dangerous neighbourhood of each other, are not sufficient to deter any nation from wantonly abandoning that under which they have enjoyed, and will, if they do not inconsiderately turn away from their own interests, again enjoy, every happiness: if the transitory and deceitful protection and support of a nation as [so] notorious for its perfidy and tyranny, who must hate you, if you assert a freedom they dare not taste of themselves; in whose noxious connection your posterity, if not yourselves, will imbibe every baleful principle of slavery; whose intercourse will only furnish you with examples of submission; whose manners will imperceptibly introduce the slow and palatable poison of luxurious inactivity,* blast every active principle of life, and wither you in your bloom of youth and freedom; is to be preferred to the reconnection with that country, whose similarity of language, ancient manners, adopted customs, established legislature, and religion might be supposed to carry with them some attachments: nothing more can be required from our hands; G[reat] B[ritain] has not a concession left beyond these offers for reconciliation which we are commissioned to lay before you. They are adequate to every demand that America either in the hour of moderation, anger, or *triumph* has thought fit to make. They are adequate to every requisition which she has most publicly and repeatedly declared would satisfy her by the obtaining. And it will require more sophistry than a generous people will deign to make use of, to prove that the rejection of such offers is not a departure from the most solemn national protestations, and from every principle which was the avowed direction of their conduct.

Remains to show in what manner they quit the former ground on which they stood, and by becoming the allies of the House of Bourbon, they become our most dangerous enemies; must be treated as such; that they must lose every advocate who supported them in the rectitude of their resistance; and that the calamities of a most bloody war will [be] the consequences of their treatment of our proposals.

In Lord Carlisle's hand, and endorsed by him.

Lord Geo. Germain to the British Commissioners.

1778, June 3, Whitehall.—My Lords and Sirs,—I send you by the King's command a printed copy of His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament at the conclusion of the Session, this day.

Addressed: Commissioners to consult and agree upon the means of quieting Disorders subsisting in North America.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle.

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* These two words appear to have been changed into "luxury."

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

[1778,] June 14, Philadelphia.—This evacuation of the town (for it is to be left directly, and the troops to go to New York across the Jerseys) will not give us much assistance in our business. In case the Congress was not inclined to come into measures, we wished to have desired them to consider that so fine an army, so disciplined, so healthy, so everything, might possibly be of some inconvenience to them if they rejected our proposals; but for some wise purposes, which we are not acquainted with, this fine army is to be of no inconvenience to them whatever. This circumstance will be some day explained, and at present we depend as much upon Fortune as anything else for success. We all look very grave, and perhaps we think we look wise. I fear nobody will think so when we return. As I begin to think our business nearly over, I don't see what we have to do here. . . .

Lord Carlisle to Lord G[owe]r.

1778, June , Philadelphia.—I shall begin this letter to your Lordship by giving reasons for changing the place of our destination, which was W.N. (?),* and for making use of those powers contained in our instructions which didn't limit us to any particular port, but left us at liberty to use our discretion upon that subject.

On the 27th of May, at leagues from land, we fell in with Capt. Whitworth of his M[ajesty's] brig the Stanley, who informed us that he had left the Delavare (*sic*) about 13 days, and that the two commanders in chief were then in the city of Philadelphia. As an immediate communication with them was absolutely necessary before we could take any step whatever in the opening of the Commission, and not having any intimation before we left England of intended operations of the army,† or whether the commanders were‡ to act under positive orders, or as situation (?) and circumstances required, and our great object being evidently an interview with them as soon as possible, we did not hesitate to steer immediately for the Delaware, and arrived at Philadelphia the 1st of this month.

We here were informed that every measure relative to this campaign was determined upon long before our departure from England, and that the evacuation of Philadelphia was not to be delayed, because such a delay would materially affect other objects, that you are at this time sufficiently apprised of. The evacuation of this city might of necessity have been preparatory (?) to any variety (?) of active operation which the Gen[eral]§ might have thought fit to adopt; on this account we were neither (?) surprised [n]or alarmed when we first (?) heard such a measure was intended; but when we found that the abandoning this part of the country, and leaving Gen[eral] Washinton without endeavouring to bring him to action, and the retiring before him through (?) the Jerseys (?) to N[ew] Y[ork], was only to expedite a plan, which I dare not hint at from motives of prudence, we were not only astound[ed] and [but ?] extremely alarmed for the fate of our Commission.‖

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* Not "N. Y."

† "Whether Sir H. Clinton might conceive, nor had anything to lead me to guess," struck out.

‡ "Sir H. C. was" struck out.

§ "in his prudence" struck out.

‖ The order from Great Britain for evacuating Philadelphia, &c., was dated 21st March, and was not communicated to the Commissioners. *See* Minutes by Mr. William Eden and Lord Carlisle, 29th July, in Stevens's Facsimiles, Nos. 508, 509.

There are some circumstances I must beg leave to mention which unfortunately meet in this moment to interrupt the good effects that otherwise might have been produced by our mission.

[1]st. A Law is unfortunately just passed in this province to confiscate the property of every person in [on ?], I think it is before, 3rd of July, who does not take the oath of Allegiance; and there is no doubt but this will be most rigorously exacted from the inhabitants when we depart from them.

In order to fulfil the intentions of Government, all the ships have been of necessity withdrawn from the Cheasapeak (?). I need not innumerate the great advantages that the enemy must derive from the supplies that will pour in by open navigation of this river.

To add to this, Mr. Dean has had an excellent passage to A[merica], and landed some time before us in Lasco Bay, with all the darling allurements of the French treaty and connection.

These circumstances reduced us to infinite difficulty. We foresaw little probability of success by any application to the Congress, yet we were not sorry to arrive at this moment and place, because that little chance of success we consider to be greatly diminis[h]ed, when it became no longer doubtful to the enemy that defensive not offensive measures were to be pursued. Taking advantage, therefore, of the uncertainty that might perplex the opposite party, since (?) the preparations to evacuate afforded too much light, and betrayed perhaps too clearly [the] intention of the army, we resolved to make use of the little time that was allotted us in making such offers to the Congress as we should not have thought prudent to display in any other circumstances. Our letter both to the Congress and to Lord Geo. G[ermain] will undoubted[ly] be troublesome to you: the letter contains much similar reasoning to this, but I shall trouble you with this, because they (*sic*) may be detained from your sight by your being in the country.

When we write after the receipt of our answers from Congress, which will hardly reach us before our departure to New York, which will immediately take place, we shall enter into a longer detail, and more particular, and as we have restrained ourselves in some arguments on which the justification of our conduct depends, if any justification it requires, from an apprehension that (a more liberal disclosure*) any discussion of proposed operations of this campaign may be premature on your side of the water. A short time may unfetter us in this particular, and permit us (which for our own sakes we should wish to do in this moment)† to acquaint A[d]min[istration ?] and the pu[b]lic (?) what the motives were which laid us under the necessity of acting in the manner we have done.

Rough draft in Lord Carlisle's hand, and endorsed by him: Heads of a letter to Ld. Gr., Philadelphia, June '78.

W. H. Drayton to the Printers of the Pensilvania Gazette (enclosing letters of Governor Johnstone and President Henry Laurens).

1778, June 17, York Town.—Gentlemen,—While I regret that Governor Johnstone has thought it proper to write private letters into these States, upon the subject of his public commission, and highly respect the determination of Congress to prevent private correspondence

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* These words were probably intended to be struck out.

† This clause is partly struck out.

with the enemy; I think I render a satisfactory service to the public in laying the following letters before them. The answer was written immediately after the receipt of Governor Johnstone's letter, but was not sent as was intended. However, thinking it too valuable to be lost, I prevailed upon my friend the President to allow it to be published with the letter which gave occasion to it. I now send them for publication, and am

Gentlemen,
Your most humble servant,
York Town, June 17th, 1778. W. H. Drayton.

(Private.) Pensylvania, July 4th (*sic*).

Philadelphia, June 10th, 1778.

Dear Sir,—I beg to transfer to my friend Doctor Ferguson the private civilities which my friends Mr. Manning and Mr. Oswald request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmost probity, and in the highest esteem in the Republic of Letters.

If you should follow the example of Britain in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope from private friendship that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request in any way you shall point out. I am, with great regard,

Dear Sir,
Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
G. Johnstone.

His Excellency
Henry Laurens, Esq.,
President of Congress.

York Town, June 14th, 1778.

Dear Sir,—Yesterday I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning. Had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shewn the gentleman every degree of respect and attention that times and circumstances admit of.

It is, Sir, for Great Britain to determine whether the Commissioners shall return unheard by the Representatives of the United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end; terms from which, although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts, and that from the rage of war the good people of these States shall be driven to commence a treaty westward of yonder mountains; and permit me to add, Sir, as my humble opinion, the true interest of Great Britain, in the present advance of our contest, will be found in confirming our Independence.

Congress at no time have been haughty; but to suppose that their minds are less firm in the present than they were when destitute of foreign aid, were without expectation of an Alliance, when upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation in their House of Worship, and in presence of God, they resolved:—

"To hold no Conference or Treaty with any Commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a Preliminary thereunto,

either withdraw their Fleets and Army, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the Independence of these States."
would be irrational.

At a proper time, Sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a personal attention, and by contributing to render every part of the States agreeable to you; but until the basis of mutual confidence shall be established, I believe, Sir, neither former private friendship nor any other consideration can influence Congress to consent that even Governor Johnstone, a gentleman who has been so deservedly esteemed by America, shall see the country. I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But let me entreat you, my dear Sir, do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whose kindness I have obtained the honour of the present correspondence, or that I am not with great personal respect and esteem,

Sir,
Your most obedient
and most humble servant,

The Honble. Geo. Johnstone, Esqr. HENRY LAURENS.
Phyladelphia.

Copies.

LORD CARLISLE to the DUCHESS OF ——.

1778, June 18, Trident.—We had a voyage of six weeks, attended with no circumstance worthy of observation. We are now in our way from Philadelphia to New York, where we expect to receive the answer of the Congress to a letter we have sent them, offering them very liberal terms of accommodation. But if they refuse everything we offer, it is not *our* faults; we have done our *duty*; it is not upon us that the vengeance of an injured country, or what is worse, *your* displeasure is to fall. This is a miserable life—always at sea, and plagued to death with business, from which I fear no possible good can arise. You have the best heart in the world, and it would tear it to pieces to be witness to what I now see from my cabin window—all our ships, to the amount of above 300, transporting the miserable inhabitants of Philadelphia to some place where they may afford them a temporary support and protection from those they have offended by favouring our cause in this dispute. . . .

LORD CARLISLE to LADY CARLISLE.

1778, June 21, on board the "Trident," River Delaware; to July 7. —We are at anchor again in the middle of this prodigious fleet; we were all under sail together this morning, and a finer sight cannot be conceived. The sun was very bright, the banks of the river covered with wood of considerable size, delightfully broken with farms scattered about, and a light breeze just sufficient to set us all in motion. The "Trident" ran aground, which occasioned some confusion, but we soon got her off. The getting all these ships down the river will be a very slow business; we want to get clear of them, but all these smaller vessels beat us with light airs; if we could once get to sea, and it should happen to blow, we should run away from them very quick. If the wind is not favourable to us, the army will get to New York before us; I had a great inclination to have gone with them, but there were objections, and so I did not press it.

The gnats in this part of the river are as large as sparrows; I have armed myself against them by wearing trousers, which is the constant dress of this country. There is another part of dress which I have not adopted, because I do not see the immediate use of it, which is, wearing a great number of feathers in my hat. In Philadelphia I believe the Commissioners and the Quakers were the only people who did not embrace this fashion. 'Tis time enough for the Commissioners to be feathered, when they get a little tar with them to make them stick.

We begin to look upon our business as desperate; the answer from the Congress will finally settle this matter and place it beyond a doubt. As long as we had the *army* to back us—for it was not material to us where they acted, whether to the North or to the South —we had hopes of success; but this turning our backs upon Mr. Washinton will certainly make them reject offers that perhaps the fear of what that army could have done would have made them listen to. We have by these measures explicitly told all our friends here, "We can protect you no longer, therefore make the best terms for yourselves with the Congress." Lord and General Howe went so far —for which I think them blamable—as to tell every person well affected to us to make their peace with the enemy the moment they had received orders for the positive evacuation of Philadelphia.

This might be humane, but it was giving up the game almost beyond a possibility of retrieving it. Don't you think that little Caroline would have had sense enough to have told the Administration that the Commission was a farce, if the measures which we find are commanded, were to be executed?—if first of all the army was to retire, clearly show[ing] the enemy they had no design to do them any mischief, and was afterwards to be diminished, till their force was so reduced as to make their situation extremely unsafe? But they must have acted with *her* as they have with us, which was to tell us nothing of the matter; because, if we had been acquainted with the measures proposed, we must have been either accessory to the loss of this part of the Empire, or have flung up the Commission, considering it not strictly honest to receive the public wages without the least possibility of benefiting either this country or our own by our labours.

I mean to keep my temper to the last, and wish I could restrain the violence of some I am obliged to act with. But if it is a truth—and from everything I can learn I believe it to be one, and I have had recourse to persons of every description—our friends, our enemies, moderate, violent, the whole army to a man—that our force must, if it had acted offensively, have gained infinite advantage over Washinton; that if we could have got near him, his army would have deserted to us in great numbers; that at present it was sickly; that the French treaty was not well relished by the people at large; that our retaining a large force here would have of itself destroyed the power of the present Congress, and made it return into the hands of the people of property and consequence, who have lately had little share in the government, because they would not go all lengths; that these people are fully satisfied with the offers; that by this departure of the army the power of the Congress is fixed for *ever* perhaps, and no motive but necessity can make them accede to terms which would shake their power, and reduce them to private situations; that any revolution in our favour must now arise from accident, and not by our own bringing about, therefore quite uncertain both as to its effects and the time when it may appear: in short, if any [other] measures had been pursued than those which we have been made acquainted with *since our arrival*,

G. Britain would have been able still to have retained such a dominion, though greatly, very greatly, abridged, that ought fully to have satisfied her, considering the misfortunes of the war, and the essential difference there is between having this country at liberty to take part against you connected with France and Spain, or connected with you in such manner that her interests, inclination, and duty should make her unite with you whenever you was in danger: I say, if these are truths, and I believe we shall before we quit this country be possessed of proof sufficient to convince every person capable of conviction, you will own our situation requires some constancy and philosophy to endure.

June 23.—We are still here fretting and fuming, and no wind to take us away. Nothing can be more melancholy. The weather is hot and unpleasant, our provision bad, and our impatience very justifiable. . . .

I am grown so used to look upon this number of ships that they afford me scarce any amusement now. We are invited out to dine today on board the Roebuck, Capt. Hammond, who is a very gentleman-like man, has his ship in prodigious order, and will give us a much better dinner than we should have at home.

I think I told you in my last that the army got over to the Jerseys without difficulty; some of the enemy's light horse came into the town before all the troops were embarked, and there was some shots exchanged, but nothing happened of any consequence. I have been looking out for a little black slave, but have some doubts about taking one, for fear George should choose to make a plaything of him when I come home. . . .

When I lay aboard the galley coming down the river, what do you think my bed was supported by?—a twelve-pounder on one side, and a box containing ten thousand new guineas on the other, which was flung about the ship like an empty oyster barrel. I believe, if the Commission was suffered to act to the extent that these two powerful agents could carry them, there would be no doubt of succeeding. But alas! our hands are tied behind us. We may every day expect news from England. . . .

[June] 27.—Here is now the 27th, and we are still in the same place. This delay is the more vexatious, as we have on board a flat-bottomed boat or two, and the Eagle I believe has also some, that will be wanted to transport the army whenever they cross to N. York. The heat is insufferable, and the gnats in quantity and size beyond belief. There is an odd circumstance attending this climate, that the middle of the day is the coolest, for there is usually a breeze about 11 o'clock which lasts to about 5 in the evening; when that subsides there is nothing to be done but to sit quite still and wipe one's face.

I forgot to mention the, I don't know what to call it, that was given to Sir W. Howe. I fear it was a very foolish business, though I believe it owed its birth to our relation, Sir J. Wrotsley. He gave me a long description of it, but I understand there is one sent to England, which is to appear in the papers, and which will save me the trouble of endeavouring to recollect the particulars. I only know there were triumphal arches, and that General Washinton was within twenty-four miles of them, and that Lord Howe saluted Sir W. Howe, and Sir W. Howe saluted Lord Howe, and that it cost above four thousand pounds, and everybody paid whether they could afford it or not.

[June] 28.—Here is now the 28th, and we have got a whole mile, and we have got above fifty to go before we are clear of the river, so that, at a mile a day, we have only fifty days to remain here. What a night

was last night! the excessive heat prevented me from sleeping, so I had no amusement but to watch the lightning, which was very extraordinary, though not so violent as that we had at sea. It has not cooled the air. Nothing can be more unwholesome than this climate, for in the middle of the night, when I have gone to sleep with all the windows open, the wind has sprung up for an hour sufficient to cripple one with rheumatism for the rest of one's life.

June [29].—We have at last some alteration in the weather, and have almost got clear of the river; the day is cooler, and in short everything is mended. Many who had passed years in the East Indies declared they never had undergone any heat more violent than that of yesterday. In Italy I never felt anything like it, though I was in the southern parts of it in the months of July and August. Yet we are all alive, though I shall not add merry. We shall be as long in our passage from Philadelphia to N. York as some vessels have been between America and England. We shall not want company at N. York, but how we are to find provisions I am not able to imagine. The Militia upon the shore has either been withdrawn or more remiss lately, for we have had some boats come to us with sheep, &c. I purchased a strange beast called a racoon, which Frederick walks about with tied in a string; at present it is very good tempered, but I believe they are not to be trusted when they are more advanced in age. We have had turtle in plenty, and remarkably good, at Philadelphia. The ships from the West Indies have supplied us with great quantities of pine apples, but none of them so good as we have in common in England. . . .

July 3, Thursday, New York.—We got here on Monday night; it was my intention to have wrote immediately to you, . . . yet I was entirely prevented by the extreme heat of the weather. The thermometer out of doors was at 96. . . . On Sunday, the day of the action in the Jerseys, many of the men went raving mad from the heat, and died in a few moments. At dinner, where we had indeed too many people, though not more than twelve, it was impossible to eat from rather a nasty cause, that we could [not] spare either hand, as there was occasion to wipe both our faces and necks every moment at the same time. A thunderstorm has relieved us, and our climate is to be endured if we sit still.

You will have an account of the action in the public papers; our people think that they should have gained a very decisive advantage, but the heat rendered the men incapable of pursuing it. Col. Moncton is killed; Capt. Gardiner is wounded in the foot, but they hope to save his leg; many other officers are wounded, and we have lost about 350 private. The loss on the other side is supposed to be about 6 or 700.

We enclose a letter from Congress to Lord Geo. Germain. Just such an answer as I imagined they would send. A refusal to treat unless we in the most specific terms acknowledged their independency, or sent away our armies, &c. They refer to their treaty with France, and pass many fantastical compliments upon the French King.

July 6.—We are quite at a loss here to know what is to happen to the army—whether detachments are to be made from it, or a sufficient body will be left to act offensively here. If [the former] plans are to be pursued, [so] as only to leave sufficient to keep this place, and that only perhaps for the summer, pray let us come home, for we have nothing to do here. If the latter should be the case, from what I can collect from Governor Johnstone, he will stay no longer. I shall not like to see any one of us set out for England; but I mean, and I know you will approve of my intention, to suffer any distress, [rather] than be obliged to ask

for favour, by being guilty of an imprudence. Though in some cases I should very little fear either the King's displeasure, or the public reprehension, because I know I should deserve neither, if I should come to a resolution to leave this place, upon a conviction that the Commission had no ability to serve the State, and the trial had been fully made. I have prepared a letter to your father [Lord Gower] upon this subject, but we have only a few hours' notice of this packet's sailing, and I shall not have his letter ready till the next opportunity, which will be in about eight days. I flatter myself I shall be able with his assistance to be so defended that, whatever part I shall take, I shall get into no scrape.

July 7.—We have the greatest reason to apprehend that the packet is taken which brings your first letters, and that they are all flung into the sea. What have we all done to deserve this disappointment? My anxiety about you is never to have an end. The ship which came express with some despatches for Lord Howe parted company with the packet a few days before the captain saw the French fleet, which chased him, but he escaped. The other I fear we shall hear of no more. . . .

10 *pages.*

Memoranda by Lord Carlisle.

[1778, June.]

(2d.) That his M[ost] C[hristian] M[ajesty] and the U[nited] S[tates] engage mutually not to grant any particular favour to other nations that shall not become common to the other party.

(3.) Provides that the subjects of his M. C. M. shall be exempt from all other and greater duties, impositions, and restrictions within the jurisdiction of the U. S. than such as the most favoured nations are subject to.

N.B.—The opening of free trade, acknowledgment of Independence, and the protection of the shipping.

S. GJ. (?)

The K[ing] of F[rance] renounces all the continent of N[orth] A[merica] granted by the treaty of Paris to G[reat] B[ritain], and guarantees to A[merica] all the territory which she may conquer from G. B. during the war.

A. the same to F[rance] as to the latter.

The West Indies, if conquered, to belong to F[rance], but the I[slands?] towards the North to belong to the conquering party.

In Lord Carlisle's hand.

Names of Important Personages in the United States.

[1778, June.] Begins:

New Hampshire.

Hunhing Wentworth.†
Meshech Weare.*
John Langdon (D.L.).
John Sherburn } S.*
Mathew Thornton }

128 names; the States named being New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Providence, New York, New Jersey, Pensylvania, Maryland, Virginia.

3 *pages, in Lord Carlisle's hand.*

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†* Crosses and stars are placed against some of the names in this list. *See* Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 71.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Gower.

1778, July, New York.—You will see by the enclosed what we are to expect from the Congress, and how unlikely it is that anything should make them depart from these resolutions, but the conviction that they will not have the power to abide by them.

There are two circumstances that are supposed might still operate in our favour, and after sufficient trial has been given them, that then the game is entirely up, as far as regards our Commission.

The 1st, the *resentments* of the people, supposing their resentments can be excited, at the choice their rulers have made for them, by the rejection of our propositions.

The 2nd, the opportunity that now may be afforded the Army, presuming the Expedition to be abandoned, of acting here in such a manner as may induce those in power to adopt sentiments of a different kind.

In regard to the first, I am free to own I see very little good likely to arise from any address to the people. Everything lately has tended rather to thicken than to clear away the mist that has been spread before them. The leaving Philadelphia, however expedient the measure may have been, or however the contrary, has been represented to them as a matter of singular triumph. The advice given by Sir Wm. Howe to the inhabitants after that measure was determined upon, to make the best terms for themselves, acknowledging our incapacity any longer to protect them,—advice, in my opinion, that manifested more humanity than prudence,—lost us for ever every person who followed this counsel, and many of them were sufficiently attentive to their own interests so to do. The miserable cooped-up state we were in during the time we were in possession of that city ; the arrival of a French Fleet upon their coasts bringing them succours of every kind; and what is more, the proof that France, by this conduct, gives them of her resolution to assist them, are circumstances that will not serve to inforce any propositions or truths that we may have the ingenuity to display in a proclamation, or put them out of humour with those whose power, every day, seems to be established upon a broader basis. But the Proclamation shall have its course, and we are turning our thoughts to it accordingly.

With respect to the second. If the troops should have an opportunity of acting with any decision, set at liberty by the necessity of the times, and if our Naval force should be sufficiently collected to go in search, and should gain any advantage over the French Fleet, it is impossible to say what changes may not be effected, both on this side and the other of the Atlantic. But if these events should not take place, after the season is so far past for the trial that no hope of success remains, I cannot think myself rash in pronouncing that no salutary consequence whatever can arise from our Commission, and that we remain here for no other purpose but to receive the public wages without benefiting the public in any manner whatever, a situation to a liberal mind as painful as it is ignominious.

My determination shall not be influenced by my feelings, but it will be to remain in this country as long as there is a possibility of attaining any of those ends that are the objects of our Mission. By the time, and long before, I can hear from England, that matter will not be liable to any difference of opinion, and whatever steps I may then take, I shall have little fear either for my safety or reputation. But in order to be armed at all points, I must intreat your Lordship to obtain his Majesty's

leave for me of returning, laying before him the reasons which impel me to the request; a permission I shall anxiously wait for, for though in [a ?] certain situation I cannot conceive I am tied down like a sentry to his post, yet I shall by no means wantonly incur the imputation of acting without his Majesty's previous approbation, unless the circumstances will justify me to him in the conduct I shall observe. And at all events that request must be attended with a very solemn assurance, that no use shall be made of it, unless the powers intrusted to me as part of the Commission can no longer be exerted in the service of the State.

If, after having waited a reasonable time for an answer, and no answer should reach me, considering how precarious from our united enemies the intercourse between the two countries may become, I cannot think I shall risk either his Majesty's displeasure or the public censure if I presume that permission is not withheld, and act accordingly.

If any disapprobation should arise from a scruple, that there has been an infringement of legal form, the situation of things, the circumstances of the times must be our defence; we must depend upon the justice and candour of those before whom that defence is to be made. If we are to argue before those who consider that forms are to be equally observed in the general confusion as they are in the general tranquillity, I am sensible that the plea of our having acted for the best will be of little avail. Nor shall we be much benefited by urging our reluctance at being so unworthily such an expense to our country, at bearing the affronts that are daily added through us to it, when we remain here no longer to negociate, but to supplicate, and when no immediate inconvenience attends the rejection of everything we have to offer. If it should be the harsh construction of the law, that we are absolutely prisoners here till the expiration of the Act, it must be remembered, that upon a point liable to so much doubt, we have no lawyer to explain this Act, or to direct our conduct, though perhaps it may increase the indignation of the world against us when they find we have been so foolish to leave a country where lawyers don't exist.

If it should be said, why did not you wait? though the powers you set out with were not sufficient, yet others might be transmitted to you equal to the making the peace; I must answer, that powers beyond what have been entrusted to me must be given to abler and bolder hands. I have not the courage, or shall ever be possessed of sufficient resolution, to cut the last thread of connection that now unites the two countries, which I am persuaded will become, slender as it is, stronger by imperceptible degrees, if it is touched at first with a very gentle hand, and left to strengthen as opportunity may give room for management, provided we can any way stem our present difficulties by not granting the *independency*.

If our situation is so wretched that there is no way to avoid ruin, but the acceding to the independency and separation (for I see no difference between the two words), let that person be sent who is convinced of the necessity, and has nerves equal to the office. As long as the same King is acknowledged, the same government submitted to, the idea will still be strong here that we are the same people, their children will [be] educated amongst you, and there will [be] a mixture of interests that will daily increase as the recollection of these misfortunes subsides.

But of what great advantage is this to be of (*sic*) to G. Britain? Of the most essential, for though you may not have them so active as you may wish for in every quarrel you may think necessary to engage in, you secure them from being your enemies, and you will allow that a

dilatory friend is better than an active enemy. If therefore such an extension of powers to be granted to Commissioners here is in contemplation, for the reasons I have given you, I must absolutely decline the execution of them.

Draft in Lord Carlisle's hand, endorsed: Heads of a letter to Ld. Gr., July, New York, '78.

The second leaf (beginning, "If it should be said, why did you not") is endorsed: Hints for a letter to Lord Geo. Germaine.

Also, the first draft of the preceding, in Lord Carlisle's hand, differing considerably in phraseology. The following passage occurs between the sixth and seventh paragraphs:—

If I was only to follow my feelings, it would be to implore your Lordship, in the most serious manner, to take such methods as your judgment would suggest to you to free me from the painful burthen of an employment which I was sent at this distance to execute, little suspecting that the same breath which gave life to the undertaking secretly blasted it in the first moment of its existence, or that such measures were concealed from me that would have determined me never to have embarked in the business.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Heads of a letter to Ld. Gr., July, New York.

MINUTE by LORD CARLISLE on the conduct of the Commissioners.

[1778, July.]—Our chief defence must rest upon the situation of things, and the circumstances of the times. If we infringe forms, it must be considered that in the hour of general confusion, that (*sic*) the punctilious observance of them was never till now expected* in the hour of universal confusion.† We have acted for the best, and are ready to stand the consequences. If we have erred, when we thought it was morally *wrong* to receive the public wages, when our consciences informed us we could no longer be of service to the State, that it was adding to the insults offered to our country, to be waiting here when we were no longer to negociate, and were not instructed to supplicate, when we had nothing more to offer, and that whic[h] we had offered was rejected with contempt;‡ if, I say, we have act[ed] in error, I know not what persuasion or argument can destroy its influence.

Draft in Lord Carlisle's hand.

MINUTE by LORD CARLISLE on the conduct of the Commissioners.

[1778, July.]—The situation of things, the circumstances of the times, must be our defence. If we infringe forms, consider in the general confusion forms cannot be observed as they are in the hour of tranquillity. We have acted for the best, and will stand the consequences. We have not thought without reproach [to ?] receive the p[ublic] w[ages] that [when ?] we were not benef[iting ?] the p[ublic].

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* Or "re[s]pected" (?).

† Struck out, partly: "that there is no little respect paid to those who are so tenacious about them."

‡ Struck out: "when every fresh event served to feed the arrogance and trium[ph] of the enemy."

We though[t] we did not add to its dignity, when we wait[ed] here no longer to negotiate, but to supplicate; nor to its interests, while we remained with contin[ual?] conviction no possible good could arise from our labours. The strict form would have undoubtedly been to have waited for leave; surely the K[ing's] displeasure cannot be ex[c]ited (?) at an omission of this sort, when [after?] the lapse of a month of delays, if an absolute impossibility to return at all for evermore (?) will (?) be the consequences of that attendance. If it is urged that it is still necessary to have Comm[issioners] upon the spot during the time limited by the Act, still to watch a business whic[h] we and so does every man think desperate, in that light we may have offended, we are subj[ec]t to the law; but at the same time, as the exposition seems to admit of dou[b]t and difference of opinion, it must also be considered we had no law[yer] to apply to, [to] explain and to direct our conduct, and we had no other rule to go by, but our integrity (?) [and] a conviction that our stay was unnecessary, was defraudin[g] the public, was injurious to the dignity of our nation, and that the manifest resolution of the Congress, whic[h] every event tended every day to strengthen rather than weaken, would dispose every candid man to pronounce that though we may have erred by this step, then the situation led us unavoidably into the error.

Draft in Lord Carlisle's hand, and endorsed by him: Minutes upon our conduct.

Minutes by Lord Carlisle.

[1778, July ?].—Secret Intell[igence].

If Philadelphia was an object to which anything was to be sacrificed, why was not possession taken of it before the affair of Trenton, when Mr. W. force was but trifling.

Q. What was Mr. W. force at that time? If the port of Trenton was of that consequence it now appears to have been, why trust it to anything (*sic*) but the British.

The campaign in '77 was not begun till the —— of July, or rather September. Was the waiting for the camp equipage the reason for putting it off so long? When the camp equipage arrived it never was made use of. Was it not apparent before that it was useless?

At that time of the year all hope of assisting the Northern army was given up; and the Southern expedition at all risk; the loss (?) of Mr. B[urgoyne's] army to be followed.

When the Fleet came to the Capes, if the taking Philadelphia was the object of the expedition, why did not we land the troops at Newcastle, even if the cheveau de frize hindered us advancing higher?

If the object was changed, and the demolition of the enemies' magazines induced us to go up the Cheaspeak, why was no attempt made upon them at York or Carlisle?

Could not this have been done after B[r]andywine?

Why was not Gen. Washinton pursued after B[r]andywine?

Why was nothing done against him all the winter, when he was so near with an inferior force?

Why was nothing done in May, when his force was dwindled to not above 4,000 men.

Had Gen. (*sic*) ever the intention to go out against him in May? *Why did he drop it?*

In Lord Carlisle's hand, endorsed: Minutes, N. York.

Minute by Lord Carlisle on the Advantages of the proposed Terms.

[1778, July ?]

A[merica].

A continuance of the connection with us, without doubt an essential benefit. Her interests are so interwoven with us that a separation must be attended with bad consequences to her.

Our assistance by various methods in arranging her paper currency, particularly by that of offering, in case her own taxes should not be adequate to paying the interest, sinking either 15 or 20 per cent. annually, to advance the money for her.

The immediate relief of suspending the mischief that so complete an army and so powerful a navy was able to occasion.

The establishment of free commerce.

The advantage of having the best possible Government settled for them, free from all the danger usually attending upon all revolution, or the attempt to mend that they have lived under.

Enjoying all the benefits of the Monarchial (*sic*) part (?) of Government, the seat of the Monarch (?) at a distance, sufficient to form a center, to which all the parts should tend, and by this means avoiding that confusion which must follow whenever they split into many small contiguous republics.

G[reat] B[ritain].

For the same reasons.

The consequence of a separation would undoubtedly be the loss of the West India Islands, a great difficulty of retaining perhaps any part of the continent, provided that France should choose to share it with her.

That everything short of this was necessary to propose in order to destroy the French connection.

That as long as we acknowledged one King, and kept up a friendly intercourse with them, they would always consider G. B. as their own country, their children would be educated amongst us, they would retire to us when they had made their fortunes, and if we behaved to them with wisdom and kindness, our influence would increase in proportion as the recollection of this dispute wore out.

That the weight that would fall into our scale, by having them ready both by obligation and disposition to enter into our quarrels, ought to outweigh many of those advantages which individuals gained more than the nation at large by the monopoly.

As they have evinced such strength, it was to no purpose to struggle for advantages, of which they were no sharers.

Considering what extensive trade passes within their reach, how the current[s] bring that of the East Indies, the West Indies, the Spanish Main, &c., &c., their powers to favour and annoy, their being neuter in a dispute with any European power would be of infinite consequence; how much more then would their taking a part with you ?

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: A. and G. B. Advantages considered.

NOTE by LORD CARLISLE on the Advantages of the Terms.

[1778, July.]

Q. What left after the concessions ?—They would still acknowledge the same King.—They would not be enabled to make any alliances or treaties hostile to G. Britain.—The appointment of the Govs. would still be with us.—The interests of the two nations would still be intimately connected.—The Americans would still consider G. Britain as their home.—The arrangement of the P.C. would put them in our debt.

Q. How was any act of P. to touch them ?

In Lord Carlisle's hand, and endorsed by him : Advantages of the terms to Gt. B.

NOTE by LORD CARLISLE of a Conversation with GEN. HOWE.

[1778, July ?]—That *A.* met Ld. B. [H.?] and Gen. Howe at the entrance of the Delaware ; that he informed them of the state of the river, and the chain, the cheveau de frize, &c. That they, on that, inquired into the state of Cheaspeak, and the possibility of landing at the Head of Elk (?) It was urged to them that it would be better to land below the impediments, as they would by that means save the sea voyage, and be almost as near Philadelphia. To this was answered that the taking of the city was not the principal object ; but as it afterwards appeared that all the magazines were then at York Town or Carlisle, and the taking of them would effectually crush Gen. Washinton, &c., therefore they pursued their intention of going up the Chespeak, as the demolition of the magazines was to be more easily effected by so doing. After having landed at the Head of Elk with this view, the Gen. gained secret intelligence that General W. had promised his officers to risk a battle, and preparations were accordingly made to tempt him to keep his promise, which ended in the affair of Brandywine. That led on to the taking of Philadelphia, the danger the army *incurred* at German Town, and the laying aside all intentions upon the magazines, which has (*sic*) never been renewed during the whole winter or before the opening of the campaign in the spring, tho' these magazines subsisted the whole army of the enemy.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle : Note of Conversation.

PAPER by LORD CARLISLE.

[1778, July ?]

Q[uestion].—Why did you make your offers without adhering to the true spirit of negociation by keeping some back, &c. &c. &c. ?

A[nswer].—Because from the following circumstances we had reason to think we should have no other opportunity of making our offers known ; and that it would not only be the first, but also the last of communicating them to A[merica].

1st. From the alarm that was, and with reason, occasioned by the fleet of Monsr. La Mothe Peignot. It was thought necessary to call all the naval force together, and by so doing open the Chesespeak, to the very evident advantage to A., who had little to fear for her trading vessels.

2nd. That a retreating army would undoubtedly render A. less practical to treat with, and would naturally incite her to rise in her demands.

3rd. That in order to comply, &c., that retreat was unavoidable.

5th (*sic*). It was necessary to show the people what were the terms that their leaders refused for them, and if we had exposed them after a rejection of the preliminary ones, those who rejected them might retort upon us, and say, Why did not you tell us this before, and we might have listened to you ? We were also liable to the accusation of

augmenting our own powers, which we did not dare tender, for the purpose of setting at variance the representative and constituent.

6th. From the great manifest dependence upon the assistance of France it could not be reasonably expected that they would submit to terms less beneficial than they demanded before the treaty.

7th. Conceiving the consequence of that treaty, we conceived we did our country essential service by endeavouring to withdraw A. from an alliance injurious to her and ourselves.

8th. This could only be effected by the fullest proof of the benefits she would receive by agreeing to our proposals.

9th. We were sensible, if we had begun to negociate, and the intended plan was pursued, it would not give us better hope of succeeding.

In Lord Carlisle's hand.

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

1778 July 10–19, New York.

July 10.—I think we have had an escape; a very few days' longer delay in getting down the Delaware would have put us into the hands of Monsr. d'Estaign (*sic*) without the possibility of making the least resistance, for we had only two ships of the line to his twelve. He sailed the 13th and we the 22nd of April; what he has been doing so long upon the Atlantic the Lord knows. The Maidstone frigate saw him safe into the river, and came immediately to give us an account of it here. Lord Howe is at Sandy Hook—look at the map; what are his positive intentions we do not as yet know, but we shall hear from him perhaps today. The heat—always the heat—are you tired of hearing of it?—rather increases, but I have got a larger and cooler house, and by placing my bed in the draught between two windows, the nights have been more supportable. The views and the country about this town are beyond all description beautiful; you will judge by the map how delightfully it must be situated when you see those two large rivers run so close to it, which are at present filled with vessels of every sort and size; the banks are covered with farms, villas, camps, wood, corn, and several sorts of trees which are unknown to me, of singular beauty. Long Island, Staten Island, and the Jersey shore bind the whole. If I was not to see a great deal of this from the place where I am now writing, I should not have it in my power to give you any description of all these fine things, for I never stir out almost while it is light, except into some other part of the town upon business in a carriage; never walk out, and have not the resolution to try the horses which are sent me to purchase. This inactivity will certainly last as long as the heat, which is said not to abate till the end of next month.

There is a report in town that the Mermaid, of 30 guns, was seen to engage one of [the] French line-of battle ships; they had been engaged four hours, and the consequences not known. It is very possible I shall have to contradict this before night.

We are now going to publish our correspondence with the Congress in a proclamation to the people at large. I am not very sanguine in my expectations of the success this measure will produce, but it is a step not to be dispensed with, and may be attended with some advantage; therefore I cannot help being a little eager for its seeing the light as quickly as possible. I will enclose the papers to you. Sir J. Wrotsley goes home in the packet that sailed yesterday; his situation is enviable; and except he should be taken by the Americans and brought back to Boston, he ought to be the happiest man in the world.

July 19.—The little probability of sending any letter from this place has hindered me from writing for eight days, for in the situation you will see we have been it almost required more resolution than I was possessed of to talk about ourselves. Monsr. d'Estaign has now for some time blocked up this river. He has been stationed off Sandy Hook. The two fleets are within about 6 or 7 miles of each other; the bar separates them. I was down there last Tuesday, and had the mortification to see them take a large English ship close to us. The June packet is taken, by which accident I have not yet heard from England. . . . . I have only a moment allowed me to send this by a private conveyance of Lord Howe's.

Resolution of Congress.

1778, July 18, in Congress.—Extract from the Minutes of the resolution of Congress to give no reply to the letter of the British Commissioners, dated July 11, as the independence of the States had not been recognised. 1 *page.*

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

1778, July 21, Tuesday, New York.—We are going to send away another packet, and if my advice is followed we shall send them all away, as we ought not to expect above one in four can escape our two enemies, the French and the Americans, who are now very powerful indeed at sea. Our prison is very narrow: Gen. Washinton and Gates are supposed to be near each other on the White Plains; we have nothing to fear from them but that in the end they may be able to starve us, but that apprehension is at a distance; it does not begin yet to affect us. The packet is certainly taken. . . .

The weather has not been so insufferable, and has permitted me to get on horseback. The country cannot be more delightful, but then we have very few rides, except we send our horses to Long Island, which is troublesome, as the ferry is ill attended. The transport with all my things I suppose is also taken, and Monsr. d'Estaign will go about in my carriage, and drink all my wine. Sir John Wrotsley sailed in the Grantham packet about three days ago, and by this time is perhaps in the hands of the enemy; if he was taken by the Turks instead of the Americans or French, it would do him no harm, for the vulgar notion is that they cut out the tongue of those they make their prisoners; this operation in every sense would be lucky for our relation.

I send enclosed a sketch of the position of the two Fleets, together with an answer to our letter to Congress, which is too well wrote. You will also see a letter from Governor Johnstone, which has given offence here, on account of the civil expressions to the Americans; it was intended for a private business, but it has unfortunately become the topic of public conversation. I certainly should not have transmitted it to Europe, but wished you to see the other, which cannot be separated. If you wish, therefore, to send your father the letter, make Forth copy it without Johnstone's.

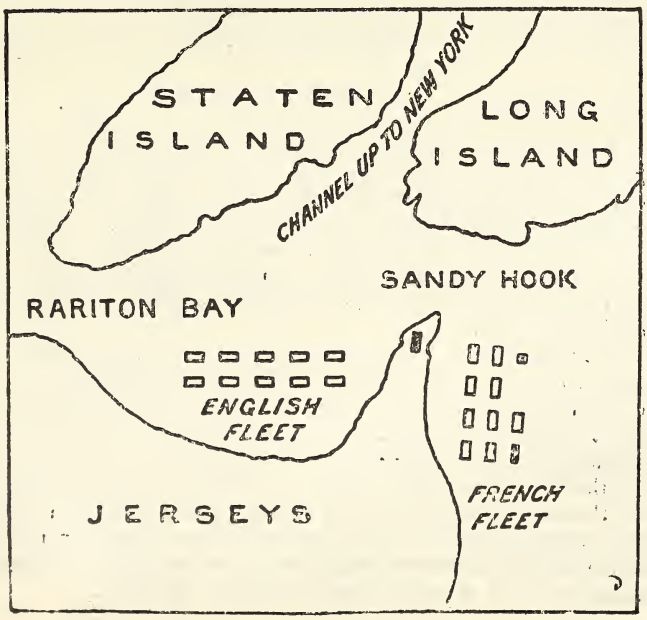
The arrival of this Fleet makes every hope of success in our business ridiculous; the address by proclamation to the people ought and has been tried; a certain time will show its effects, but in truth the compliance with our instructions in this particular is the mere obedience to a form. The leaders on the enemy's side are too powerful; the common people hate us in their hearts, notwithstanding all that is said of their secret attachment to the mother country. I cannot give you a better proof of their unanimity against us than in our last march; in the whole country there was not found one single man capable of

bearing arms at home; they left their dwellings unprotected, and after having cut all the ropes of the wells had fled to Gen. Washinton. Formerly, when things went better for us, there was an appearance of friendship by their coming in for pardons, that might have deceived even those who have been the most acquainted with them. But no sooner our situation was the least altered for the worse, but these friends were the first to fire upon us, and many were taken with the pardons in our (*sic*—their) pockets. Beat Gen. Washinton, drive away Monsr. d'Estaign, and we should have friends enough in this country; but in our present condition the only friends we have, or are likely to have, are those who are absolutely ruined for us, and in such distress I leave you to judge what possible use they can be to us.

But don't you say now—if all this is as hopeless as you represent, what is the use of remaining? To tell you fairly, I think none; but as everybody in the world will not be ruled perhaps by my opinions, we must stay till there is not a possibility of doubt upon that subject. God knows what may happen in the course of the next month; we must regulate our conduct by circumstances; the necessity of the times may impel us to steps we at present have not in idea.

We have wrote to Lord Geo. Germain (Eden and myself, for Govr. Johnstone I believe considers himself more at liberty than we do—I mean, he considers himself, after having acted here to the utmost of his abilities, to be no longer under any restriction to remain,) to desire, if things remain in the same situation, that we may have the King's approbation to return, and that after having waited a reasonable time for an answer, considering how uncertain the intercourse is become between the two countries, we must then act for ourselves as circumstances direct. At present any ship that crosses the Atlantic must keep a good look-out if she has any hope of getting home. But things will alter, perhaps for the better; they cannot for the worse. I wrote on the 18th to you by the Grantham. They wait for my letters.

The sketch enclosed.



Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

1778, July 25, Saturday, New York.—As they have detained the packet a day or two I have another opportunity of writing a few lines. . . . We have this morning received by the Philadelphia newspaper a piece of intelligence which to me was not in the least unexpected, that the Congress are come to a resolution to have nothing more to say to us. The insolence arising from success we were fully prepared for. What has occasioned this success will be a very irksome, though perhaps a necessary, inquiry. This part of the Empire cannot be lost without a severe inquisition into the conduct of those who have had anything to do in this business; and I heartily wish every person concerned may be found to have acted in that manner, either to have in justice an excuse for their errors, or to afford the world some proof that the loss was unavoidable.

The French Fleet left the coast immediately after I had sealed my last letter on the morning of [the] 22nd, and what is their destination at present is not known—I have some reason to think Rhode Island. No news yet of Adl. Byron, and nothing can be more desperate than our situation.

[P.S.] I enclose a newspaper, and [an] extract from another.

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

[17]78, July 29, Wednesday night, New York.—I have only a moment to tell you that I am as well as anybody can be in such a climate, and in such vexatious circumstances. The French Fleet is still upon the coast. I take for granted they mean an attack upon Rhode Island; perhaps it may not answer to them. No news yet of Adm[l] Byron; if he is not to come we have no hope left. A good account would be given of the French if the two fleets were to join. What Lord Howe can do with his present force I am not seaman enough to determine. You will have a longer letter from me, indeed two, within the date of this week, if the packets meet with no accident.

P.S. Storer has alarmed us with a severe illness, but is recovered. I take the bark, and a great deal of care of myself.

Captain A. S. Hamond to Lord Carlisle.

1778, Aug. 2, Roebuck, at Sandy Hook Bar, Sunday afternoon.—I write just to say we are upon the wing. The Sphynx arrived at 1 o'clock, and brings account that the French Fleet came to anchor off the light-house of Rhode Island on Thursday evening. Our little reinforcement has put us so much upon a footing with Mons[r] D'Etaing that all we ask now is, where is the foe? In my opinion we could not wish to see him upon better ground than at Rhode Island. I feared he had gone farther eastward.

The June packet from England is also come in, but of that I conclude your Lordship has notice before this will reach New York.

If we sail this evening (as I think we shall) I trust we may prove by tomorrow afternoon or Tuesday morning a more unwelcome guest to the Messieurs than they were to us at Sandy Hook.

Should the two Fleets meet, more consequences seem to depend upon the issue than ever England before struggled for; and if I know anything of the dispositions of the officers likely to be engaged in the contest, I pronounce there is scarce one that does not conceive the full magnitude of the stake, and will of course play his best to defend it.

If I have any opportunity in the progress of this business of sending you any farther account, your Lordship may depend upon hearing from me.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Capt. Hammond (&c.).

Admiral G[ambie]r to [W. Eden?].

[1778, Aug. 14,] 4 o'clock.--*Unpleasing*, my dear Sir, sorry am I to say I feel it.

Mr. H. Edw[ard]s, commanding the Hotham Tender, left (not being able to carry sail) the Fleet at ½ past 7 on Tuesday evening, steering *W. by N.* with the wind at E.—the French Fleet following them close, and so near that the headmost F. ship was within shot of the sternmost of ours. He heard a cannonading that night. Lord H. was under close reefed T. sails. The gale increased fast in the night, and blew very hard at midnight, with rain, and continued to blow hard with thick weather all day Wednesday, Lord H.'s flag flying on board a *frigate*, and when the Hotham parted [he] was somewhat to windward of his own fleet.

Would I could find you better news, but I am really miserable. Your I. G.—P.S. You will communicate this to your Brethren, for really, joined to the chagrin I sensibly feel, and being up all night, and hurried ever since, I am more fit for total oblivion than painful existence.

Undated. Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Copy of Ad[l] G[r's] note. Aug. 14th, 1778.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1778, Aug. 20,]* Sunday, [New York].—I send you a leg of English mutton. I have been much indisposed all night, and today am feverish, with the headache too, and a small degree of cholic. I much doubt whether I shall be able to attend your meeting this evening, though I certainly will if possible. If I grow worse, and am confined, it will not be very material, for your Lordship knows what I think on the proposed subjects of discussion. The letter of credit addressed to the Commander-in-Chief is still in my possession; he and the other Commissioners know that it is forthcoming whenever they choose to call for it. In the present moment I do not see that it can be used to any beneficial purpose; but I am not so absurd as to oppose any experiment which others think has the slightest probability of doing good, and which is to be attended with no great expense.

As to Mr. T[emple?] I see no difficulty; he has had excellent luck in being so well paid for crossing the Atlantic, which at all events he wished to cross. I take for granted he will go forwards with his family into the country, where, if things take a favourable turn, he may consistently with his own principles be of use, and if he should be so in our time I am sure that we shall all heartily concur in doing justice to his merits. I think that he ought not to delay going, for his own sake, as his stay may subject him to very awkward suspicions.

As to conferring with him officially on any plan of conduct, I never meant it from the first, and have seen very mortifying proofs, since I arrived here, of the inexpediency of trusting to those principles of implied honour and confidence under which it is usual to transact business in Europe.

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* From endorsement; but the 20th August was on a Thursday in 1778.

As to Dr. B[erkenhout ?], neither knowing him, nor the manner in which it is proposed to use his services, I speak much in the dark. If he came to this country from a fair zeal for the public service, and has incurred expenses, I should be happy to find some mode of rewarding him, or of obtaining a due reward for him, whether we use his services or not. But I am by no means prepared to give my vote for sending a person of whom I have so little knowledge to Philadelphia in the present moment; for I do not know any possible good to result from such a measure that can in any degree balance the possible mischief.

Governor Johnstone will say that all this is narrow, and resulting from a want of experience in business. It gives me pain to hear anything harsh or unpolite, but after a moment's recollection I can always smile at such insinuations, and will not dispute either the palm of liberality or of official knowledge. I have always met with more kindness from the world than I could justly claim, and I have no fear of continuing through life to meet with the same favour in as great a degree as I shall wish. Being griped, and interrupted by Dr. Middleton, I conclude.

Minutes by Lord Carlisle.

1778, Aug. 21.—(*In margin:* N.B. Canada with the Indians. Expedition to the South. North River for the summer, Pensilvania, Virginia, &c., the winter.)

Every debasement on our parts from which does not originate positive advantage, gives rise to certain evil.

That if the situation of our country at home, and the operations of the military and naval force in America cannot enforce a change of measures, we have every reason to think that such a change of measures will either not take place at all, or is at such a distance as to be no object of present contemplation. That the lingering here is attended with these two bad consequences: 1st, that it serves to lull our countrymen into a kind of hope, if not a security, that while we remain we do not despair of success (notwithstanding the tenour of our letters to the contrary), which will render disappointment infinitely more severe, and delay all necessary preparations for the adoption of other plans that may be necessary to be taken upon our defeat. 2ndly, that it must be a matter of singular triumph to the Congress to have us in a manner waiting at their doors, ready to run into their arms whenever they shall condescend to open them, and accept this fresh mark of our humiliation, which will deservedly lower us as a nation in [the] eyes of the whole world, and determine any balancing power to decide in favour of our enemies. On the other hand, the cutting the matter short and issuing a declaration of the intention of departure in a stated time, will (if anything will) excite the interference of the people, whose indifference upon this occasion will be the most convincing proof that no dependence whatever is to be had upon their exertions in opposition to their leaders.

That the remaining here is a great charge upon the public; and to [a] liberal mind the receiving pay for service which cannot be performed is insupportable.

That to watch [the] trifling and insignificant attempts of the army, is in some measure to sanctify [sanction ?] them; when we are convinced that nothing but operations attended with decisive consequences can either tear the power from those who enjoy it at present, inspire others with spirit to take back what they have so injudiciously

conferred, or render those in whose hands it is placed at present glad to lay it down, if they can save themselves by such a resignation.

In Lord Carlisle's hand, endorsed: Minutes, August 21st, 1778.

Heads of a Declaration by the Earl of Carlisle, Sir H. C[linton], and W. E[den], &c.

[1778, Aug. 26, New York.]—We have received the Declaration of the Congress of the 11th instant, which, as it relates to a gentleman with whom we have the honour to be joined in Commission, and is made to affect him as a Commissioner, seems to call upon us for some observation. "When we"* solemnly declare that we had not any knowledge either directly or indirectly of the correspondence and conversation alluded to till we saw it in the public papers, we do not mean to imply any assent to the construction which the Congress are pleased to put on a private letter which they have thought proper to publish, nor to intimate a belief that any person could have been authorised to hold the conversation "which the proclamation alludes to."† Nor do we, on the other hand, mean "to enter into an explanation of the conduct of a gentleman whose abilities and integrity require no vindication from us."‡ But we think it proper, in justice to that gentleman, to ourselves, and to the Commission with which we are charged, to add, that in the many conversations which he has had with us upon the proposals which we are jointly authorised to make to these Colonies, the principle of all his reasonings seemed to be that the offers of Great Britain were obviously better adapted to promote and establish the liberties, peace, opulence, increase, security, and permanent happiness of the inhabitants of this Continent than any other connection or mode of government can ever give to them. We had no other idea than that such offers should rest on the broad basis of their own merits.

When we transmitted to Congress the Acts of Parliament to exempt these Colonies for ever from British Taxation, and to secure their Charters and established Governments; and when we added that we were authorised and desirous to restore peace, to revive free intercourse and mutual affection, to assist the credit and value of the paper circulation, to give satisfaction and security for ever on the subject of military force, and to extend every freedom to trade; we felt that we were enabled to give and had offered not only everything that can be proposed by the French connection, but also many very valuable blessings to this Continent which can never by any possibility be derived from that preposterous§ connection. We trusted that a people descended from the same ancestors with ourselves "would have put the fair construction upon the offers made to them."‖ We trusted that the Representatives of that people would have thought it their duty at least to have met and conferred with us on subjects so near and interesting to their constituents. And we continue astonished at the calamities in which this unhappy country continues to be involved from the blind deference which their leaders profess towards a Power that has ever shewn itself an enemy to all civil and religious liberty; and whose offers, we must

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* These words are substituted by Lord Carlisle for "We can very truly and."

† Substituted for "which appears to have been holden with Mr. Reed."

‡ Substituted for "to take up the vindication of a gentleman who can more properly explain his own conduct, and is better able to do so."

§ This word is inserted by Lord Carlisle.

‖ Substituted for "would have had the candid and proper pride to attribute such offers to the generous affection from which they flowed."

repeat, whatever may be their pretended date and present form, were only made in consequence of the plans of accommodation previously concerted in Great Britain, and with a view to prevent our reconciliation, and to prolong this destructive war.

Draft in Eden's hand, with alterations in the margins by Lord Carlisle. Endorsed: Heads of a letter concerning Governor Johnstone, &c.

MINUTES by LORD CARLISLE.

1778, Aug. 29.—If the situation of things should materially alter for the better, my advice would be instantly to turn our thoughts towards making the attempt with the offer of the Truce, which I have mentioned to you before.

But if our affairs should not wear a better aspect, I submit to you the following idea, and propose, notwithstanding the ill-treatment offered to an indulgent State and the contempt shewn to those deputed to convince this country of her benevolent intentions, that we should make another and final application to the Congress, tho' in so doing we may be accused of sacrificing the dignity of our country; yet if that sacrifice is made in consideration of the sufferings of our fellow-creatures, I think we ought to be, and I have no doubt we shall be, very much at our ease under such a charge.

I understand that an opinion prevails, that we are enabled by our secret instructions to make more ample concessions than those we have already tendered. As such suspicions lead to a belief that we can admit in the last resort of the claim of independency, I think it will be necessary to declare that they are founded in extreme error; and if it would be of any use to strengthen the proof of their falsity, as far as relates to myself, I am ready to make assurances that an acquiescence to pretentions on that head will never find a place in any instructions that I shall undertake to obey. That, tho' I am far from supposing G. Britain can ever be so infatuated as to listen to such pernicious councils, yet if such advice should ever be attended to, the setting the seal of the eternal ignominy of my Country must be left to those who differ very widely with me upon the justice or expediency of so inglorious a measure.

That it will be worth the consideration of Congress, that when we leave this coast, which we shall do in a stated time, if their distresses and circumstances require that a treaty should be opened, our Country, who will be inclined to think that our concessions have been too ample, will be justified, by their refusal of those we have offered, to tender such as will be infinitely less advantageous to the people of this country.

That the rejection of our proposals, and the manner in which they were rejected, will unite all those who have differed in their political sentiments in regard to America; and when we have no domestic differences, they may find that Gt. Britain can still be an object of terror.

N.B.—All reasoning upon the assistance of the French Fleet must be left, till we see more clearly into that business, and till we have accounts from Ld. H.

In Lord Carlisle's hand, endorsed: Minutes, August 29th, 1778.

EXTRACT from a LETTER (?).*

[1778, Aug.]—Commodore Elliott arrived off the Hook on Sunday evening, the 16th of August, his Broad Pendant flying on board the

* In the same hand as the copy of Aug. 14.

"Eagle." He says Lord Howe arrived off Rhode Island on Sunday the 9th, and on the 10th saw the French Fleet coming out of the Harbour. They immediately slipped their cables and stood out to sea under an easy sail, forming themselves into a line-of-battle, with an intention to engage when they got into deeper water. It soon afterwards began to blow, which dispers[ed] them and obliged them to repair to their place of rendezvous, Sandy Hook.

Memoranda by Lord Carlisle.

[1778, Aug ?]—That Mr. A. [originally Dr. B.=Dr. Berkenhout ?] should be sent to Phi[ladelphia]—that 300 or 250 should be given him, and that the journey would consume about 16 days. That the good proposed was to issue from the friendship between him and Batt.—G. [Mr. Galloway?] deaf to all argument that the notoriety of his coming from where he does was a reason why he should not be sent——invective (?), caution. No harm if no good. Two ships. Comp[t] upon discretion.—A full refusal to have anything to do with either him or F[ranklin] as Commissioner, particularly the latter—the plain reason given—acquiescence in him that he should act for himself, and if well be rewarded.—Pressed to give under my hand a refusal of connection—denied because no one has a right to ask it. Agreed that he should take his own measures.

N.B.—Was it ever proposed to as (*sic*) Comm[issione]r to supersede the positive orders from home ?

Everything ought to be minuted, the old affair canvassed, given up by me as to other things (?); difference upon stating that made impossible.—Believes that the beating the French would hardly shake the power of the Congress, but that arguments from one, and good offices from the other might—and if we sit still nothing can be done—believes that they are much divided, and means to go home in September.

N.B.—T. [Mr. Temple ?] not a new person upon his acceptance. Would not I believe my brother Comm[issione]r ? Would [it] not be inquired why these people were not employed who were sent out ?

In Lord Carlisle's hand; endorsed: Extract, &c.

Minute by Lord Carlisle on the manner of proposing a Truce.

[1778, Aug. ?].—Supposing we are quite driven to the wall and without a resource left, would it not be advisable to propose a Truce for 6, 8, or 10 years ?

For each party to permit the question of reciprocal rights to sleep during the time agreed upon.

Each party to retain his own. New York, Canada, Rhode Island, Georgia, Nova Scotia, &c., to us—the remainder to the United States.

As it will be urged that France must be comprehended in such an agreement, the answer to this is, that if there is no question upon the matter of rights, the free commerce with the whole world (?) will not be interrupted in A[merica]; consequently the cause of war between F.(?) and E[ngland] will cease; therefore the truce will reach the allies of A. in the completest manner. If F. will not be included in such pacification, A. has no occasion to run all lengths with her (?).

How is such a business to be broached (?), as we have no powers even to mention, much less conclude ? By making the proposition to

C[ongress], demanding of the assembly if they would meet us upon this ground if we can obtain such powers, and in order to lose no time if we may be authorised to acquaint our Court (?) that such propositions would be acceptable; and that they also should send to France to acquaint them with their resolutions.

In Lord Carlisle's hand; endorsed: Truce.

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

[1778,] Sept.4–6, New York.—Sept. 4.—I think my last letter left Lord Howe at the Hook after the storm, the date I suppose about the 20th of August. But I won't begin with politics till I have told you that I have continued tolerably well since I wrote last, continued my precautions of the cold bath and the bark, and hope to escape the ague, the prevailing disorder at this time of the year. The weather is cooler, and the intense heats are past, at least we flatter ourselves so. I take more exercise than I did, though I have no horses that tempt me to ride much, and having always had good ones, I cannot easily accustom myself to the motion of those I now possess. . . .

We have had hopes of the two fleets meeting several times, but have always been disappointed. On the 22nd we again heard that the French were before Rhode Island, assisting the Rebels in their attempt upon that place. This made some very long faces here, as we were informed that the enemy were above sixteen thousand upon the Island. It was not till the 26th that Lord Howe was clear of the land in pursuit of them, and his back was no sooner turned than an express arrived to acquaint us they had left Rhode Island some days, and their destination was probably Boston, which if they reach before our fleet comes up with them, they will according to the common opinion be in perfect safety, as every attack from the sea, unless we are in possession of the land, will be extremely hazardous; but as Lord Howe is still out, and no accounts of consequence from him, I shall not pretend to determine what may be attempted by him. If the French remain in Boston we shall undoubtedly be masters at sea, which will be a point gained, though by no means productive of any of the consequences which alone can afford us hope of suceeeding in our business, and which alone can be produced by decisive victory.

To return to Rhode Island. Upon a reinforcement being sent from this place the Rebels have thought it proper to retire, but in so doing have taken away with them their baggage, &c., and are in too great force and the country too strong about them to fear any pursuit; but if there are any intentions of attempting anything of that nature I shall hear tomorrow, as I dine with Lord Cornwallis at King's Bridge.

We have a vessel about as large as the Dover packet for our use as Commissioners, but I don't think anybody uses it except myself; I often go out in it, and sail away two or three hours, which I am heartily glad to get rid of.

Sept. 6.—I dined with Lord C. yesterday; no news of consequence; nothing as I see likely to be done by the army; Lord Howe still out, and no intelligence about him or the French. This is sad work indeed. I enclose a newspaper, where you will see what we have done about our colleague; 'tis a foolish story, but we are obliged to treat it gravely. I understand he means to go home soon; don't be wicked enough to wish that the Congress had carried their personal objection to me instead of to him.

I forgot to tell you that some more of Byron's squadron are come in, but in a very lame condition, and the crews extremely sickly. The Cornwall and the Monmouth were here before; the Royal Oak, Conqueror, Sultan, Bedford, Grafton, and the Fame arrived together. No news yet of my uncle [Admiral Byron]; we are very apprehensive for him. I fear we shall derive little advantage from this addition of strength; they are come too late, and want too much refitting for immediate service. I sailed round them last Thursday, but would not go on board, for there is a fever amongst the men very like the jail distemper.

Gen Lee is found guilty of what was laid to his charge, which I neither know [n]or care for; he is suspended for a year. We have had a skirmish with some Indians, and have taken and killed some of them; a great event in such a campaign. . . .

There is nothing but wretchedness to be seen here—numbers who from great affluence are reduced to absolute poverty; and yet we have no beggars in the streets; what is done with the poor is very mysterious to me. I have not once been asked for charity since I have been here, or indeed in America.

My baggage is not arrived; we have some reason to think the ships in company with the Greenwich are near the coast. Perhaps you have observed people don't always strictly adhere to truth in England, but I can assure you London is the temple of truth in comparison of this place; it is a thing unknown, never practised, or even thought necessary. I am endeavouring, as I told you before, to get a little black boy, but have not succeeded. Frederick carries upon his head a huge grey squirrel; the raccoon is in high favour with him; and I heard him the other day talking about a rattlesnake, which I know he will introduce into the family if he can lay his hands upon it, and bring it over as a plaything for George. . . .

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

1778, Sept. 15, late at night, N[ew] Y[ork].—The French Fleet got into Boston Harbour a few hours before our fleet appeared at the mouth of it; we remained there 12 hours, and as they did not come out Lord Howe returned with the ships.

Lord Howe sends away a packet tomorrow. . . . I think the health of everybody has mended since the weather has changed: I wish I could say the same of our affairs; they continue the same, and no appearance of any alteration.

The French remain in Boston; if they are not reinforced from Old France it is expected they will soon again cross the Atlantic. Our fleet is here; Lord Howe goes home immediately, and has given over the naval command to Admi. Gambier, which I foresee will, when my uncle [Byron] arrives, occasion a confusion. We have intelligence that he had put into Halifax, and would sail as soon as possible for New York.

My stores, carriage, wine, &c., are at last arrived; my servant has been on board of ship from the 12th of April till the 28th of August; they were near taken at the mouth of the harbour by some rebel privateers, which would have completed their misfortunes.

In about ten days we shall be looking out for the packet from England, which will bring answers to the letters wrote from Philadelphia; it is impossible to guess what resolutions our friends may come to in consequence of those despatches. . . .

Governor Johnstone sails in a merchant-vessel for Europe next week, and will bring letters from me. Another packet will also be sent in the course of a few days; so you will be overcome with American news. I bid Frederick purchase a black slave for me if he could find one about 12 or 13 years of age, that his wisdom would approve of; today after dinner he told me he had one to show me, but believed it was rather too young. I desired to see it, and he produced one of not quite four years old, which he would fain add to the company of the raccoon, grey squirrel, fish-hawk, and other beasts which his love of natural history has filled my house with. . . .

The weather now is very fine, but it requires a change of dress at three or four different times of the day, for the mornings and evenings are excessively cold, and [the] middle of the day wonderfully hot. The fruits are not good, and the peaches, which are in great quantity, are given with great propriety not to Christians but to the hogs. . . .

The town is full of navy officers, whose blue coats are some relief to the eye, which cannct fail of being sensible of fatigue from that eternal red. . . . You may have seen persons returning from this continent; hear with caution, and believe nothing that they tell you. . . We have had some success under Gen. Grey in destroying some of the Rebels' shipping at Bedford, since which he has been driving the country upon Martha's Vineyard. . . .

A strong idea prevailed till lately that we should not be able to keep this place, and the consternation which this suspicion occasioned was very affecting. Our unfortunate friends, I think, are a little more composed, as the arrival of the provision fleet and other circumstances have enabled us to take measures that evince the resolution of remaining here. What do you think of sending this fleet, upon which our existence depended, to Philadelphia, after the orders from England to evacuate that city? This strange neglect had nearly cost us very dear, for we had not six weeks' provisions when these ships sailed into the Delaware instead of this harbour. . . .

Governor Geo. Johnstone to Lord Carlisle.

[1778,] Sept. 16, New York.—Mr. Geo. Johnstone sends his compliments to Lord Carlisle, and returns the papers his Lordship was so good as to send. Nothing is more contemptible than a retreating army or a supplicating prince, was an observation of the Marquis of Montrose; and Lord Bacon has remarked, that no body of men ever thanked you for clemency who were not first sensible of your power.

Sir Henry Clinton to [Lord Carlisle].

1778, Sept. 18, Friday.—I dread the operation of Gambier's letter; cannot easily consent to your putting yourself to the inconvenience of a blustering voyage at this time of the year. Will not a letter do? If you think not, and you determine to go, I heartily wish you a good voyage.

[P.S.] May it not be advisable to see L[ord] H[owe] before you go?

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle.

Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Carlisle.

1778, Sept. 18.—As Lord Howe goes, I cannot conceive it necessary for your Lordship to undertake the voyage at this disagreeable season.

Seal. Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: 18th Sept. 1778.

Sir Henry Clinton to [William Eden].

[1778,] Sept. 20.—I would submit to Lord Carlisle and yourself whether the better part of (A) does not imply that a war of devastation (and such a one as I confess nothing could induce me to conduct) has already commenced. If you agree with me, I could wish that something like what I have said might stand in your letter. With respect to (B) I wish to make some alterations, without I should be convinced by your opinion, for I fear the holding N. York, R[hode] Island, &c., defensively will be of no advantage; better, in my humble opinion, draw off those garrisons, and with part of them reinforce Canada in support of an Indian war, such a one as the French, though inferior at sea, were enabled to carry on against the united force of Britain and her Colonies. I therefore submit whether the alteration I have ventured to offer may stand, I don't mean in my words, I know how incorrect I write, and the hurry in which I am obliged to finish this does not render it less so. L[ord] H[owe] does not sail till Tuesday; says nothing of his intention of seeing Ad[miral] Biron, but agrees as to the necessity of our meeting him.

No address. Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Sir H. Clinton to Mr. Eden, September 20th, '78.

Note upon Elliot's Paper [by Lord Carlisle].

[1778,] Sept. 20.—How does restoring, &c., to the King's peace introduce again the entire old form of Government?

What Act except the prohibiting Act touches the situation of the place, that (*sic*) merely to trade?

It might not be proper to cut off at once, &c., as nothing would then be left to negociate with, especially as some are by choice of the A. To leave several restriction[s], however necessary and salutary, would not carry with it the proof of free commerce. If anything was agreed (?) as to this province, the first step must always be to put every other on the same footing. To do it with any view, or by expressions to intimate, that they would be again taken up, would afford a handle to opposition here, and would excite a jealousy.

No one to import when there is no demand in the country.

By what means is any trade carried on with this P.?

(M.) To look at the pro. Act.

In Lord Carlisle's hand; endorsed: Note upon Elliot's paper, Sept. 20th.

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

1778, Sept. 22, New Y[ork].—If envy can ever be excused, I think it may in my present situation. Everybody is preparing to go home who can get away from this place. Governor Johnstone embarks to-morrow in the Tartar frigate; Lord Howe sails on Tuesday; five or six other vessels will depart in the course of the week. We are very eagerly expecting the August packet, which we conceive will bring us some very interesting despatches in answer to our first letters from Philadelphia. God knows what resolutions our country may come to. There is but one that can increase our distress, which would be to relax upon the independency. If it is thought at home that peace would be [the] consequence of such a measure, you will all be miserably duped, except that peace is made before it crosses the Atlantic at Versailles. The Americans will only condescend to *treat*

if you do acknowledge their independency, and you may be assured that France will have the first offer of all beneficial alliance, and no advantages will be suffered to flow to G. Britain, without the permission of the French, and I will leave you to judge of what nature they will be. I think you will allow anything is preferable to this.

Our affairs here seem at present at a stand. Admiral Byron was seen off this port on Wednesday last, but there was appearance of such bad weather that he very wisely did not stand in with his great ships, but went off to sea, and got into Rhode Island, which disconcerts us, as Lord Howe leaves us in some confusion about the naval command, which might be settled if Byron would appear before he sails for Europe. Washinton's army has moved, but no one seems to know his intentions. The French Fleet continue in Boston, and refit with all expedition, and I suppose will return to France as soon as they are in a condition for sea. We had indeed a narrow escape in coming from Philadelphia; if Monsr. d'Estaign had only continued the same course of the packet which he chased, he would have been in time to have taken us all. We have not to accuse Fortune; I wish we had. . . .

Storer has got his strength [back]; a very few days more of hot weather, and I believe you would never have seen him again. If the heat had not been upon the decline I must have made a point with him to have put himself on board the first ship for England, or his life would have been the sacrifice to his friendship.

How people exist in this town is to [the] greatest degree wonderful; all the necessaries of life are dear beyond conception. Meat is from 15 to 17*d.* a pound, English money, and everything else in proportion. My weekly bills come to as much as the house-account at Castle Howard when we have the most company. So I shall not make a fortune out of my appointment.

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

1778, Sept. 22, New York.—This letter Governor Johnstone undertakes to deliver; that which I wrote in the morning will sail in the Eagle, . . . Lord Howe's ship. Everybody's health is mended with the weather. Storer has recovered his strength and spirits, plays all day upon a harpsicord with two Hessian fifers, and passes his time I believe very miserably. . . .

We have had some success under Gen. Grey; something of the same kind is intended for the Jerseys, and all our Generals were moving this morning. Washinton has left the White Plains, and they say the Militia have left him. The French Fleet is in Boston, and ours is here. We have given some relief to the port by granting permission to the merchants to send away their goods; so the ships are leaving us too. If you will maintain the army another year I think it can still make the Congress and its great and good ally repent their conduct. What do you mean to do with us? Have you beat the French? Remember, as you mean to retain the character of a good politician, never to give way any farther to this country, nor ever permit your friends to think of granting the independency. If you do, you will be accessory to the eternal ruin of your country: think of that, and tremble.

I wrote your father [Lord Gower] a very long letter, which I sent this morning; I had no time to revise it, which I don't like, but I hope he will consider [it] as a hasty scrawl, and put it into the fire

either before he reads it or [as] immediately after as he chooses. Parliament will soon, I conclude, be calling people towards London, but this in all probability will reach you in the country somewhere; or at least I hope so, for it is much better for you than the smoke of London. They talk here of the cold with more horror than we of the heat we have endured. Whatever our sufferings may be, at least there will be a variety in them.

Some more ships leave this port the end of the week, by which I mean to write; perhaps the packet will be arrived by that time. . . . You must not be flattered with what Johnstone may say about our return; that is all in the clouds, and cannot be cleared for some time.

Governor Geo. Johnstone to [Lord Carlisle].

1778, Sept. 24, New York.—I shall convey your Lordship's letter to Lady Carlisle with religious care, and shall ever consider the opportunity I have had of knowing your Lordship's great worth and honour as the happiest circumstance of my life, which I shall always endeavour to cultivate with the utmost friendship and respect. I wish you every success, and I do not despair, if our enemies are harassed and attacked in the manner the force enables us, that this country may yet be saved to Great Britain, and I should rejoice, above all things, that your Lordship had the glory of concluding the Treaty. My best wishes to Storer and Mr. Lewis.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Govr. Johnstone, Septr. 23rd (*sic*), 1778.

J[ames] Hare to Lord Carlisle.

1778, Sept. 28.—Oct. 5, London.—It is a great while since I wrote to you because I have been in the country ten weeks together, and could send you no news from thence. I was in hopes I should have heard from you again before now. I have received no letter but that dated June 19; since that time we have been very much alarmed for you, and I can scarcely conceive any situation more disagreeable than yours must have been at New York, with the Americans on one side and the French Fleet on the other. D'Estaing seems to have been unlucky in having had so long a passage, if it is true, as everybody here says, that by arriving a few days sooner he must have taken Lord Howe, and the whole or the greatest part of his ships.

From the last accounts sent by Lord Howe, or rather by the extract published in the Gazette, it is not clear whether he was then strong enough to pursue d'Estaing with a design of fighting him, or only with a view of observing his motions, about which we are here quite in the dark, tho' most people imagine he is gone to Rhode Island; and as the harbour there will admit ships of the largest size, I should be afraid he will distress Pigott's army very much, as they depend without doubt on the sea for provisions, and his ships must fall into d'Estaing's hands.

After so long a silence I have chosen rather an unlucky moment for writing to you, as everything is at present uncertain and left to conjecture. Nobody knows here, not even Administration, what is become either of d'Estaing or the Duke de Chartres' fleet, which has been some time sailed from Brest, and Keppel has been above a fortnight out in quest of them, but without coming near them. At one time it was reported that they were seen off Cape Finisterre, and everybody was

much alarmed with an apprehension that they were gone to join the Spanish fleet at Cales [Cadiz], though it is certain that the Spanish Ambassador continues to give the most positive assurances of the King of Spain's amicable and pacific intentions.

It is now supposed that the French Fleet may be gone to join some more ships that they have at Toulon, though some few people think it not impossible that they may be gone to America; and I confess I shall be more sorry to hear this conjecture confirmed than any other, as it is impossible for our Fleet there to make the least resistance to a fleet in every way so much superior, and without the assistance of a fleet, I should be afraid the army would be in the utmost danger, to say nothing of the defenceless state of the West Indies. Their being gone to America does not appear to me so improbable as to many people that I converse with. If they are not strong enough to risk an engagement with Keppel, what can they do better than go to America, for by staying at home they would not protect their trade whilst Keppel is master of the sea; and they can suffer no inconvenience from having their coast unprotected, as we have no troops to send out of England on any expedition, and if we had, they could oppose ten times the number. They have 45,000 men near Calais.

I am not a very eager politician, but really this is so critical a moment that nobody can remain indifferent or unconcerned; and indeed Egremont is the only person I know that is completely so, and he does not scruple saying that this country may just as well be a province of France as not, tho' if it was reduced to so low a situation, he would be one of the first to lament the change, because he has most to lose by it; I never saw any man, I mean a sensible man, wholly without public spirit, besides him, and I sometimes incline to think it affectation in him.

The King sets out tomorrow to see Winchester and Salisbury camps, and is to lay at Wilton. It is a lucky thing that his Majesty is not a gourmand, as Lord Pembroke's table is not either delicate or abundant. Derby is the life of the camp at Winchester, where he keeps a constant table, and is indefatigable in training his regiment, which is reckoned one of the best. He scorns the luxury of travelling in a chaise, but performs all his journeys on horseback, generally on post-horses, imitating perhaps another celebrated warrior, Louis 14th, who I think never travelled on his military expeditions in a carriage. Most of the officers begin to be heartily sick of their profession, and as the rainy weather makes a camp more inconvenient, I am afraid they will not bear it with patience much lodger. Keppel,* who commands at Coxheath, has made it disagreeable by the severity of his discipline, and is very unpopular on that account. Several candidates are talked of to succeed the Duke of Ancaster, and some say that it† is to be kept open for you. I wish heartily it may be so, tho' I cannot say I think it likely, unless you are coming back immediately, and then I see no difficulty, but the disadvantage of absence in cases of this sort generally destroys all chance, let the person's claims be ever so strong. The Dukes of Dorset and Chandos have, I hear, been refused, and it is whispered that Lord Camarthen gave offence by proposing himself, as it is not reckoned civil to the Queen. Possibly all this may be false; if you have not it, I don't care sixpence who has.

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* General the Hon. William Keppel.

† The office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England.

Newmarket begins tomorrow, but a thin meeting is expected, and very little money. The Prince returned about a month ago from Spa, having laid all the nations of Europe under contribution. He won 7,000*l.* at hazard, almost all of foreigners, and is now gone down to Hunston to shoot, and expects a very brilliant party, of which number are Charles, Lord Robert, &c. Charles [Fox] loves shooting passionately, and as the Prince has an excellent cook and good claret he will stay there probably till Parliament meets. . . . Brookes is to open his house in St. James's Street next month, it is to consist of as many of the present members of Almack's as choose to put their names down. . . . George [Selwyn] is now, I imagine, squaring his elbows and turning out his toes at Paris, and will soon be here.* You will find him a much better correspondent, for I have no knack at picking up anecdotes, and still less at relating them. . . .

October 3rd.—The Brest Fleet is gone back into Brest Harbour. How they have escaped Keppel,† God knows. Some say that he had orders not to meet them, but as he is much stronger than them it is impossible to believe that we should have so much forbearance. Three of their Indiamen have been taken within a few days; one by Capt. Finch, a brother of Lord Aylsford's, a very rich one; but the richest was taken by the Liverpool privateers. The Stocks have been rising for some time, and will still continue to rise, whether from the great successes of our privateers and other ships, or from a prospect of peace, I am unable to judge. Lord North told a friend of mine last week that he did not think the war would last long.

In the meanwhile everybody is solicitious to know what Spain will do with her fleet at Cadiz, which is almost ready to put to sea. If they have no distinct object in view, their going to the expense of such an armament seems to be absurd, as they certainly can have nothing to fear either from France or England; but I dare say we shall either have to fight them, or buy their neutrality at a high price.

The Chancellor has been dangerously ill, but is now better. Lady Thanet died last week of a fever. Poor Lady Holland had recovered beyond the most sanguine hopes of her physicians, but relapsed last week, and died yesterday. As it was impossible for her to have gone through the winter, it is much happier for her friends and herself that she is at once delivered from a state of sickness and pain. Lady Louisa Conolly and the Duke of Richmond have both offered to take the two children under their protection, and Ossory seems inclined to the latter. They are both such good offers that it does not much signify which he prefers, as they are sure of being desirably situated and properly taken care of.

Brookes opens his house in St. James's Street this month. He invites all or as many as please to come from the Club in Pall [Mall], and Almack desires us to stay with him, but as there can be no reason for preferring a bad old house to a good new one, I imagine Brookes will be victorious.‡ Sir Robert Eden said last night that he expected his brother [William Eden] to return very soon. I hope you are coming back, for I cannot conceive what is to be done in America. I have wrote to you several times, but as some of the Packets have been taken, probably some of my letters have not reached you, which is of no consequence, provided you know that I have not forgot you.

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* Selwyn was travelling in France and Italy while Lord Carlisle was in America, and he does not appear to have written to the Earl, though he received several letters from him, during that interval. (Jesse, vol. III.)

† Admiral the Hon. Augustus Keppel.

‡ Parts of these two sentences are struck through with two strokes of a pen.

[P.S.] Sir George Hay, who has been confined for madness some time, yesterday escaped from his keepers and drowned himself. Lord Lincoln is going tomorrow to Nice in the last stage of a consumption.

Lady Carlisle to Lord Carlisle.

[1778,] September 30, Trentham.—I got all your letters safe that were wrote the end of July. I hope Mr. Storer is quite recovered, and that you have been quite well. . . . We are expecting every day now to hear from Lord Howe; how happy it would make me if he should beat Monsr. d'Estaing. The Brest Fleet we know nothing of for certain; the last accounts from Keppel came at the same time as those from New York; he was then at sea, but had seen nothing of the French, and was going to lie off Brest Harbour. As I have some hopes you may be in England the middle or end of November, I shall go to town with my father and Lady Gower. . . . If anything should prevent you coming so soon . . . the only consolation I can have in that case will be that you have some chance of making peace with the Americans. If you are obliged to stay, which I do not think likely, I hope your labours will be crowned with success. I understand from my father that you have the King's leave to return unless anything particular occurs to prevent you. . . .

Addressed: To the Earl of Carlisle, &c., New York.

Lord Carlisle to Lord G[ower].

[1778, Sept.]—The packet which came into this port on the 19th inst. was a circumstance of very interesting nature to us all, more so on private accounts than on public, having received already our official dispatches by the Savage sloop of war.

This mail has dispersed every apprehension that the situation of your dear daughter with too much reason gave birth to, and I feel a tranquillity of mind that I hardly have done since I set my foot upon this continent.*

I shall but cast one look back upon what has happened in this country; it may not some day or another be tiresome to go through the whole. I only now must entreat you always to remember that it is not upon the evacuation of Philadelphia, but upon the reduction and dismemberment of the army, and the changing an offensive war into a defensive one, that all the reasoning which has been laid before you, solely rests. The evacuation of Philadelphia for a thousand purposes and for a thousand reasons might not only have been a necessary, but a wise measure. The ambiguity with which we hinted in our first letters at the Southern expeditions might naturally lead you to conclude that the secrecy simply respecting the evacuation, and not the purposes meant to be fulfilled by that operation, was the only circumstance that excited our astonishment upon our landing. If the measure had been adopted with a view for active exertions, we should have been very easy under the appearance of the retreat.

Perhaps this might have occasioned a delay in our writing to the Congress, but in our situation the only hope of obtaining the answer we desired was before the ends to be answered by this step were exposed to the enemy. As long as a suspicion remained that the evacuation was

* Five lines are struck out here.

intended as a feint, to draw Mr. Washinton from Valley Forge (and I know this suspicion was entertained by him), we stood upon tolerable ground, which we foresaw would soon fail us, if we did not take advantage as soon as possible of it. When I say tolerable ground, I mean to be understood, much better than after the army had suffered the loss of nine or ten thousand men, which in a few days would have become a matter of public notoriety.

The Congress saw we were in earnest in turning our backs upon them, waited till there was nothing doubtful in the General's intentions, and then gave us the answer you have seen. Whether this answer was occasioned by the spirit that took rise from our retiring before them, whether they had got at our secret of reducing the army, and having little to fear from us after that reduction, or by the expectation of seeing Monsr. d'Estaing upon their coast, I shall not pretend to determine.

Putting the French out of the question, the alteration of the system of the war was in itself sufficient to destroy, when known, all hope of success. We endeavoured to strike the blow before that change became known, a measure I shall never repent of, because in my conscience I believe it was the only chance we had of benefiting our country by our labours.

In Lord Carlisle's hand; endorsed: Heads of a letter to Ld. G.

Lord Carlisle to Governor Johnstone.

[1778, Sept.]—You have obliged me very much by the freedom with which you have given me your sentiments upon the letter I enclosed to you. I cannot say I entertain any apprehensions in subscribing my name to that part of it which objects to unnecessary application to Parlt. (for such I take is the meaning meant to be conveyed) when such applications can be legally dispensed with, and when those powers delegated by Parlt. may be legally exerted without returning again to the Legislature, which has confidently trusted the exercise of them to other hands.

Such applications, if not necessary, are to my understanding likely to be replete with mischiefs. They argue cowardice and weakness in [a] Government that should seem to be always looking about for shelter under Parliamentary protection and fears to make use of those means, unless they are constantly repeated, of secrecy and dispatch that the public have consented to trust it with. They give time for your enemies to destroy the effects, salutary as they may be, of your deliberations; and they afford opportunity to the ill-disposed to make every preparation that may defeat your purposes. The only question to determine is whether, considering the inconveniences I have stated, you should, if you can do without it, have recourse to Parliamentary interference.

Draft, endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Governor Johnstone, and my answer.

Queries for Sir H. C[linton].

[1778, Sept. ?]—What number of men sufficient for an offensive war, to keep this place, Rhode Island, &c. ?

What for a defensive war ?

What to be retained in the South, and what numbers to secure us there ?

What could be done with 6,000 men more than required for garrisons?

What could have been done this year, if the French Expedition had been known earlier?

Would less than an army of 30,000 suffice for the great (?) purpose (?) inclusive of the garrisons?

In Lord Carlisle's hand.

Challenge by [the Marquis] Lafayette to the Earl of Carlisle.

1778, Oct. 5, Fishkill, ce 5 Octobre 1778.—Je n'avois cru jusqu'ici, Mylord, avoir jamais d'affaire qu'avec vos generaux, et je n'esperois l'honneur de les voir qu'à la tête des troupes qui nous sont repectivement confiées. Votre lettre du 26 aoust au Congress des états unis, et la phrase insultante pour ma patrie qui vous y avès signée, pouvoit seule me donner quelque chose à demêler avec vous. Je ne daigne pas la refuter, Mylord, mais je desire la punir. C'est vous comme chef de la Commission que je somme de m'en donner une reparation aussi publique que l'a été l'offense, et que le sera le dementi qui la suit; il n'auroit pas autant tardé si la lettre me fut parvenue plûtôt. Obligé de m'absenter quelques jours, j'espere trouver en revenant votre reponse. Mr. de Gimat, officier françois, prendra pour moi les arrangements qui vous conviennent. Je ne doute pas que pour l'honneur de son compatriote Mr. le G'al Clinton ne veuille bien s'y prêter. Quant à moy, Mylord, tous me sont bons, pourvû qu'à l'avantage glorieux d'être né françois, je joigne celui de prouver à un homme de votre nation qu'on n'attaquera jamais impunement la mienne.

Lafayette.

A Mylord Carlisle à Newyork.

M. de Gimat to Lord Carlisle, at New York.

1778, Oct. 8, Bedfort.—Mylord,—Je suis chargé de vous faire parvenir une lettre, et de vous demander une réponse; ôserai-je vous prier de me l'envoyer le plus tôt qu'il vous sera possible? je l'attenderai au poste où je deposerai celle qui vous est adressée. S'il ne m'est pas permis d'y rester le term[e] necessaire à la recevoir, je me rétirerai au notre, où je vous prie, mylord, de me faire sçavoir si votre intantion seroit de venir à votre poste avancé, où j'aurai l'honneur de vous aller joindre, et prendre avec vous les arrangements qui vous conviendront en réponse à la lettre de Mr. le Marquis de Lafayette. Je puis vous assurer qu'il tiendera tous ceux que je prenderai avec vous. Je suis avec respect,

Mylord,
Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,
Gimat,
Aid[e] de camp de Mr. le Mqis. de Lafayette.

Seal.

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

1778, Oct. 14, New York.—I shall write but four lines by Commander Elliot, as you will receive a longer letter from me by this packet. I enclose a manifesto which we have issued. I have one objection to sending it you, which is, I fear it will raise your expectations too high, when you read that in forty days from its

publication we intend leaving this continent. God knows, if the conduct of the Americans is not much changed in that time, we can have nothing to do here. But I must be so far a bad husband and an unnatural father as to hope that change will take place, and that I shall [be] kept some time longer. . . .

My uncle [Adm. Byron] has left this port, and means to watch Monsr. d'Estaing's motions off Boston. I do not promise myself a great deal from his endeavours, as this coast begins to be stormy, and his ships are large for winter cruizing.

I am every day on the top of my house with a telescope to look for the signals made upon Staten Island for vessels coming into the Hook, for it is now some time since you are in debt to us a packet. I shall soon begin to despair of her, and shall give her up for taken, if she does not make her appearance in a very few days. . . .

I have desired Commander Elliot to wait upon you; he has behaved with great friendship and kindness to me. Storer is pretty stout when he debars himself from plumb cake.

Pray read our manifesto with attention; we understand that here it gives great satisfaction; a little farther off perhaps it may be burnt by the common hangman. 'Tis our last dying speech, and ought to be affecting. . . .

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

1778, Oct. 16, New York.—I have waited as long as I could for the arrival of this detestable Packet, which is now three weeks after its time, and gives us every reason to fear that it has shared the same fate with the former, and has fallen into the hands of the French. The troops are returned from the Jerseys; they got some forage and provisions, which was the great object of their going out. We are now preparing to send out the expeditions to the South, after which this campaign will probably close. That we *exist* ought to be above your expectations: you will be very unreasonable if that does not satisfy you.

I enclose you our manifesto. . . . There is no doubt but that should this publication be treated with the same neglect as those we have before thought fit to issue, we can have nothing to do here. Our return would be a duty which we owe our country, and our stay would only subject it and ourselves to fresh insult and contempt; but we are to hope this will not be the case; *you* must hope too that I may be detained. . . .

The autumnal weather, which is really fine, agrees with us all very well; we have bright suns and sharp air. . . . Sir William Erskine tells me he has procured for me one of the pacers [horses] of this country. If he answers the description given of him, I shall send him to England, for you have nothing of that kind, and it will be a great curiosity. A good pacer will pace 14 and 15 miles in the hour, but the motion is uneasy. I endeavoured to rear for you some of the partridges of this country, but the last departed this life yesterday. We took them in a very singular manner. While we were at dinner under some rocks about 10 miles up the North River, we saw some birds floating down the stream; some of the boat's crew happened to be swimming at that moment, took them up, and they proved to be partridges who had tired in all probability in their flight and fallen into the river.

What are we to think of your sea affairs? We shall be more reasonable than you are at home, for everything that is not quite ruinous we

are taught by our misfortunes to look upon with great composure. The Duke of Ancaster embarked yesterday in the Leviathan; though he should not be arrived when you receive this, the family on that account will have no cause for uneasiness, for the Leviathan is the convoy ship and must expect a long passage. If you see any of them you had better give them this information. Col. Fox has got promotion, which stops his going to the West Indies, a climate that would perhaps have proved fatal to any one of his constitution.

[Oct.] 19. The Packet is come in, and I have received two letters.

* * *

General Cortland Skinner to Lord Carlisle.

1778, Oct. 22, Staaten Island.—I did not think proper to trouble your Lordship in person at a time when I know you must be taken up with despatches from Britain, which must require your attention, and therefore address you by letter, which you can at leisure attend to. I have by memorial asked of the Commander in Chief, the Commission of Colonel of the New Jersey Volunteers, which I flatter myself I am entitled to, not only as the regiment has been raised under my influence, but as a compensation for my losses and services. I shall not trouble your Lordship with a long detail, but humbly ask your patronage of my memorial and your good offices with the Commander in Chief.

The Earl of Carlisle to the Rev. Mr. Ekins. (Private.)

[1778, October.]—Since my arrival in America I have entered into my thirtieth year. Your attention and my regard began in my seventh. From so remote and early a period has continued to flow a stream of friendship and affection that shall not now be interrupted on my part by a reserve, that would very undeservedly reflect upon your discretion. Nor is it only because I know that you are interested in everything that touches my welfare or reputation, and on that account there is *tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros*, that I lay before you every circumstance that has occurred in so important an undertaking, but that because I foresee I shall have occasion to appeal to your judgment in the regulation of my future conduct.

Actuated by an ambition that may be forgiven when the object in pursuit is righteous, when that object is pursued with much difficulty and some danger, a painful separation from all that is dear, and the exchange of a life of luxury and pleasure to [for] that of business and anxiety; to do something in the hour of general confusion and distress, and not remain inactive when my country seemed to be verging towards its ruin; to be in some measure conducive to the extricating it from a war, which had shaken it to its very foundations, and to be the bearer of such offers of peace to America as the interests of both countries required, induced me to propose to cross the Atlantic, previous to any intimation I had received that the appointment of Commissioners for the purpose of treating with America had ever been in contemplation.

It had long been my fixed opinion that the only method of putting an end to this disastrous war was by liberal, specific, and intelligible offers to America of reconciliation, supported at the same time by the most active and spirited military operations; operations that were upon no pretence to be relaxed or suspended until America had given unequivocal proof of her sincere desire to meet G. Britain, and unite in the

endeavour of not only restoring the public tranquillity, but of fixing it upon that basis that neither ambition abroad [n]or faction at home should be able to destroy.

The conditions upon which I declared myself ready to embark in this undertaking were as follow :—

That I might be joined by men whose characters, rank in life, and abilities might restore that importance and weight to the Commission that it might lose by my youth and inexperience. That no powers should be denied us to bring the business to a quick termination, stop the effusion of human blood, and hinder the other nations from rising on our mutual destruction.

I was soon informed that my offer was acceptable; that the King had received it as a testimony of my affection to his person, and as a proof of my zeal to serve my country in the moment of difficulty and distress.

On the 17th of February 1778 the conciliatory propositions made their appearance in Parliament, and on the 20th the drafts of the bills were despatched to America by the Andromeda, prefacing the steps to be taken after Commissioners were appointed. Feb. 1778.

On the 25th, Mr. Eden called upon me to acquaint me that it had been proposed to him to be joined with me in the Commission, a proposal that he seemed willing to accept. The intimacy I had always lived with him in, the experience I had had of his honour and understanding, rendered his nomination to the employment very satisfactory to me.

Soon after this Mr. Jackson was mentioned to me by Mr. Eden to complete the number of those who were to compose the Commission. I bent to the persuasion that his accurate knowledge of the country to which we were to repair, and his long and familiar acquaintance with her interests, would outbalance the insignificancy of his situation and the obscurity of his name.

These preliminary arrangements being settled, we were desired to meet at Lord North's on the 13th of March, to receive the outlines of our instructions and compare our different ideas of the business in which we were to be employed. March.

At this meeting were present Lord North, Lord Geo. Germain, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr. Eden, Mr. Jackson, and myself. Little passed of any real importance, and I confess I came away by no means edified with the conversation, and not a little shocked at the slovenly manner with which an affair so serious in its nature had been dismissed. But the sulkiness of some, the childishness of others, and the haste with which everything was hurried did not long remain unaccounted for, for on that day Administration had found their error with regard to the intentions of France. Monsr. de Noailes had received his orders to fling off the mask, and had fairly told us that there was little left for us but to form a commercial treaty similar to that which was actually concluded between the King his master and the *united independent states of America.* For the secret history of the treaty alluded to I shall refer you to a note marked ———. For the reasons which induced Ministers to flatter themselves that France would take no active part in the dispute, I must refer you to themselves.

From this period so many clouds began to spread around us, that I had my doubts for some time whether the idea of sending Commissioners from England was not, and ought not to be, totally abandoned.

On the 29th I was requested by Lord North again to meet Mr. Eden and Mr. Jackson, and resume a business that had suffered so long an interruption. Our instructions were now in a more finished form, and as the rough draft had been formerly laid before us, little alteration was

proposed either by Mr. Eden or myself except to their preposterous length. But so many adverse arguments were started by Mr. Jackson, so often surmounted, and again repeated with a fresh addition of difficulties, as made it absolutely necessary to take advantage of the moment in which he seemed desirous to disunite himself from us, and accordingly a letter was the next morning sent him, which freed us from the embarrassment we were under at finding ourselves connected with a person who, with the best intention in the world, would have driven us mad with doubts and disgressions before we had got to Portsmouth.

Immediately upon this, the appointment of Governor Johnstone took place, who prepared to set out with an expedition that must have been very distressing to his private affairs. This union of men of different political ideas upon former proceedings relative to America we flattered ourselves would at least convey a strong proof of the rectitude of our intentions, and the fairness of proposals we had to tender.

Till nearly the time of our leaving England a fever confined me to my house, hindering me from mixing in the world, and from obtaining some information that was very necessary for me to have been possessed of. Tho' perhaps I should not have known where to have looked for this information, for a disorder equally tedious and oppressive had seized the only person in power whose confidence I had ever been solicitous to obtain, and who I am persuaded in other circumstances would not have treated me with more reserve on this than on former occasions.

The day before our departure from London I thought it necessary to call upon the Secretary of State for the American department,* in order to receive any further instruction that his Majesty might honour me with. My visit was very short, and consequently [it is] not difficult to recollect everything that passed.

One thing fell from him that, if I had been more upon my guard or more suspicious in my disposition, might have induced me to have pursued him with more pressing interrogation; but as at that time it did not occur to me that in order to *ensure* our departure, care was to be employed that we should have no intimation of the extraordinary plans laid down for the Naval and Military Commander[s], whom we in our ignorance believed were either instructed or of themselves would act in that manner as might tend to facilitate our endeavours, I confess it made little impression upon me. When I tell it you, I think you will agree with me that it was in its nature too trifling to rouse either my jealousy, or to lead me to any inferences that would at that time have destroyed the delusion in which it was contrived we should remain till our arrival in America, and till it was too late to make a proper use of the detection.

The circumstance I allude to is this. Finding that New York was particularly marked out for the place of our destination, I wished to know the reasons why that place was preferred to Philadelphia; the only answer I obtained was, *perhaps that city may not by your arrival be in our hands.* Sensible that a variety of active military operations might render it impossible to leave so large a garrison as to ensure the possession of it while the army acted at any distance, believing too that the removal of the troops last year Southward was never positively *enjoined*, only *recommended*, or perhaps *acquiesced* in at home, it never occurring to me that a very different system was to be this year adopted, I own I did not conceive anything farther could be hid under these expressions, but that it was not insisted upon that city should be

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* Lord George Sackville Germaine.

retained at all events, but that it should be relinquished, if other pursuits made the measure justifiable.

You will see by the sequel that more was meant than met the ear, and that it was imprudent in his Lordship to say so much when it was evident his intention was to say nothing, or ought to have been so, lest he should risk the discovery of that which was so clearly a measure to conceal. As well as my memory serves me he also hinted that perhaps the naval force under Lord Howe might also suffer some diminution. Not knowing at that time what the force alluded to consisted of, how much too large it might be for the service expected from it, this also made as little impression upon me as the other; nor am I sure this last circumstance occurred in my visit to his Lordship, or that I had not picked it up in some other quarter. I think I may venture to assert that the only consequence that could have been fairly drawn from this conversation was, that if any plan was recommended (for that any should be positively enjoined was not to be even suspected) to the Commanders in Chief, it must have been that they should turn towards the Northern Provinces; therefore New York appeared the most preferable place of destination, as by these means we should have the earliest communication with the Commanders in Chief, without whom we could take no steps whatever.

On the 16th of April we embarked at Portsmouth on board his Majesty's ship the Trident, of 64 guns, and after waiting at St. Helen's till the 21st, we set sail on that day, and without any remarkable occurrence in our voyage, on the 2d of June got into soundings off the coast of America, and on the 4th came to an anchor in the mouth of the river Delaware. April. June.

The reason that induced us to change the place of our destination and to make use of a discretionary power contained in our instructions, was meeting Capt. Whitworth in the Stanley brig about 70 leagues from land, who informed us that the two Commanders in Chief were then in Philadelphia. We did not hesitate seizing this occasion, which for some time might not be again afforded us, of conversing with them together; and the wind being equally fair for either port, we made an immediate alteration in our course.

Upon our arrival in the River we found to our great surprise all the naval armament collected together with evident preparations for the immediate evacuation of the city of Philadelphia by his Majesty's military force. Every vessel of war was recalled from the coast, and the transports, &c. which we passed, to the amount of near four hundred, were filled with the miserable inhabitants of that city, whose attachment to our cause obliged [them] to run their fortunes with us or swear allegiance to the Congress; unfortunate beings who at least deserved from us this mark of our attention and compassion in preventing them from falling into the hands of a relentless enemy.

Owing to the size of our ship and difficult navigation of the River we did not reach Philadelphia till the 6th.* The first appearances of things were not flattering; we were not in possession of almost a foot of land before we came to *Red Bank*,† where a post well supported gave us a few acres of territory; the enemy were suffered to act in the most offensive manner even under the guns of our ships of war; no boat was permitted by the inhabitants of either side to approach the shore; no fresh provisions were furnished to the sick; and we, as we passed in an

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* "At night" in the other copy.

† "Red Bank" is underlined, and "Billinspat" is written in the margin.

armed sloop, were insulted by a party of riflemen who fired several shots at us, which, tho' striking at too great a distance to occasion the least alarm, yet manifested the malevolence as well as rashness of their intention.

Immediately upon our landing, the two Commanders in Chief, Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, lost no time to display the embarrassments they were under, and the difficulties that were to attend our undertaking. We were greatly astonished to find they were both under the irresistible influence of *positive* and *repeated* orders; which orders had industriously been kept a secret from us, though sent out long before our departure, and which, when they are laid before you, will clearly convince you are [were ?] calculated to render the Commission both ineffectual and ridiculous.

June.

The substance of the orders was as follows:—

"That an expedition should be fitted out with all speed from the "Delaware against the Island of St. Lucia, in which was to be employed "five thousand troops, artillery, &c. in proportion. That three thousand "men should also be sent to St. Augustine, with stores, artillery, &c."

By an obedience to these orders the Army would become reduced from about fourteen thousand men to about six. But I should inform you that the part of the "army not employed in these expeditions were "(*sic*) to be transported to New York, but in case that place should "not be found tenable, to convey the troops to Halifax, and from thence "to reinforce Canada with any numbers that might be required for the "security of that place."

It requires no argument to prove that six thousand men, even if they had been left to their choice, could take no other part but endeavour to join the rest of the army in the environs of New York.

The strict tenour of the order directed, as I have said before, that the expeditions should be forwarded from the Capes of the Delaware, the Army there to separate, part to the south, part to the north. There arose some difficulty to the vigorous compliance to the injunction in one particular. For if the whole army was to embark with all the horses to the amount of above five thousand, those unfortunate wretches who had taken refuge on board our vessels, must have been turned loose to the vengeance of an unforgiving enemy, with the accumulated crime of having endeavoured to escape with us on their heads. Humanity revolted at this idea, and another, tho' not so perfidious, yet too cruel for the generosity of the tempers of those whose office it was to issue the injunction and command the execution—to cut the throat of every horse in the camp. This was thought of but for [a moment]* upon the discovery that there was not tonnage to convey the inhabitants and the army. But this idea too was immediately abandoned, when it came to be considered that this method of evacuating the province would add to other humiliating appearances. It was therefore resolved that the whole Army should pass through the Jerseys, take the chance of Gen. Washinton making an injudicious attack upon us in the march, and by this means diminishing the triumph that the retiring before him must too certainly occasion. The Expeditions were therefore to be sent off from Sandy Hook as soon as the Army had performed their march.

It was not possible to risk the march of the reduced part of the army, with Gen. Washinton's superior force so near them.

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* Struck out.

You will here see *that* which we had always looked upon as the great instrument which was to secure us success, *the active and offensive course of Military operation*, was no longer to support our proceedings. A defensive war carries with it neither threats [n] or terrors; and when the rejection of everything we had to offer was to be followed by no distress to those who consulted alone their private interests or ambition in the refusal, and not the advantage of either country; and when it was most evident that nothing but the menaces of war, or its real destructive consequences, could shake men of this description in their power, and bring those who had conferred this power on them to their senses; you will agree with me that our offers of peace wore too much the appearances of supplications for mercy from a vanquished and exhausted State.

What was to be done in this moment? Not to address the Congress when they were so near to us, then sitting at York Town, about sixty miles distant, would have justly excited the surprise of all America. To address them, and not to be enabled to wait for their answer, was equally perplexing. There was a reason which perhaps carried some weight with it, for preferring, of two difficult situations, the latter. Notwithstanding the preparations for leaving the Town could not be withheld from the enemies' knowledge, yet the strange purposes that were to be fulfilled by the hasty evacuation were of too much consequence even to be trusted to our own people.

The *discontent* of the Army at finding all their expectations of an active campaign suddenly dissappointed; the *indignation* that would justly arise in the breasts of those in perceiving themselves devoted to destruction by this preposterous expedition, to be undertaken at a season when no constitution has been found strong enough to encounter the yellow fever that then rages in that pestilentious climate; the *desertion* of our friends, or the dragging them after us to starve in a distant province; the *advice* given, in my poor opinion injudiciously, as it was said by Gen. Howe to many well affected to our cause, to make the best terms with the enemy, as our power of protection was upon the point of being withdrawn, an advice which, if given, carried with it a very dangerous example and temptation to the provincial corps to do the same, the safety of New York, &c. depending at that moment upon their fidelity: these circumstances strongly evinced the necessity of preserving the strictest silence, not to give time for secret cabal, or the ill-humour of the troops to rise to any height.

Our caution was attended with this salutary consequence, that from the difficulty of knowing our real motives for abandoning the city, a suspicion was entertained by the enemy, that the preparation was a feint, meant to deceive, to put Gen. Washinton off his guard, and that only a change of military operations were (*sic*) to take place.

Before this was cleared up, which we were sensible would be the case the instant the General began his march, we availed ourselves of the few days that were allowed us, while yet the just apprehension of what sixteen thousand of the finest and most healthy troops that G. Britain was ever mistress of [might do?] had not given way to the contempt that was to follow the measures they were obliged to put into execution; I say, we made use of this time, short as it was, to tender our proposals of reconciliation to the Congress. June.

Our situation permitted none of the protracting arts of negociation; it was too nice and critical to attempt any experiment, and we were all convinced that we had no other part to take but at once to display every

concession and every inducement which our country had empowered us with, to establish the general tranquillity.

Upon the receipt of our address to the Congress, that assembly was wise enough to wait, before it determined upon the answer, till the conduct of the General was no longer doubtful. The resolutions upon our proposals did not reach us till the 2nd* of July at New York; resolutions which we were well prepared for, because we had already foreseen the consequences of the compliance with the injunctions before-mentioned.

On the 16th, the day before the troops were to cross the Delaware and evacuate the city, we embarked on board the Ferret Galley, and on the 17th reached our old habitation, the Trident. Adverse winds, the multitude of vessels, and the intricacy of the river, made our voyage extremely tedious, for we did not reach New York till the 30th.

On the 22nd we sent off a packet to England, with despatches on board, to give an account of the steps we had taken, &c.

June. We got clear of the Delaware on the 28th, and on the 29th, in the morning, we spoke with an express boat from England, sent out with instructions to the Commanders in Chief.

By the master of the packet we found that a French Fleet had sailed from Toulon on the 13th of April, that he had been chased by them in the Lat., had had much difficulty in escaping, and that in all probability the fleet was at that moment near the coast. Recollect that the departure of this Fleet was *eight days* previous to our leaving St. Helen's; recollect also the time we remained at our ease at Philadelphia and in the Delaware, little suspecting that any assistance had been already sent to America from France, and you will see we had some good fortune in not falling into the hands of the French. For if the reasons had not been sufficiently strong to have justified a trifling deviation, as it then appeared, from the orders sent from England, the Expeditions must have [of] course have been sent from the Delaware, instead of Sandy Hook, and the whole army must have been put on board for the different destination; the embarkation of the troops would of necessity have occasioned the delay of a few days; therefore, pursuing strictly the instructions of the Secretary of State, the whole army, artillery, baggage, stores, the Fleet of Transports, amounting to above four hundred sail, would have become an easy conquest to the French, as they would have found us perfectly unprepared, having only 2† ships of the line, besides the Trident, in which we were.

I enter into this detail to arm you against an insinuation that the hasty evacuation of the province was a measure founded in wisdom, because our situation would have been more desperate, if these orders had never been issued. I am free to own that the arrival of the French without any intimation received on our parts that they were near the coast would in all cases have been a very embarrassing circumstance. For however we might accidentally have had no reason to fear them in Pensilvania, yet New York and Rhode Island must have been left to the mercy of the invader. But waiving all argument upon fortuitous events, I shall only observe that the *explicit obedience* to the orders to which I have so often alluded, would have been at one blow the complete demolition of our whole military force, and an irrecoverable shock to our naval.

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* Struck out: "On board the Trident in our way to (New York)."

† "1" written over. "One ship" in the other copy.

You will perceive that it was not the mere abandoning the province that was attended with salutary consequences, but it was to the accidental manner in which it was so abandoned that we owe our safety, pursuing a method contrary to the order received before our arrival. You will also clearly see that the dangers to which we were liable from the French Squadron, could not be the motives which influenced Administration in commanding the retreat of the army, for the destination of the French Fleet could not have been suspected, if we judge by the time Adml. Byron was sent out after it, which was not till the 9th of June, nearly two months after. I shall therefore continue to maintain that the order was founded neither in wisdom [n]or expediency; that it was in itself ruinous to the Commission, and that it was adopted to fulfil no other purposes whatever, but of making an attack upon an insignificant West India Island at the most unfit season of the year—in the hurricane season—and of reducing the Army by sending a number of men to the Southern Continent; Expeditions that admitted of no delay, for which the prospect of attacking the Rebel Army to great advantage, and for which the peace and the reconciliation that might flow from such advantage was no longer to be placed in competition, and for which, June.
to quote the original words of the Admiralty injunctions, *America* was to become but a secondary consideration.*

On the 29th, at night, we anchored off Sandy Hook, and on the 30th, in the morning, left the Trident and went on board a yacht, which conveyed us to New York.

The Army was not as yet arrived; some fires at a distance, the usual and terrible index of their motions, informed us of their position. The account of the action of the 28th near Monmouth Court, in the Jerseys, was soon after our landing sent to us by the General, the particulars of which you are too well acquainted with to make it necessary for me to enter upon the details. Upon the whole I have reason to think our army fortunate in performing the march with so little loss, considering it was embarrassed with a train of baggage that extended above seven miles in length, and the road extremely narrow through which it was to pass. We had undoubtedly the advantage in the action, though the enemy sung also *Te Deum;* and had not the heat been beyond all belief severe, several of our men running mad, and instantly dropping down dead from its intenseness, the thermometer being in the shade at 96, we are taught to believe that it would have been very decisive in our favour.

In the evening of the 29th Lord Howe came on board the Trident, and communicated to us the contents of the last letters received by the express before mentioned.

He informed us that Admiral Byron was ordered to sail for America with twelve line-of-battle ships; intelligence that afforded us infinite satisfaction, as by such an augmentation of force we thought we had very little to apprehend from Monsr. d'Estaign, provided there was no delay in Mr. Byron's departure; though there was one circumstance that damped our spirits upon closer examination of the advice, when we found that the apprehensions for Halifax had induced Administration to order Byron's squadron to that place; which might greatly retard his arrival where he was most wanted. The joy that this information caused lasted but for a moment. For the mortifying circumstances of our situation were soon increased by the arrival of the French Fleet, which anchored on the 11th inst. off Sandy Hook, within a small distance of all our naval force collected under the command of Lord

* In the other copy, "those injunctions, The American Contest."

Howe. The Bar, upon which there is 4* fathom of water, separated the two fleets. Our force was esteemed unequal to make any attempt against the enemy, but an advantageous position rendered us formidable in case Monsr. d'Estaign had attempted to have forced his passage up the river (before we had received any reinforcement or had fitted up any fireships), which was for some days to be expected.

The chief communication with the ocean was completely blocked up; that through the Sound was still open, but of very precarious and difficult navigation. I had the mortification to be witness to some of the disgraces of my country, and saw a large vessel taken within a very short distance of the boat in which I was.

I have said before that we had received on the 2nd inst. an answer from the Congress, refusing to enter into treaty with us unless the Independency of America was explicitly acknowledged, or our armies and fleets withdrawn from the coast. Our instructions permitted us to waive the question of independency for the *purposes of treating;* that is to say, we had the power to postpone all conversation upon this nice subject for this reason: If the terms of accommodation which we offered were accepted, such an acceptation of the terms would of itself imply, without forcing us to again stir those troubled waters, a dependency on the side of America. Those who acknowledge the King of G. Britain are *not* independent; those who have not the power to enter into alliances with foreign powers, &c., are *not* independent. I need not innumerate (*sic*) all the articles of this nature which are contained in our proposals, and which singly would constitute the dependency of one country and the sovereignty of another; it is sufficient to assert that though the form of the dependency might be changed by our concessions, America would have been still dependent, stronger and happier for that dependency, which she would only have been sensible of in the union of that force that would have made us, so connected, the admiration and the terror of the universe.

The impossibility of withdrawing the fleets and the army before the treaty had arrived to some advanced stage is too obvious to need any comment.

Notwithstanding the little hope we had of being able to remove these two barriers that stood in the way of all accommodation as long as those who so artfully opposed them to us remained in power, yet, as there appeared an opening to further correspondence upon the nature of those treaties and alliances alluded to in their answer to us, and upon the right that they had assumed to enter into such treaties, we were willing to make it clear to all mankind that no petulance or haste on our sides had brought the business to a decision, which otherwise might have been delayed, and have given room for accident and better fortunes to have operated in our favour.

Soon after our arrival at New York we sent despatches to England, stating fully the position of affairs, the improbability of success from our endeavours, and our desire to have his Majesty's permission to return, rather than subject the Commission to fresh insult, and ourselves to the accusation of receiving the public wages, when we were convinced no benefit could be [the] consequence of our remaining any longer. To this requisition Mr. Johnstone did not put his name, not from any difference of opinion from us in regard either to the propriety of quitting this continent, or the possibility of serving our country by our stay, but [he] did not conceive that he was under any restrictions not to depart, which our request seemed to him to imply; though we worded that request

* There seems to be a ? after this figure.

in such a manner as we had no doubt would make it appear more as a formality which we should wish to observe, rather than a *sine quâ non* which rendered us not the masters of our own conduct.

About the same time as we despatched the packet to England we again wrote to the Congress, questioned their powers of making alliances, and of forming connections with foreign courts. Upon the 25th we read in one of their publications a resolution *not to return any answer whatever to our last letter*, as we had not complied with either of the two preliminar[y] articles of treaty, which I have before stated. July 11th.

The French Fleet, having remained twelve days at the Hook, on the 22nd went to sea. I should have told you that before they made us a visit, they had landed the French Minister at Philadelphia, who was received with much ceremony by the Congress. That assembly had styled his master in their letter to us their great and good ally. The epithet *good* we had no wish to deprive him of, but we were in great hopes at several different periods to have been able to have called in question that of great. The demolition of his fleet, which from our force we thought ourselves entitled to expect, would have made the Americans very ready to give up the former, and as for the latter they would have flung it us into the bargain. July 22nd.

On the 16th the Renown of 50 guns joined the Fleet from a cruise, and on the 28th the Reasonable of 64.

Lord Howe's force on the 25th of July: Eagle—64; Trident—64; Ardent—64; Nonsuch—64; Somerset—64; St. Albans—64; Preston—50; Isis—50; Experiment—50; Phœnix—40; Roebuck—40; Pearl—32; Richmond—32; Venus—36; Apollo—32; 3 fire-ships, 2 bombs, 3 galleys, and the Vigilant.*

On the 30th the Cornwall of 74 arrived. She was one of Admiral Byron's squadron, had left England the 9th of June, and parted company with him on the 5th of July, in a hard gale of wind.

On the 31st the Centurion came in from the Northward. On the 1st of August the Solebay brought the intelligence of the French being before Rhode Island, assisting the attack of the Rebels upon that place. The situation of Rhode Island is naturally strong, and though the enemy were in great force, amounting as it was said to near 16,000, and the garrison not above 7,000, yet Sir R. Pigott, who commanded there, wrote with no apprehension from the land. The assistance that Monsr. d'Estaign might afford the besiegers made us, as you may imagine, very eager that Lord Howe should sail to the support of the garrison. Our expectations were raised upon hearing that he had weighed his anchor on the 2nd, and though it was dropped again in a very short time, yet we had no doubt but that the next accounts would inform us of his sailing. On the 3rd a packet arrived from England, but without any despatches of consequences (*sic*) to the Commissioners. I was upon Long Island (4th) and had the mortification of seeing from an eminence our Fleet still at anchor; which did not clear the land (?) till the 6th. August. August 4th. August 6th.

Addition of [to] Lord Howe's force on the 6th: Cornwall—74; Reasonable—64; Centurion—50; Renown—50.

On the 7th we heard Lord Howe was obliged to anchor again, but the wind proving fair on the 8th our next intelligence was that he lay between Block Island and the harbour of Rhode Island on the 9th (*sic*). Extract. "On the 9th Lord Howe arrived off Rhode Island, and on "the 10th saw the French coming out of the harbour. He immediately August 7th. August 8th. August 9th.

* "Of 24 guns" in the other copy.

" slipped his cables, and stood out to sea under an easy sail, forming " the fleet into a line of battle, with the intention to engage them when " they got into deeper water: it soon afterwards began to blow, which " dispersed them, and obliged them to repair to their place of rendez- " vous, Sandy Hook, at which place Commodore Elliot arrived on the " 16th, with six or seven of the ships. The storm had a good deal " shattered the whole fleet, and every method was taken in this port " to fit them again for sea with all possible expedition."

I ought to take this opportunity to do justice to the gallant behaviour of Captain Raynor in the Isis of 50 guns, who was attacked by the Cæsar of 74, and after an obstinate engagement he obliged her to shear off, with the loss of 50 men killed and 170 wounded. The Isis had but one man killed and very few wounded. The Languedoc, of 90 guns, in which Monsr. d'Estaign was, was dismasted in the gale of wind, and damaged in many places by the batteries which she passed in coming out of Rhode Island; she was nearly taken by the Renown, also of 50, to whom she was upon the point of striking, her rudder being shot away, and she almost totally disabled.

August 22nd. On the 22nd Sir James Wallace, who had been sent out to watch the motions of the French, surprised us with the account of their being again, on the 19th, before Rhode Island, when we concluded they were to the southward of us.

August 26th. On the 26th Lord Howe was clear of the land in pursuit of them, but our next accounts informed us they had remained but a few hours, in spite of the solicitations of the rebel Generals* to detain them at that place, and that they had left it on the 20th. Their destination was, as rightly supposed, Boston; to gain that harbour, the shoals of Nantucket obliged them to make a considerable circuit, which gave us, though they had so much the start of us, very reasonable hope of coming up with them. But in this as well as in other things we were mortified and disappointed, for they got into the harbour of Boston two days before Ld. H. appeared in the offing. They were found near the Naraganset battery, under whose protection it was not thought advisable to attack them, especially as every step they retired farther into the port afforded them a stronger position. They entered the harbour with very visible marks of consternation, as I was informed by a person then in Boston. Lord Howe remained some time in sight of Monsr. d'Estaign, and then returned with his fleet to this place.

Sept. 10th. On the 7th of this month we had joined with the Commander-in-Chief in a remonstrance on the evasion of the Convention of Saratoga, and ordered our Secretary to transmit it to the Congress. On the 18th a declaration was sent us, personally objecting to Mr. Johnstone on account of some correspondence which you must have seen, on which they grounded an accusation against him of attempting to corrupt some of the members of that assembly. To prevent them from availing themselves of this excuse, Mr. Johnstone made a public declaration that he would no longer act as a Commissioner in the transacting of any business in which the Congress could be concerned.†

Sept. A duplicate of the remonstrance was again issued, accompanied with Mr. Johnstone's resolve, and the following uncouth, as well as profligate resolution was transmitted to us on the 16th of Sept.:—

" Resolution, &c. In Congress, Sept. 4, 1778.

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* " General " in the other copy.

† *In margin:* N.B.—He accordingly returned to England on the inst.

"Whereas, Congress did, on the 8th of January 1778, resolve that the embarkation of Lieut.-Gen. Burgoyne and the troops under his command be suspended till a distinct and explicit ratification of the Convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the Court of G. Britain to Congress:

"Resolved, that no ratification of the Convention of Saratoga which may be rendered in consequence of powers which may reach that case by construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to it to the future approbation or disapprobation on the part of G. Britain, can be accepted by Congress."

Lord Howe arrived on the 10th with his fleet, and on the 12th gave up the command to Admi. Gambier.

I should have told you that on the 28th of the preceding month arrived the Fame and the Grafton, and on the next day four more of Admi. Byron's squadron with Admi. Parker.

On the 16th Admi. Byron was seen off the Hook, but it beginning to blow he did not dare to stand in, but was obliged to go to Rhode Island.

On the 18th Gen. Grey returned from having acomplished the demolition of naval stores, privateers, &c., &c. at Bedford, an undertaking which he performed with great ability, and without loss of men.

We were now far advanced in the summer, and though the two following months are well adapted for every kind of military operation, yet we were enabled, by the peculiarity of our affairs, to carry our eyes almost to the finishing of the campaign.

Gen. Washinton's army was strong at the White Plains, which is the *lucus a non lucendo*, for it is an extreme mountainous country. There was no object within our attempt that could draw him to an action. If we marched out against him, he had nothing to do but to retire into the strongest country possible, where it was in vain to think of following him. In the mean time the country we should possess afforded no provision, or at least by no means sufficient, for the army. Washinton knew too well it must be our principal aim to bring him to a battle. He had tried it at Brandywine, and thought a different system infinitely more to his purpose. An attempt upon Boston with part of the army and all the naval force could have alone justified the further procrastination of the Southern expeditions. If Mr. Byron, after his arrival, should have no views beyond his instructions, which was to follow, destroy, &c. the French fleet with the fleet under his command, and did not demand an accession of force which would have employed those ships destined for the south, the dismemberment of the army was instantly to take place.

Finding things in this situation, and knowing how much time must necessarily be lost by the principals not meeting in order to come to some final determination upon their further proceedings, I resolved, with the approbation of Sir Hen. Clinton and Mr. Eden, to undertake the voyage to Rhode Island, to have some conversation with my uncle, and, as far as I stood informed, lay before him a fair state of the business of which he was now to bear a part in the conducting.

As long as the French remained at Boston I could not give up the hope that some plan might be adopted, and carried into execution, for their destruction.

I was enabled, by the confidence Sir Hen. Clinton reposed in me, to try this ground, and fathom my uncle's opinion upon this subject. I was at liberty, if it appeared possible to carry on any naval operation within the harbour, to suggest (avoiding a formal proposition) that the West India Expedition, with the five thousand men on board, might be

employed in the support of the Fleet in any attack that might be thought advisable to attempt. They might remain under Cape Cod till called for; if not wanted, might be dispatched from thence upon their original destination. As I was upon the point of setting out in the Ariel Frigate, my servants and baggage being on board, accounts were brought that
Oct. 2nd. Adm[l] Byron was at anchor off the Hook.

His arrival saved me a troublesome voyage, and the risk of lamely executing a commission replete with difficulties of every kind.

We now began to think it time to prepare for winding up our bottoms, and for making a final address to the people of America at large. It had for some time appeared to me evident that nothing would eradicate that fatal idea so industriously impressed upon the Americans, and so greedily received, of our being possessed of a power to establish their Independency, as our resolution and preparation to leave the Continent. We therefore issued, Oct. ——, a proclamation and manifesto intimating
October. our intentions of departure, recapitulating our former offers, showing our incapacity to extend them, and our repugnance to be the instruments of any further concession, even if our country was so infatuated as to relax upon that subject. The Manifesto contained a general pardon limited to the 11th of November. As this is to be found in a collection of printed papers relative to our Commission, I shall not enlarge any further upon it. The Manifesto was transmitted to the different provinces on the 6th. Admiral Byron sailed with his fleet on the 18th,* in order to watch the motions of the French. Preparations were immediately made for sending the expeditions so often alluded to, and which till this time had suffered unavoidable delays, first by the arrival of the French upon the coast, and afterwards by the refitting Mr. Byron's shattered squadron, which took away the hands destined to this service.

Little of consequence occurred in this month, except the return of the army from the Jerseys, where they had obtained forage, &c.

A small expedition to Egg Harbour was also successful in destroying some Rebel [privateers]† and shipping, and in surprising a party of the enemy.

Copy, in Lord Carlisle's hand, but not signed or dated: headed, To the Revd. Mr. Ekins.

Also, another copy of the same, with some slight variations.

Colonel Roger Morris to Lord Carlisle.

1778, Nov. 6, New York.—Whatever may be my future situation, it gives me great satisfaction to know that in these critical times the rectitude of my conduct has obtained the testimony of his Majesty's Commissioners, by their letter of the 2nd instant.

I beg your Lordship will accept of my best thanks for your separate testimony in confirmation of what I have stated in my former letter.

Admiral [the Hon.] J.‡ Byron to Lord Carlisle.

1778, Nov. 9, Princess Royal, at sea.—It was the 1st of this month before I got upon our station, and intended looking into Nantasket Road the next day. We reckoned ourselves 8 lgs. from Cape Cod, when there came on as violent a gale of wind as I think I ever remember to

* This date is repeated twice, by mistake, the second being underlined.
† Supplied from the other copy.
‡ Looks like F, but must be John Byron.

have been in. We had no observation for three days before, so that our situation was as unpleasant as it [is] possible to be imagined, as we had nothing for it but the chance of drifting through between the shoals of St. George and Nantucket, for it blew much too hard to carry any sail; as we drove much faster than the rest of the ships, we soon lost sight of them. At this time our tiller broke, and we had not another.

The gale continued with the same violence all night, and the next day we were quite alone for some time till the Rear-Admiral with six sail of the line joined me, and the next morning Commodore Graves with three sail; four of the line were still missing—Culloden, Bedford, Cornwall, Somerset—and Strombolo fireship. The Ariel fell in with me in the evening, and informed me she had spoke the Bedford that morning, who had lost her bowsprit, fore and mizen masts, with all the rigging and her booms, in the gale; and that the Cornwall was in company with her in the South Channel.

With the ships I had left I endeavoured to gain the rendezvous again as fast as possible. We had still nothing but hard gales of wind. On the morning of the 5th several sail were in sight to windward. I made the signal for some of our ships to chase, but it coming to blow exceedingly strong, with very heavy squalls and thick weather, I afterwards called them off. In the afternoon a schooner ran through the middle of the squadron, but it blew too hard for anybody to speak to her. Next morning a strange brig was in company; I made the diamonds signal to speak to her, when she hoisted French colours, taking us for the French squadron, in company of which she left Boston the morning of the 4th, and parted that night. A French sloop, making the same mistake, came down to us, and gave the same account of M. D'Estaing's sailing, but differed much as to his force, and the course he steered.

The ships that were chased to windward on Thursday morning were certainly the Rear of the French Squadron, and who must have seen us plainly, as it was much clearer to leeward than to windward; and we were so placed that they must have passed within a few miles of us, and nothing but the gale of wind and thickness of the weather prevented our falling in with them.

As the prisoners informed me their destination was a secret, but report at Boston said they were bound to the West Indies, I at first had thoughts of making the best of my way there, but upon a little reflection I thought it would be very imprudent to leave this coast till we have a certainty of his having quitted it, for which purpose I have sent to Halifax, and shall to the Delaware and Cheesapeak Bays, and if I hear nothing of him from those quarters I intend to proceed immediately to the West Indies.

I suppose by this time your Lordship is preparing for your voyage. I heartily wish you a good passage and happy sight of your family; for my part, I look upon myself as the most unlucky fellow that ever was, and shall have no thoughts of home till I have had one fair meeting with D'Estaing.

I beg my compliments to Mr. Eden, Mr. Storer, Capt. Hammond, and Mr. Lewis.

Lord Carlisle to Admiral Byron.

1778, Nov. 13, New York.—I flattered myself, when we parted, that fortune had not any fresh calamities in store for you, and that you had at least for this voyage exhausted all the vexation and distress that was to fall to your share from wind and waves. But your letter which

reached me yesterday affords a cruel proof of the contrary, notwithstanding which I am sanguine enough to hope that it may be still reserved for one of the family to return to his country with the satisfaction and glory of having restored her affairs, and that the Princess Royal has not seen the Languedor for the last time.

Sensible that the information you will receive from your cruisers must and ought to direct your conduct, it would be very idle as well as very arrogant, circumstanced as I am for intelligence, to offer any opinion upon your present situation. I shall confine myself to what has passed within the narrow circle of my observation and knowledge.

On the 3rd instant, Comm^re^ Hothom sailed with a fair wind; you will be well enabled to judge whether the start he has got of Mons^r^ d'Estaign will avail him. I own I should have my fears for the expedition, should the French be destined to the same part of the world. We seem easy about Halifax. The Richmond came in yesterday from a cruise to the Southward with no account of the French. The Monmouth's masts are not, as I understand, afloat, but I trust you have sufficient force without her not to put you to the necessity of waiting for her; we have only to pray that your intelligence may be of that kind as will justify a quick decision, upon which everything may depend.

In ten days we shall take our leave of this Continent, where every day convinces us more strongly of the inefficacy of our stay. Some good fortune must attend us at last, and I am persuaded it will not be long after our arrival in England that I shall have a letter from you which will not finish by saying your are the most unlucky fellow in the world.

[P.S.] We are very eager to get Capt. Fielding away, and think his ship may be in readiness by tomorrow.

Endorsed: Copy of a letter to Ad^l^ Byron, sent Novr. 14th, 1778.

Major-General Jones to Lord Carlisle.

1778, November 15, New York.—Major-General Jones presents his compliments to the Earl of Carlisle. Mr. Franklyn having informed him that his Lordship's Steward had expressed a desire to pay the rent of his house, Gen. Jones mentioned it a few days since to the Commander-in-Chief, who directed Mr. Franklyn not to receive any rent from Lord Carlisle, but ordered it to be paid with the other Quarters.

Lord Carlisle to Lady Carlisle.

[17]78, Nov. 17, New York.—The Roebuck, Capt. Hammond, is destined to bring back this unsuccessful Commission. The Brune and the Lizard, two small frigates, will accompany her, and a large ordnance ship, that will look formidable at a distance. We don't mean to fall into Mons. d'Estaign's way and we hope you have so beat the French at home that we have nothing to fear near your coasts. . . .

[P.S.] My uncle has been again beat about by storms; the French have left Boston, perhaps gone home, perhaps to the West Indies. Wherever they are bound to, I conclude he will follow them, and will at last give a good account of them.

Advices from Mr. Elliot.

1778, Dec. 12, New York.—Soon after the Roebuck sailed, the Daphne arrived and brought in Monsieur Gerard's dispatches. Every

person has been tried that was the least conversant in cyphers, but without success; it is supposed to be a book cypher; there are five books of eight or nine sheets each; in some of the books a good deal is wrote in French, which, it is said, shows the whole to be a journal and an account of American affairs in general, with which the Ambassador is not much pleased. A vessel has been under orders to carry home duplicates of the dispatches; the original goes with the Amazon; what detains either the one or the other is not known.

Byron, it is supposed, is sailed after D'Estaing. The Culloden was supposed for some time a missing ship, but she got to Rhode Island with a prize, and reports D'Estaing was steering eastward. Although it seems probable from what has happened here, he is gone after Grant's Fleet, some accidental discoveries show that a man of some character, that came in from Connecticut under pretence of business, was, in fact, a spy; he made his escape from Long Island just before Grant sailed, and went directly for Boston; his inquiries appear to have been confined entirely to the destination of Grant's Fleet.

Burgoyne's army are marcht to Virginia. The Continental army are on the North River and in Jersey, towards Morris Town. Intelligence was received the second of this month that Governor Clinton had sent a large body of the Militia in order to cut off Brant and his party, who have so much alarmed the back settlers. On the 3d General Clinton went up the North River with a considerable number of troops; the empty transports that lay ready to go with the Cork convoy were employed, the troops embarked, and not a word of the expedition had transpired when the vessels were under sail; this raised a thousand conjectures here, and as the ships appeared up the River a thousand alarms there; the object in view was chiefly the recall of the Militia sent against Brant, in order to give him time to secure a retreat. It is said the Militia were immediately recalled, and report adds that Brant greatly harassed their rear on their return, but of this we have no certainty. The other object was a chance of stopping some of Washington's artillery and baggage, but that had passed the River.

The season of the year admitted of no stay up the River; the vessels returned the seventh, which was lucky, as there has been much bad weather since. This little expedition cost nothing, the ships being ready, the soldiers the better for a move, the recalling the Militia of great consequence; and what makes these little excursions more necessary, is to convince (*sic*) that this place is not to be immediately abandoned by the King's troops, which is a card the American Leaders have of late played with great success in the four adjoining Colonies, as that expectation has made the multitude exert patience that otherwise would not have appeared.

By Governor Clinton's address to the Assembly of New York province and their answer of last month, it plainly appears that Governor Allen and his new province of Vremont are resolved to come to no terms, but support their own independence; it is also as plain that one of the principal views and fixed resolves of Governor Clinton's assembly is to oblige Allen to submit. His plan is just suitable to the times, and perfectly conformable to the wish and desire of the Connecticut and New Hampshire people, who want lands; his situation is such that all adventurers from those two populous colonies can easily join him and as easily find support from their friends; so that it is evident that unless the Continental army are employed in this matter, Allen will be superior to Clinton, and of course extend his views; if Congress interferes with their army it will make Connecticut and New Hampshire fall from the Continental association.

The same thing is working in Pensilvania, which appears by the address of the President and executive Council (the same as Governor and Council in other States) to the Assembly of Pensilvania; they say the disputes betwixt that province and Connecticut on the one hand and Virginia on the other, claim the greatest attention as being of the utmost moment, not only for the good of the State, but the American cause. The reports of the proceedings of Virginia the President sends the Assembly, but affects not to believe them.

Besides these disputes about boundaries with the neighbouring Provinces, the province of Pensilvania is tore (*sic*) to pieces with faction, which has on many occasions lately almost occasioned bloodshed; to appease this the Assembly has been forced to pass a resolve the first of this month, that the voice of the whole province shall be taken by ballot the first Tuesday in April next, whether the present Constitution shall stand or a new one be formed; for this is the great bone of contention; it is just a spirit of opposition from being out of place that is acting here, what has been attended with such fatal consequences in Great Britain; constant heats and quarrels happen in all companies, regular papers are beginning to be wrote on both sides. Those for the present Constitution are addressed to the lower people, and might have an effect in the Provinces to the Southward, where everything formerly wore the aristocratical mark, but Pensilvania was ever democratical. The division of property in the country is [being?] so equal, and which occasioned its sudden growth, prevents every landholder, although never so small his portion, from fancying himself on any other footing than that of other landholders. Of course his interest and views keep pace with the most opulent in lands (servants and tenants have no votes), so that it is not to be doubted but a new Government will take place, as the complaints against the present Government originates (*sic*) with the landed interest; if it does, it will create divisions and discords, and convince how little stability is to be expected when every Assembly may annually be obliged to make a resolve similar to that of the first of this month.

The dread of the uncertainty of Government occasions a dread of the uncertainty of property; this appears already from the many public offers to sell much valuable real property belonging to the most wealthy, who it cannot be supposed would, at a time when Continental money is lower than ever, and daily falling, take such money for real property unless from an apprehension of a total loss, by a total subversion of all government, which may induce them to endeavour to purchase produce to ship off for France and Holland.

To the Assemblies of New York and Pensilvania it is recommended warmly by their Governors to establish a mode of taxation to prevent the entire depreciation of Continental Currency, as they say every expedient as yet fallen on have (*sic*) failed.

It will be said all these appearances might have promised something two years ago, but are now too late—false reasoning! Till the Americans had a real prospect of obtaining Independence, they had time to look at no other object; they were then purchasing the Cloth and getting the Clothes made; they are now trying them on—they don't fit—they will will cut them to pieces in altering—and at last find it cheaper and easier to return to the *Old Ready-made Warehouse.*

If affairs in Europe admit of Great Britain going on with the American war one year more, and if France is checkt, everything will return into the old channel; following Washington is a game must be given up; besides the number of troops necessary to keep New York—and keeping that keeps Washington always at bay and turns the tables on him—a small number of troops, it will soon appear, is sufficient to

take and keep possession to the Southward; a few more, with occasional assistance from the New York garrison, will serve to harass the Northern Colonies; the fleet and private ships of war, from the advantageous situation of New York, can almost totally destroy the American trade. A Trade thus destroyed, the Northern Colonies harassed, their Militia fatigued, and a footing gained to the Southward and kept by the assistance of a few troops, back settlers, and negroes, will show the Southern Colonies their danger; and Washington kept looking at New York, unable to assist either the Northern or Southern parts, together with the internal disputes of the different Colonies, must bring about what neither large Armies, Fleets, or Offers have been equal to, on account of the extent of the Continent and concurring circumstances, which to the present time worked in favour of the Americans, and now must, if properly attended to, work as strongly against them.

Commissioners ought to be sent over to assist in council the Commanders-in-Chief, to attend to civil matters, to be ready and fully empowered to treat and settle with Provinces, &c., &c., as they may offer; but to make no more offers from Great Britain, that would as matters now stand only alarm the Americans, close up their disagreements, give spirits, and prevent the natural passions of mankind working with full force; for the discontented in every province will struggle harder to bring about a revolt, if actuated by a hope of depressing those who are their opponents; but if they think from offers all may immediately share alike, a languor ensues, and what is everybody's business has ever been nobody's; even the friends to Government dislike general proposals, although it is confes[s]ed from a horrid principle: but what is natural ought to be attended to, as what was just and noble has been rejected. If Commissioners again come over (as they certainly should) let them have power to grant all that is to be given, but only to those that ask, to offer to none, and to have a power to reject individuals, who in future may also be received, but must for the present be used as stops and spurs for the passions of others.

Everything here is much in the old way; notwithstanding the Admiral's indulgence several Privateers run out without by your leave, and carry off men belonging to the Transports.

All is suspense, even thought, till we hear from Europe. The town is well supplied with wood at the regulated price. Markets, which always happens at this season of the year, are better supplied and cheaper than last month; to be regulated, it is said, whenever they get beyond what is proposed as the regulated prices. Flour high, to be regulated as soon as a Cork fleet arrives, as the price does not proceed from scarcity, but from the millers and farmers too well agreeing in sentiments. The police of the town in general seems more attended to, and everything tending to good order.

The 16th December, arrived the Sloop Adventure, Thomas Genn, Master, from St. Augustine in 17 days; reports that an expedition had been sent against Georgia of 600 backsettlers and Refugees, and 600 Regular Troops under the command of Colonel Feuser.

If Russia is our ally, why may not the naval stores, &c., that is wanted in America, and which Russia can supply, be contracted for, to be delivered by Russia in her own vessels at New York, &c.? And why may not the Dutch, if our Allies, carry out our provisions, &c., from Ireland, &c.; they are carriers for all the world. As France supplies the Americans in her bottoms, why may not our Allies supply us in their bottoms? Because it is against the laws of Trade? No laws of Trade subsist now in regard to America; therefore England should act accordingly, and get full supplies where she wants it, and save her own

Seamen and Shipping for the purposes of retaliation in regard to France and America.

The present internal disputes in America will turn out of great consequence if some little busy genius about the Great are (*sic*) not employed by way of forwarding what ought not to be touched. Let the lighters of the candle carry it till it gets strength, then use freedom with it; for some time yet every support or attention of Government to any American dispute, reconciles the Parties.

If matters turn out properly to the Southward, the Colonies to the Eastward of this may be kept in continual alarm, and their small vessels and stores be destroyed by eight or nine transports of proper size being kept ready and manned by the Refugees to make sudden landings, and as sudden decampments, on the Coast in the Sound and round Cape Cod. The Refugees want employ; give them arms and provisions; part of the stores and vessels taken will content them, and put some proper persons to command them; the Transports already in pay add no expense, and no troops are necessary for this business.

The foregoing is a Copy of what was sent to Lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden by General O'Hara.

New York, 10th January 1779.

Everything working strongly at Philadelphia; there must be confusion there of an extraordinary nature soon. Part of the Cork fleet of Victuallers are arrived, and it is said 21 sail are at Sandy Hook.

In Mr. Elliot's hand. Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Mr. Elliot, 12th December, N. Y.

Also the other copy of the same, above alluded to.

Intelligence by John McDonald.

1778, Dec. 16.—He had the charge of the effects of Wm. Smith, Esq., for which the sloop Elizabeth, William Doty (?) master, was sent with a Flagg to Havershaw, authorised by his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Gambier.

They left N. York Saturday, the 21st November, arrived Tuesday, the 24th. Delivered Mr. Smith's packet of letters to his brothers. A Guard of Militia took the care of the Flagg, till turned out by a Continental Guard, who took the Flagg higher up to King's Ferry, claiming her as a prize. He was taken out blindfolded, and confined at Verplank's Point, while Mr. Smith's brother-in-law went up with the letters to Mr. Clinton at Roghkeepsingh. At the latter end of the week, one Smith, the Officer of the Guard, insisted that their fate was to be determined by General Washington. Some Continental Troops afterwards crossed the River, and a few of the Convention Troops and 2 pieces of cannon; Mr. Washington himself went over to Havershaw. A Flagg came up with money for the Convention Troops, and was soon dismissed.

At the latter end of the next week 2 British Row Gallies appeared. The whole Country in consternation. All the boats fled with the neighbouring inhabitants above the Chain to New Windsor. A Fleet came up after the Row Gallies. The Flagg carried above the Chain. Many troops brought from the East to the West side of the River at that place. General Patterson's Continental Brigade took post at the Forts. Messages sent to call back the Troops from Jersey which had lately crossed King's Ferry. The messenger reported that Burgoyne's Troops had passed from Newburgh through Smith's Clove (*sic*). The Fleet

returned to New York, and the order for the return of the Continental Troops from Jersey was countermanded.

The Flagg detained just above the Chain till the 13th instant. Then brought down to Peak's Rill. A Continental officer, Stephen McDougal, son of the General of that name, met her there, and ordered out the Effects, received and detained them, and dismissed the Flagg for her return to New York. A guard continued on Board till she had passed Haversham. They left her at Verdrilige's (?) Hook. The Flagg got down to New York Monday, the 15th December. Nothing brought down in her. She was out 26 days inclusive, under detention 21, to wit from Tuesday, 24th November, to Sunday, 14th December.

He conversed with many persons while he was out, and saw many of the Continental soldiers.

Tales propagated that the British troops were gone and going. That there were but 3,000 men left. That the Commissioners had returned, and that others were ordered out and daily expected to grant the Independency of the Colonies.

The Continental soldiers generally in rags. New clothing lately given to those who are to serve during the war. It is very slight. None to those who enlisted for precise terms. These very discon[ten]ted—long for the expiration of their terms—swear they will never enlist again. Generally said there would be scarce any Continental Army in the spring.

Great scarcity in the country. Difficult to purchase even provisions. The Flagg had rations from the Forts a part of the time. Continental money of little worth. The people sigh for peace—complain much of their distresses—wish themselves at liberty to resort to New York. Salt very scarce, at the lowest 16*l.* per bush[el].

No additional works to the Highland Forts since August, except 2 batteries each of 2 guns, one above another, near Butter-milk Falls. A want of cannon for the Forts already built. Some of the Forts only lines of boards filled in with earth. The soldiers frequently desert and go home. He thinks many of them must perish this winter. They are not even clothed enough for common decency. Many without stockings, some only half-legged. The snow at Haversham already a foot, in some places 18 inches.

Col. Burr, and Col. Wm. Livingston, and Capt. Redmond have lately resigned their commissions. Understood that Col. Malcolm, who lately commanded at the Forts, and now the River Guard at Haversham, will also resign soon. He was civil to the Flagg, and gave them 13 days' rations.

Burr and Redmond were officers of the Flagg, that conducted Mr. Smith's family down last August, and who were permitted by the General to be on shore several days. Livingston is Mr. Smith's nephew. Burr was Lieut.-Col. to Malcolm, and Redmond one of his captains.

In Chief Justice William Smith's hand; endorsed by Lord Carlisle.

[Chief Justice William Smith] to Lord Carlisle.

1778, Dec. 19, New York.—Since my letter of the 12th inst. we have authentic information that the revolt of the people, styling themselves the State of Vermont, has thrown the rest of the unsubjected counties of this Colony into consternation, and that a Delegate extraordinary is

gone to the Congress to press the aid of the whole Continent against this new fourteenth Republic.

Your Lordship is already apprised that a good use may be made of this sub-division of the faction.

The Instrument of the last year, concerted in Congress under the title of the Confederation, devised a mode for deciding the opposite claims to lands in that district; but it has, as we perceive, had no effect upon the party deriving their pretentions under the Great Seal of New Hampshire; nor is it probable that it will have any, there being several old Colonies who refuse to be parties in that league, and none who have as yet acceded to it, but Virginia, New York, New Jersey, and Pensilvania; for I do not list Connecticut among them, because she rejects the 8th article, and is therefore not bound by any of them.

We may hence learn that we are not to flatter ourselves with the hope of winning over the Vermonteers to the Crown side by any project for an impartial adjudication of the question of property. By perusing the letter I mentioned from Mr. Tryon to Lord Darthmouth (*sic*), it will appear that the quarrels between the claimants cannot be terminated by the Colony Legislatures. They were led to set up for themselves upon iniquitous principles. If they acquire the whole legislative and executive, the rights under New York will be totally extinguished, and thousands of *loyal*, as well as disloyal subjects, in various parts of the King's dominions, will be ruined.

Mr. Tryon's plans for restoring Peace in that quarter was by compensating the New Hampshire Claimants for their *actual* possessions out of the other Waste Lands of the Crown; with a suspension of the payment of Quit Rents on the new Grants for a long term: and I believe, had the Minister of the day favoured it, the ferments of that country would have been quickly composed, and at a very moderate expense, the possessions being few and of very little value, the title in disrepute, and the majority of the inhabitants well affected to the jurisdiction of New York, and the establishment of it by the Royal Decision of 1764.

I should not despair of its success even at this day; for your Lordship is not to conceive that the whole people of this district are of one mind. The King has many well-affected subjects in it, who promoted the present division to embarrass and overturn the Congressional power.

But I do not think it would be prudent, in fanning the coals of discontent in this territory, or to recover it, to rely entirely upon the project proposed by Mr. Tryon; but if such a Council of Police should be set up as I have suggested to your Lordship (for which the authority of Parliament will be requisite),* to vest that Board with general but very full powers, to settle all such disputes as the Confederation refers to, according to *their discretion*. And such a Council, if their powers are adequate to the design, will know how to manage not only this district, but work upon the interests, the hopes and fears of many thousands in other places.

I think the Clause should have no express reference to its real object, because it may prompt to schemes for counteracting it; and the notifications of the arrival of a power to give relief ought not to issue till shortly before the operations of the ensuing campaign.

[To] our astonishment, no news from England since August; the common people are therefore the sport of the tales invented on the other

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* It would be necessary?

side of the Lines. It is propagated that Holland offers loans to the Congress.

*Not signed.** *Endorsed by Lord Carlisle:* Rd. Jan. 28th.

Sir H. Clinton to [Lord Carlisle].

[1778,] Dec. 26.—The October Packet arrived last Tuesday; your private letters were sent with those of Mr. Eden to Mr. Elliot; your public I have enclosed a copy of. I must beg leave to refer your Lordship to Mr. Eden and Capt. Loyd, my aide-de-camp, for particulars, since you left us.

[P.S.] 'Tis reported Scuyler is become President (?) of Congress; it wants, however, confirmation. So cold I cannot hold my pen.

A report prevails this day (I hear without foundation) that the Militia of this province have had an action with Ethon Allen, of the State of Verdemont.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Clinton, 26th Dec. '79 (*sic*).

Andrew Elliot to Lord Carlisle.

1778, Dec. 26, New York.—It will give me the greatest pleasure to hear that after an agreeable passage your Lordship found your family and friends well, and public matters getting better. Everything has continued here as you left them. The arrival of the October Packet gives spirits as it gives hopes, and at same time ease in regard to the Cork Fleet, which we now find had been detained. If England is to exert its powers in America, one change must take place, which appears more necessary every hour since you left us, although it was pretty apparent before. I have, agreeable to your Lordship's directions, taken up your letters and enclosed them under care of Gen[l] O'Harra. I have also sent the New York papers from the time of your sailing; the American papers I send Mr. Eden by Capt. Loyd, who goes with Capt. Jacobs. I have wrote Mr. Storer, and sent a set of New York papers, lest any accident should happen Gen[l] O'Harra. All the packets directed to your Lordship and Mr. Eden that had papers were kept by the General. Mrs. Elliot and all my family beg to have their most respectful compliments offered to your Lordship.

Letter-book of the British Commissioners in America.

1778–1779.—A 4to volume, containing copies of the correspondence of the British Commissioners in North America, with sundry minutes and memoranda.†

Petition of several Proprietors of Estates in North America to the King. No date.

Petition of the Merchants of London trading to North America to the King. No date.

Glascow Memorial. No date.

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* This letter and the preceding paper are said to be in the handwriting of Chief Justice William Smith (Stevens's Facsimiles).

† All the letters and papers copied in this volume are probably to be found among the Colonial State Papers in the Public Record Office. Only a list of them therefore is given here; but all the minutes are copied in full.

Lord Geo. Germain to the Commrs. Whitehall, April 12. Received April 14, 1778.

Memorial by Sir Robert Herries, Commissioner of the Farmers General of the French Revenue for the purpose of supplying them with British Plantation Tobacco, to Lord Geo. Germain. London, April 10.

April 16.—His Majesty's Commissioners embarked at Spithead on board the Trident, commanded by Commodore Elliot, who proceeded the same day to St. Helen's.

April 21.—The ship set sail for New York.

May 27.—Being by the ship's reckoning about 70 leagues from the coast of America, his Majesty's Commissioners spoke with Lieutenant Whitworth, commanding the armed brig Stanley, from whom they had intelligence that Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton were both at Philadelphia; on this account wrote the following letter to Commodore Elliot.

The Commrs. to Commodore Elliot. Trident, May 7, at noon.—From the intelligence we now receive from Lieutenant Whitworth, commanding the brig Stanley, we are of opinion it would promote his Majesty's service and may tend to forward the purposes of the Commission for restoring peace between Great Britain and her Colonies in North America, if we were to proceed directly to Philadelphia instead of New York, especially as the wind is now fair for either of those ports. We therefore think it our duty to request of you to carry us to Philadelphia.

In consequence of the above letter Commodore Elliot changed his course, and arrived in the Deleware Bay on the 4th of June.

June 4.—The ship being at anchor near the Brown, his Majesty's Commissioners wrote to Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton the following letter to notify their arrival.

The Commrs. to Lord Howe.* No date.

June 5.—They proceeded up the River on board the Trident, on their way to Philadelphia.

Anchored at Newcastle, June 6, and received the answer subjoined from Lord Viscount Howe.

Lord Howe to the Commrs. Philadelphia, June 6.

June 6, Philadelphia.—His Majesty's Commissioners did by the following Act, for reasons therein specified, appoint Adam Ferguson, Doctor of Laws, Secretary to his Majesty's Commissioners for restoring peace to America.

Commission follows.

June 7.—Received the following letter with the several enclosures subjoined from Lord Viscount Howe.

Lord Howe to the Commrs. Philadelphia, June 7.

Lord Geo. Germain to Lord and General Howe. Whitehall, March 11. "Circular."

* Clinton is not mentioned here.

Lord Howe to General Washington. Philadelphia, May 27.

General Washington to Lord Howe. Head Quarters, June 6.

Lord Howe to Henry Laurens, Esq., President of the Congress. Philadelphia, May 27.

Henry Laurens, Esq., to Lord Howe. York Town, May (June) 6.

At the same time Sir Henry Clinton communicated the following letter from his Excellency [Clinton] to Henry Laurens, Esq., with the answer dated as appears by mistake 6th May instead of 6th June.

Sir Henry Clinton to Henry Laurens, Esq. Head Quarters, Philadelphia, June 3.

Henry Laurens, Esq., to Sir Henry Clinton. York Town, May (*sic*) 6.

His Majesty's Commissioners returned to the above letter and communications of Lord Viscount Howe the following answers.

The Commrs. to Lord Howe. No date.

The Commrs. to Lord Howe. No date.

June 9.—Received the following letter from Lord Howe relating to the destination of the Trident, to which was returned the answer subjoined.

Lord Howe to the Commrs. Philadelphia, June 9.

The Commrs. to Lord Howe. No date.

June 10.—Sir Henry Clinton having on the preceding evening, by a letter to General Washington, notified the intention of his Majesty's Commissioners to send Doctor Ferguson, their Secretary, with dispatches to the Congress, and having made a requisition of the necessary passports to meet him for that purpose, the following letter with a copy of his Majesty's Commission, and the Act of Parliament to which it refers, was accordingly dispatched.

The Commrs. to Henry Laurens, the President, and other Members of Congress. Philadelphia, June 10.

The same day Doctor Ferguson, being returned to Philadelphia, reported that he was received by an officer of the American Army at their nearest post. That he was escorted to the quarters of the Officer Commanding their piquets, and having there received the following letter from General Washington, returned with his dispatches to Philadelphia.

General Washington to Doctor Ferguson. Head Quarters, June 9.

In order that the object of his Majesty's Commission and of the Acts of Parliament might not suffer from any unnecessary delay, it was determined to send by the ordinary conveyance of the Enemy's military posts the intended dispatches to the Congress, with the following

additional letter, and they were accordingly on the same day delivered at the Enemy's piquets by Lord Cathcart, attended by a flag of truce, who obtained a receipt for the same.

The Commrs. to Henry Laurens, the President, and other Members of Congress. Philadelphia, June 10.

June 15, Philadelphia.—Present: The Earl of Carlisle, William Eden and George Johnstone, Esqrs. It being resolved that dispatches, including letters, duplicates, copies, and inclosures, as in the following account of particulars, should be made up in order to go by two vessels now about to sail for Europe, one being the Harriet packet under the direction of the Post Office, the other his Majesty's ship the Porcupine, commanded by Captain Finch, the following letters were accordingly prepared.

No. 1.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. Philadelphia, June 15.

With the above letter were sent the following inclosures:

No. 1.—Copy of a letter from Lord Viscount Howe to his Majesty's Commissioners. [June 7.]

No. 2.—Copy of a letter from Lord Viscount Howe to General Washington. [May 27.]

No. 3.—Copy of General Washington's answer to Lord Howe. [June 6.]

No. 4.—Copy of a letter from Lord V. Howe to Henry Laurens, Esq., President of Congress. [May 27.]

No. 5.—Copy of the answer from Henry Laurens, Esq. &c. [June 6.

No. 6.—Copy of a letter from his Majesty's Commissioners to Lord Viscount Howe. [*Qu.* June 7 or 8.]

No. 7.—The following copy of a letter from Lord Viscount Howe to his Majesty's Commissioners.

Lord Howe to the Commissioners. Philadelphia, June 10.

No. 2.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. Philadelphia, June 15.

The following letter was agreed to by George Johnstone, Esq., on condition that he might add in his own handwriting the postscript subjoined, explanatory of his meaning relating to the movement of the Army therein described.

No. 3. The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. Philadelphia, June 15.

With the foregoing letter and postscript were transmitted the following inclosures:

Copy of a letter from his Majesty's Commissioners to Commodore Elliot. [May 7.]

Copy of a letter to Henry Laurens, Esq, and other the Members of the Congress. [June 10.]

Copy of a letter from General Washington to Doctor Ferguson. [June 9.]

Copy of a letter from Henry Laurens, Esq., President of the Congress, to Sir Henry Clinton, dated by mistake May instead of June the 6th.

June 21, on board the Trident in the Deleware River.—The above dispatches being sent by his Majesty's ship the Porcupine, commanded by Capt. Finch, duplicates of Nos. 2 and 3 were sent by the Harriet packet. But Sir Henry Clinton, who had signed the letter No. 1, being absent, no more than a copy of that letter could be sent.

Capt. Curtis's receipt for the letters.—Received June 21st, of Adam Ferguson, Esq., a bag containing three packets of letters, one addressed to Lord George Germain, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c., &c., and two packets to William Fraser, Esq., one of the Under Secretaries of State, &c., to be forwarded by his Majesty's Frigate. Received at the same time another bag containing two packets of letters, one addressed to Lord George Germain, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c., &c., and another to William Fraser, Esq., &c., &c., to be forwarded by the Packet. [Signed] Roger Curtis.

July 2, New York.—Received the following letter from Henry Laurens, Esq., President of Congress.

Henry Laurens, Esq., to the Commrs. York Town, June 17.

July 6.—Present: The Earl of Carlisle, William Eden and George Johnstone, Esquires. The following letter was dispatched to Lord George Germain, with the copy of the above letter from Henry Laurens, Esq.

No. 4.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, July 5.

N.B.—A joint letter from Lord Carlisle and Wm. Eden, Esq., to Lord Geo. Germain of the 7th of July, which ought to come in at this place, is inserted in page 97.* [*See* No. 5, July 7, under New York, Sept. 28.]

July 9.—Present: The Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, William Eden and George Johnstone, Esquires. Ordered a Proclamation setting forth the correspondence of his Majesty's Commissioners with the Congress to be published as follows.

Proclamation by the above-named Commrs. follows here.

After the Proclamation followed the Acts of Parliament, viz.:—

An Act for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the Colonies, &c.

An Act for repealing an Act for the better regulating the Government of the Province of Massachusets Bay.

An Act to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners, and a Copy of the King's Commission by virtue thereof.

Ordered likewise a reply to the Congress's letter of the 17th June, in the following terms.

The Commrs. to Henry Laurens, Esq., and other Members of the Congress. New York, July 11th.

The foregoing letter dated the 11th was forwarded on the 15th of July.

July 19, New York.—Wrote the following letter to Lord Geo. Germain, with a duplicate of the former letter and inclosures, also a copy of a letter to Henry Laurens, Esq.

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* Should be page 96.

No. 6.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, July 19.

July 21.—A Packet being ordered to sail, a duplicate of the last letter of the 19th, with triplicates of the inclosures, were [was] ordered to go by the said Packet.

July 26.—A Packet being ordered for England, the following letter to Lord George Germain was ordered and sent with these newspapers enclosed, viz.: The Pensylvania Gazette, of Saturday, 20th June, and the Pensylvania Packet or General Advertiser, of July 21st.

No. 7.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, July 26.

July 27, New York.—Intimation being received from Sir H. Clinton that a frigate was under orders to sail for England with the Admiral's dispatches, a duplicate of the last letter to Lord George Germain, dated July 26th, was sent with a copy of the Royal Gazette, New York, July 25th. The other two inclosures were wanting in this duplicate, as no other copies of them had been procured besides those already sent.

Aug. 3, New York.—Letter from Wm. Knox, Esq., received by the Packet then arrived from England.

William Knox, Esq., to the Commrs., Whitehall, June 3.

Petition of Zebediah Story of Newport, Rhode Island, mariner, to Lord Geo. Germain. No date.

Aug. 7, New York.—Present: The Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, Wm. Eden, Esq., and George Johnstone, Esq. Upon a representation from the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces, Resolved, that the following remonstrance and requisition be made to the American Congress, and that the Secretary do transmit the same.

Dr. Adam Ferguson to Henry Laurens, Esq. New York, Aug. 7.

Remonstrance and Requisition of his Majesty's Commissioners to Congress. New York, Aug. 7.

Aug. 18, New York.—Received the following extract of a Resolution of the American Congress with the subsequent Declaration to which it refers.

Resolution of Congress. Aug. 12.

Declaration of Congress to the Commrs. Philadelphia, Aug. 11.

The same day received by the July Packet the following letter, with printed copies of several Acts of Parliament passed in the last Sessions relating to America.

William Knox, Esq., to the Commrs. Whitehall, July 1. "Circular."

An Act for allowing the exportation of certain quantities of wheat, flour, &c., to Newfoundland, &c.

An Act to explain and amend so much of an Act made in the 4th year of the reign of his Majesty, as relates to the clandestine conveyance of sugar, &c.

An Act for the relief of the Captors of Prizes, &c.

An Act to continue the several Laws therein mentioned relating to the allowance upon the exportation of gunpowder, &c.

An Act to permit the exportation of goods directly from Ireland, &c.
An Act for allowing the reimportation of unmanufactured tobacco, &c.

Aug. 20, New York.—The following Papers being presented by Mr. Eipham of Massachusetts Bay, for the consideration of the Commissioners, they were pleased to order the minute subjoined.

Memorial to the Commrs. No date.

Memorial to the Council and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay. No date.

Minute of his Majesty's Commissioners.—It is the sense of his Majesty's Commissioners that they being intrusted with a plan of pacification formed upon the most gracious intentions of the King and of the Parliament, and having given to the General Congress of American Deputies the necessary intimation of their arrival, and of the principles upon which they were authorised to restore the Peace of America, the business now rests with the Congress and with the people of America.

His Majesty's Commissioners are ready to receive any propositions that may be made to them and treat on the principles stated in their letters to the Congress, and in their proclamation to the people; but cannot countenance any measures tending to a reconciliation with his Majesty's rebellious subjects upon terms inconsistent with those already proposed to the American Congress, nor give their sanction to any Act by which a subject of the State of Great Britain may be led to renounce his allegiance to his Majesty or to join with his enemies.

Aug. 26, New York.—Present: The Earl of Carlisle, Wm. Eden, Esq., Geo. Johnstone, Esq. The following letter was delivered by Mr. Johnstone on the subject of the Declaration of the Congress of the 11th of August, respecting himself, with the enclosed paper in answer thereto on his part which had been previously communicated to Sir Henry Clinton. And the Commissioners approve of sending the said paper to the Congress, together with the following Declaration on the part of the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden, which was yesterday prepared and agreed to by them, as also a duplicate of the Remonstrance and Requisition made by his Majesty's Commissioners respecting the detention and release of the troops lately serving under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, dated the 7th inst., and now signed by the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and Wm. Eden, Esq.

George Johnstone, Esq., to the Commrs. New York, Aug. 26.

Answer of Governor Johnstone to the Declaration of Congress of the 11th inst. No date.

Declaration of the Commrs. New York, Aug. 26.

Resolution of the Commrs. New York, Aug. 26.

Aug. 27, New York.—Ordered the following letters (*sic*) to Andrew Elliot, Esq., Superintendent General of the Port of New York.

The Commrs. to Andrew Elliot.

Andrew Elliot to the Commrs. New York, Aug. 29.

The Commrs. to Andrew Elliot. New York, Aug. 30.

The Commrs. to Admiral Gambier. New York, Aug. 30.

The following address being presented to his Majesty's Commissioners from the Merchants, Traders, and others, inhabitants of New York, the answer subjoined was ordered to be given in writing and signed by the Secretary.

Address of upwards of a hundred of the Merchants, Traders, and Inhabitants of New York to the Commrs. [No date.]

The Commrs. to the Merchants, Traders, &c. of New York. New York, Aug. 29.

Received the following letters from the Superintendent, with a copy of the Commissary General's note enclosed, which is subjoined.

Andrew Elliot to the Commrs. New York, Sept. 2.

Daniel Wier, Commissary General, to Andrew Elliot. New York, Sept. 1.

Dispatched on board the Duke of Cumberland Packet at 6 *p.m.* the following letters with their enclosures to the Secretary of State's Office, Sept. 6.

No. 8.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, Sept. 5. Enclosures :—
Address of the Merchants, &c.
Answer of his Majesty's Commissioners.
Letter No. 1 to Andrew Elliot, Esq. [Aug. 27.]
His answer. [Aug. 29.]
Letter No. 2 to do. [Aug. 30.]
Letter to Admiral Gambier. [Aug. 30.]
Letter No. 3 to [from] A. Elliot, Esq. [Sept. 2], with a copy of the Commissary General's letter [Sept. 1].
Memorial to his Majesty's Commissioners. [*See* Aug. 20.]
Memorial to the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay. [*See* Aug. 20.]
Minute of his Majesty's Commissioners in answer. [*See* Aug. 20.]

No. 9.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, Sept. 5. Enclosures :—
Requisition to the American Congress. [Aug. 7.]
Declaration of the American Congress. [Aug. 11.]
Answer from Geo. Johnstone, Esq., to the Declaration of Congress. [*See* Aug. 26.]
Letter of Geo. Johnstone, Esq., to the Commissioners. [Aug. 26.]
Declaration of the Earl of Carlisle, Sir H. Clinton, and Wm. Eden, Esq. [Aug. 26.]

No. 10.—Dr. Ferguson to William Knox. In answer to letter of 3 June. New York, Sept. 5.

No. 11.—Dr. Ferguson to William Knox. In answer to letter of 1 July. [New York,] Sept. 5.

Sept. 8, New York.—By order of their Excellencies his Majesty's Commrs. the following Circular Letter was prepared :—
To Sir Wm. Ereskine, Q.M.G.
Lieut. Col. Clerk, B.M.G.
Danl. Wier, Esq., C.G.

Capt. Dd. Laird, Agent for Army Victuallers and Store Ships.
Capt. J. Bowmaster, Agent for Transports.
Jno. Grant, Esq., Commissary of Artillery.
Henry Law, Esq., Port Master.—Requiring from the latter instead of an account of tonnage engaged in his Majesty's Service, an account of tonnage included in merchant ships not engaged in his Majesty's Service, and in all Privateers and prizes.

Circular Letter by Dr. Ferguson. Sept. 8.

In place of transmitting the above Circular Letter to the Agents for Army Victuallers and Store Ships, and for Transports, it was judged proper to write the following to Rear Admiral Gambier, Commanding the Navy and other Shipping in his Majesty's Service in the Port of New York, and to Major Genl. Pattison.

Dr. Adam Ferguson to Admiral Gambier. New York, Sept. 11.

The above letter sent to Admiral Gambier was thus altered when sent to M. G. Pattison: instead of "The Agent for Army Victuallers and Store Ships and the Agent for Transports," as follows: "The Commissary of Artillery;" and instead of "within their respective Departments," as follows, "his Department."

The same day received an answer to the foregoing from Adl. Gambier.

Admiral Gambier to Dr. Ferguson. New York, Sept. 11.

Sept. 14, New York.—Received yesterday the following letter from Adl. Gambier, to which the answer subjoined was sent this day.

Admiral Gambier to the Commrs. [No date.]

The Commrs. to Admiral Gambier. New York, Sept. 14.

Sept. 19, New York.—Received from Genl. Washington the following letter, enclosing the subjoined Resolution of Congress.

General Washington to the Commrs. Head Quarters, White Plains, Sept. 16.

Resolution of Congress, Sept. 4. Endorsed: General Washington.—No ratification of Convention of Saratoga till confirmed by Parliament.

No. 12.—The Commrs. (Carlisle, Eden, and Johnstone) to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, Sept. 21.

No. 13.—The Commrs. (Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden) to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, Sept. 21.

Sept. 22, New York.—Dispatched on board the Eagle, Lord Visct. Howe, duplicates of the Commissioners' letter of the 5th inst., with the several enclosures to Lord Geo. Germain. Also duplicate of the separate letter signed Carlisle and Wm. Eden, with the respective enclosures. Duplicate of a letter from A. Ferguson to Wm. Knox, Esq. Duplicate from the same to the same. Duplicate of the Commissioners' letter of the 21st inst., with duplicate of the letter of the same date by the Earl of Carlisle, Sir H. Clinton, and Wm. Eden, Esq., with the following enclosures: Copy of a Proclamation relating to the trade of New York. Copy extract of proceedings of the Congress, and

Gen. Washington's letter. Also a printed newspaper, called the Pensylvania Packet, of the 12th inst.

Proclamation of the Commrs. respecting the trade of New York, &c. New York, Sept. 26.

Sent by Geo. Johnstone, Esq.: The letter of 21st inst. to Lord Geo. Germain, signed Carlisle, Wm. Eden, and Geo. Johnstone. The letter of 21st inst. to do., signed Carlisle, Hen. Clinton, and Wm. Eden. With duplicate copy of the Proclamation, duplicate extract of a Resolution of Congress, and duplicate copy of General Washington's note; but no newspaper as in the last dispatch. Also sent the following letter to the Secretary of the Treasury.

The Commrs. to the Secretary of the Treasury. New York, Sept. 21. With a form of an order for the payment of 300*l.*

Received the following Memorial from the Chief Justice of the Province of New Jersey, to which the answer subjoined was returned. Likewise wrote the subsequent letter to Adml. Gambier, enclosing a copy of the Proclamation, following which is his answer.

Memorial of the Chief Justice of New Jersey to the Commrs. New York, Sept. 17.

The Commrs. to the Chief Justice of New Jersey. New York, Sept. 21.

The Commrs. to Admiral Gambier. New York, Sept. 21.

Admiral Gambier to the Commrs. Ardent, off New York, Sept. 25.

Sept. 28, New York.—The following joint letter from the Earl of Carlisle and William Eden, Esq., to Lord George Germain, was this day communicated, tho' dispatched agreeable to its date.

No. 5.—The Earl of Carlisle and Wm. Eden, Esq., to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, July 7.

Sept. 30, New York.—Wrote the following letter with the subjoined enclosures to the Superintendent of this Port.

The Commrs. to Andrew Elliot, Esq. New York, Sept. 26. [Enclosed:—]

Form of a Permit to leave the Port.

Form of a Licence for the exportation of Prize Goods.

Abstract of Shipping.—Total of shipping, 622 vessels; tonnage, 110,927$\frac{6}{12}$. New York, Oct. 5.

Oct. 3, New York.—This day the subjoined Manifesto and Proclamation being signed and sealed, thirteen duplicates were transmitted to the Assemblies of the thirteen Revolted Provinces, [and] printed copies to sundry persons and bodies of men, as follows:—

To his Exy. the Governour for the time being—the Honble. the President of the Council for the time being—the Honble. the Speaker of the Assembly for the time being—or to the General Assembly of New Hampshire, and so respectively in like manner to the other 12 States.

A printed copy, signed and sealed by the Commrs.: To his Exy. the Governour, Lieut.-Governour, or President for the time being of New

Hampshire; and so respectively in like manner to the other 12 States, with this difference only, that the German translations were double in quantity for the middle Colonies.

20 English and 1 German copies: To the honble. the President of the Council for the time being of New Hampshire; and so on, as mentioned in the last paragraph.

10 English and 3 German copies: To the honble. the Speaker of the Assembly for the time being of New Hampshire; and so on, as mentioned in the last paragraph.

10 English and 3 German copies: To the Officer Commanding in Chief the Provincial Forces of N. Hampshire; and so on, &c.

10 English and 3 German copies: To the Revd. the Ministers of the Gospel, &c.

10 English and 3 German copies: To the Chief Justice of New Hampshire, &c.

To the President of the Congress, 1 English and 1 German copy.

To the Delegates of each State in Congress, 1 of each.

To Gen. Washington, 10 English and 5 German.

To Gen. Maxwell in New Jersey, as many.

To Gen. Sullivan in Rhode Island, do.

Besides these the following number[s] of copies were transmitted to the several Commanders of the British Army on Detachment, or at the Outposts. Also to the Superintendent General of the Port of New York and the Commissaries of Prisoners, to be by them occasionally distributed among the people.

Sir Henry Clinton, 20 English copies.
Earl Cornwallis, 50 English and 10 German.
Gen. Kniphausen, 50 English and 10 German.
M. G. Vaughan, 50 English and 10 German.
M. G. Gray, 20 English.
M. G. Tryon, 100 English, 20 German.
B. G. Skynner, 50 English, 10 German.
B. G. Matthews, 20 English.
B. G. Delaney, 25 English, 10 German.
Lord Rawdon, 20 English.
Sir Wm. Erskine, 25 English, 10 German.
Superintendent General, 50 English, 10 German.
Commy. of land Prisoners, 40 English, 10 German.
Commy. of sea Prisoners, 40 English and 10 German.

Manifesto and Proclamation by the Commrs. New York, Oct. 3.

The same day was dated the following letter to R. Adml. Gambier relative to the above Manifesto and Proclamation.

The Commrs. to Admiral Gambier.

Oct. 4. New York.—Received the following memorial.

Memorial from several inhabitants of Pensylvania to the Commrs. [No date.]

Oct. 10, New York. Received this day the following letter from Lord Geo. Germain.

Lord Geo. Germain to the Commrs. Whitehall, Aug. 5.

Oct. 15, New York.—This day the following dispatches were prepared and delivered to Commodore Elliot, on board his Majesty's ship the Trident.

A letter, No. 14, to Lord Geo. Germain, enclosing a printed copy of a Manifesto and Proclamation. A copy of a Memorial from several inhabitants of Pensylvania. A letter, No. 15, to the same, enclosing a copy of a letter to Adml. Gambier, with a copy of the Admiral's answer ; likewise a copy of a letter to the Superintendent with printed copies of a Clearance and Licence, and a printed copy of a Proclamation. A letter, No. 16, to the same, and a letter, No. 17, to the same.

No. 14.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, Oct. 15.

No. 15.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, Oct. 15.

No. 16.—From Lord Carlisle and Wm. Eden to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, Oct. 15.

No. 17.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, Oct. 15.

Oct. 19, New York.—This day the duplicates of letters Nos. 14, 15, 16, and 17 were sent by Major Drummond, together with their enclosures, and the following letter from Adam Ferguson, Esq., to Wm. Knox, Esq.

No. 18.—Dr. Adam Ferguson to William Knox. Oct. 19.

Oct. 26, New York.—Information arriving that the vessel carrying the flag of truce with the Manifesto and Proclamation directed to the Congress, Pensylvania, and the three lower Counties on Deleware, was wrecked on going up Deleware River, the following letter was ordered to be sent to the President of the Congress, with the subjoined list enclosed.

Dr. Adam Ferguson to Henry Laurens, Esq. New York, Oct. 26.

List of packets sent by Lieut. Hale in the Hotham Tender, addressed as follows:—

To the Assembly of each of the States of Pensylvania and Deleware, Instruments signed and sealed on vellum. 2 packets.

To his Excellency the Govr. for the time being in each of the above States. 2 packets.

To the honourable the President for the time being. 2 packets.

To the honourable the Speaker of the Assemblies. 2 packets.

To the Officer Commanding in Chief the Provincial Forces. 2 packets.

To the Revd. the Ministers of the Gospel. 2 packets.

To the Chief Justice and the Judges. 2 packets.

To the President of Congress. 1 packet.

To the Delegates of each State in Congress. 13 packets.

Oct. 29, New York.—The officer dispatched with a flag of truce to carry the Manifesto and Proclamation to Hampton in Virginia, and Anapolis in Maryland, being returned, gave in the following report:—

Report, signed by John Hay.

The Governor of Virginia's answer to Major Thomas Matthews, Commanding Officer at Fort Henry. Williamsburg, Oct. 17. Enclosing a Resolution of [the Assembly of Virginia], ordering the officer charged with the dispatches to leave the State [of Virginia].

Major Thomas Matthews to [John Hay] "the officer charged with dispatches from New York to this State." Oct. 17.

Dr. Ferguson to Governor Johnstone, Maryland. [No date.]
With the above letter, packets were sent to the different officers of that State, as mentioned in the list. Oct. 26.

Dr. Ferguson to the Officer Commanding at Elizabeth Town. New York, Oct. 29.

Received the following answer from the Officer Commanding in Elizabeth Town.

The Officer Commanding at Elizabeth Town to Adam Ferguson, Esq. Oct. 29, 9 *p.m.* Signed: Stirling.

Nov. 9, New York.—The following letter was ordered to be sent to the Superintendent of the Port of New York.

Adam Ferguson to Andrew Elliot.

Nov. 18, New York.—The different dispatches were made up and sent by the Packet.

No. 19.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. [No date.]

Here follows a Petition of the Merchants and Traders of New York, with their Excellencies' answer thereto, as printed in the Collection of Papers relating to the proceedings of his Majesty's Commissioners, &c.; after which is inserted the Proclamation for continuing in force till the first day of June next ensuing a Proclamation issued by the Commrs. on the 26th Sept. last.

No. 20.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, Nov. 15.

No. 21.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. [No date.]

Admiral Gambier to the Commrs. New York, Nov. 14.

James Dick, Commissary of Prisoners, to John Beatty, Esq. New York, Oct. 27. "Requisition" in margin.

Resolutions of the Congress, Oct. 16. Copy signed by A. Skinner, Deputy Commissary of Prisoners, and J. Gambier.

Resolution of Congress, Nov. 9. Copy signed as above.

Admiral Gambier's reply to the foregoing Resolutions of the Congress. Ardent, off New York, Nov. 15.

No. 22.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. New York, Oct. 16. "Secret."

Form of Commission by the Commrs. to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell.

Letter of Instructions by the Commrs. to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. "Most secret."

Address of the Inhabitants of New York to the Commrs. [No date.]

Answer of the Commrs. New York, Nov. 23.

No. 23.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. From on board the Roebuck, Sandy Hook. Nov. 27.

No. 24.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. Roebuck, off Plymouth, Nov. [Dec.] 19.

Lord Geo. Germain to the Commrs. Whitehall, Nov. 28. "Separate."

Memorial of the Merchants and others in Georgia and South Carolina to Lord Geo. Germain. London, Nov. 9.

Note delivered by Messrs. Nutt and Greenwood on the part of the Merchants, &c. Jan. 1779.

No. 25.—The Commrs. to Lord Geo. Germain. London, Jan. 21.

Draft of a Proclamation by the Commrs. London, Jan. 21.

The Commrs. to Brigadier-General Campbell. London, Jan. 21. "Secret."

N.B.—On the 22nd of Jan. 1779 delivered the above letter with the Proclamation at the Secretary's Office, Whitehall.

Here follow many blank leaves. At the reverse end of the book is a copy of a portion of the Instructions given to the Commissioners. The volume is of 4to size, and is bound in brown leather, with a folding flap, in which is a steel lock of fine workmanship.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1779 ?] Jan. 2, Saturday m[orning], at home.—Although there is less hazard in my putting off a letter which I should write to you, of entirely omitting it, because I have a passion for scribbling to you, yet I shall, for the future, where exactness is engaged for, begin my letters as early as possible.

We dined yesterday at Charles's; there were 1st, Bully, then the Earl of Derby, Gen[era]l Burgoyne, Lord Robert, and Richard; and the Devil take me if I can be quite sure whether John* was with us or not; I rather think no. If he was, he has made no impression from what he said yesterday. We had indeed an excellent dinner. Mr. Bertrand performed. The capital joint was a haunch of Admiral Pigot's venison, which was sent by Bully. I have the beginning of a cold, which I desire should be the end of one too; so I was very sparing in my potations, and retreated to bed early. I had no mind to begin the new year in any respect ill. Otherwise, I was very well disposed to drink, and to make the most of this dinner.

I was much solicited for a rebound, to which I have as yet demurred. Lord Robert† is going for ten days to Blenheim. Richard has proposed to go with me to Ampthill, and I am inclined to accept it. But I reserve that expedition for the end of your voyage.

March has not been here; he was expected, on Thursday, to be yesterday at Court, but I rather think that he has gone to Bath. I had two letters from him, wrote on Saturday last; one was from Amesbury in the morning, the other after dinner at Wilton. *Honores non mutant mores* with him; for he will continue his indecisions *sur les détails à son dernier soupir*.

I hear of no news, but of the loss of the Indiaman. I was at Brooks's for half an hour to drink tea. Meynell and Boothby were both there; it was the first time that I had seen them since my return. Boothby

* St. John?

† Spencer?

enquired much and very kindly after you indeed. I think him, you must know, an *aimable Prince; il a de la vaine gloire*, as Princes sometimes have, but *il a en même tems, de très bonnes qualités, à ce qu'il me paroît.*

I have just wrote a note to Ridly to search for the speeches; the man they call Hereford at White's, promised me to get them, so they may be there ready for me. I hope to send them by this night's post. I went before dinner, that is, at 5 o'clock, for [a] quarter of an hour into St. James's Place, to see the children. They are both exceeding well. I grow more delighted with them every day that I see them. George had permission, it being New Year's day, to walk about the room, with a silver sword by his side, which he was very proud of. But Mrs. Rooke* told me it was an indulgence, for Lady C[arlisle] was afraid of the early use of such a weapon. *Ils fésoient collation.*

The Fish dined yesterday with the Duke of North[umberlan]d; that is a new object of his adulation. His Grace was nothing but fur and diamonds, [so] that he looked as if he was to represent the Bear Star. I left him sitting down to Macao in hopes of winning the expenses of his dinner. . . .

Incomplete.

THOMAS CAMPBELL, Merchant in Grenada, to [ ].

1779, Jan. 10.—Extract of a Letter from Thos. Campbell, Esq., Merchant in St. George's, Grenada.

"The Seat of War seems now to be changed as well as the nature of it, and becomes more immediately interesting to us as it draws nearer. This Island for some months past has been much harassed and frequently under arms and martial law by alarms of an intended invasion from Martinique, but the late glorious conquest of St. Lucia by General Grant and Admiral Barrington's little squadron, and the subsequent arrival of Admiral Byron hath set our hearts at rest, as we are well assured the blockade is now turned on Mr. De Estaing and his Squadron at Martinique, since which the clashing of arms in our streets hath now given way to the arts of peace, and our Militia of Planters are all returned to the country to begin taking off the best crop of canes (?) ever seen on this Island."

The gentleman who brought the above letter informs that for about three months past, before he left Grenada, the whole white inhabitants on the Island were collected at St. George's, where they did constant duty, amounting to about 1,500, including about 80 regular troops. That they had augmented the fortifications considerably by the addition of a battery mounting 16 forty-two pounders on a very commanding situation. That Govr. Young and Col. ——— who commanded were determined to make a spirited stand against any Force that might be brought against them. That D'Estaing arrived at Martinico on the 8th Decr., and had embarked a body of troops to the amount it is supposed of about 4,000, with which he was proceeding against Grenada, but that upon his voyage the English colours flying on St. Lucea was the first information he had of the conquest of that Island, where he found abundance of employment without going so far as Grenada. That General Grant arrived at Barbados on the 12th December, and landed on St. Lucea on the 13th, and that the French Fleet with the land forces

* Or Roche?

mentioned above, on their intended expedition against Grenada, made their appearance next day.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Mr. Elliot, Feb. 1st, N. Y.

News from Connecticut.

1779, Jan. 13.—Information from Connecticut, 13th January 1779, by Mr. Elihu Hall, who left New Haven the 5th inst.

The Assembly sitting at Hartford. The Continental army computed at 10 or 12,000, and daily lessening. There are no troops to the eastward of Danbury and Reading, except Sheldon's Light Horse at Durham. These will be reduced very soon. Complaints among the soldiers of the want of provisions, clothing, pay, &c. They are in tents at Reading for want of barracks. A mutiny there lately in General Huntington's Brigade. Horse companies went off, though a man was shot to intimidate them and prevent it. The officers obliged to maintain a slack government, and suffer the soldiers to go home on parole. They are constantly passing and re-passing. The terms of those who enlisted for two years expiring. None of the new clothing given to any but such as enlisted for three years and during the wars. As vacancies happen in the regiments kept up by Connecticut drafts are made from the militia. Fines no longer induce them to go from home. The first notice a Draft receives is by a guard, who takes him off instantly to the camp. This by a late law, which creates great discontent among the farmers. The leaders under anxious apprehensions on the daily diminution of the army. Putnam commands in the eastern quarters. Washington on the west of Hudson's River, but is gone to the Congress on the ways and means to augment the army. Many late resignations.

Governor Trumbul's interest declines; Titus Hosmer talked of for his successor. Of the general mass, two to one for a Reunion with Great Britain. The distresses of the country many and great. Bread scarce in all the New England Colonies. The informer was at Boston a little before D'Estainge sailed. Flour, 50 paper dollars per hundred. His destination not publicly known. The Fleet not fully supplied. The general wish that he had never arrived there. His flight from Newport much censured. It is thought that Sullivan's army escaped very narrowly. The army on that descent said to be 5,000; certainly not more than 7,000 landed there.

Very little trade in Connecticut, except by barter. The farmers, having paid their debts with paper money, will take it no longer for their produce. It is reduced to eight and ten for one. The people under a heavy tax now, about seven shillings in the pound. A new one about to be laid. Beef 10*l.*, and pork 12*l.* 10*s.*, a hundred. Salt, 40 dollars a bushel. It is made all along the coast; chiefly at New Haven and Brentford. The college broke up at New Haven last month, and the scholars dismissed through a scarcity of provisions.

No magazines; some small stores collected at Wallingford, Durham, Lebanon, and Hartford. The main part of the artillery at Springfield; a small park at Farmington.

Dean's late publication has excited much suspicion. His assertions and insinuations believed. The request to the public for suspending their opinions till the Lee family are heard, slighted. The defence of them by the author of Common Sense thought to be rude and trifling. The multitude jealous that their leaders are searching out safe ports for themselves. The manifesto of the Commissioners generally known

and approved by the majority. Many that have been hot grow cool. Some men of consequence avow their change of sentiment, others suspected. Mr. Seymour, the Attorney-General at Hartford, is one of these. Mr. Whittlesey, the minister of the parish of New Haven, another.

The last account of the Brest Fleet, that it was out looking for Keppel. Heard nothing of Grant's and Campbel's destination on arrival till he (*sic*) came here. A landing in the South will create much surprise, and to some vast anxiety and distress.

The Assembly moved from New Haven to Hartford last October in dread of a descent. Trumbul in constant apprehension. The Assembly men would not lodge while he was there, in the same house with him.

The sea coast towns in a great degree depopulated. They suffer for want of necessaries. New Haven several weeks last summer without bread. But for their clam-banks and fish, many would have perished if they had not removed into the back towns. No foreign supplies but from Boston. Exorbitant prices exacted, and the like by the farmers in exchange of their produce, to procure them. Connecticut was last year posting to ruin, under an Act of her own limiting her produce to fixed sums, while the merchants to the eastward extorted at pleasure, under no public regulation. The farmers are taking revenge in their turn, but it falls upon all who are neither traders, husbandmen, nor in public and lucrative posts. The classes who live upon stock, and have no means of acquiring wealth, are sinking into all the wretchedness of indigence and want.

In Chief Justice William Smith's hand.

Archibald Campbell, Lieut.-Colonel 71st Regiment, to Lord Carlisle.

1779, Jan. 18, Savanna in Georgia.—The interest your Lordship was pleased to take in the expedition to Georgia, renders it a duty in me to give you the most early intelligence of its success. On the 29th of last December, when half the troops under my command had scarce landed, the united force of Carolina and Georgia, after taking up an advantageous position near the town of Savannah, drew up in order of battle. A Major-Genl. Howe commanded the rebels, and it was my good fortune to beat them.

Thirty-eight officers of different distinctions, and four hundred and fifty non-commissioned officers and privates, one stand of colours, thirty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, a quantity of gunpowder, the Fort with all its stores, the shipping, and in short the capital of Georgia with a large quantity of provisions fell into my possession before it was dark. The Rebels left 83 dead upon the spot, and about thirty more lost their lives in a swamp endeavouring to make their escape. Our loss was two captains and five privates killed; one subaltern, one sergeant, and seventeen privates wounded.

The pursuit of Mr. Howe's Army was so rapid that in five days thereafter we drove him across the Savannah River at the 2 Sisters, out of the Province of Georgia; insomuch that, excepting 200 men in garrison at Sunbury, whose retreat was effectually cut off by this movement, there was not a rebel to show his face 100 miles above the Savannah. I was on my way to take this post when Genl. Prevost entered the Province from the southward, and after a very short resistance received their submission at discretion.

Having drove this army out of the province, I thought that period the best for the purpose of addressing the populace; and accordingly published the inclosed Proclamation for the inhabitants at large, who received it with every demonstration of joy, and in consequence of it flock in to the Royal Standard in crowds.

Your Lordship will be surprised to see the name of Captain Parker claim the first importance in that Proclamation; and it becomes my duty to explain how that power had been devolved to him.

Although this officer had no share in the Commission granted by your Lordship, and his Majesty's other Commissioners at New York, yet the Admiral had given him rank as Commodore, and policy led me to hold forth that respectable title to the public, rather than suffer his Majesty's Proclamation to be treated with disrespect, on account of the insignificant station of the subscriber; for in this country, field officers start up like mushrooms.

A Lieut.-Colonel and a Cobbler are Hail brothers well met.

If in this I have acted improperly, your Lordship will I hope impute the error to the sole motive of sacrificing every personal consequence to what I conceived to be the advantage of Government.

In a few days hence I mean to proceed to Augusta to secure the last post of consequence on our frontiers; and I am not without the hope of being the first officer under your Lordship's auspices to take a stripe and star from the rebel flag of Congress.

P.S.—The provisional appointments with which your Lordship and the other his Majesty's Commissioners were pleased to intrust me are still unemployed. I see few here equal to them, and I am by no means calculated to use them. I am merely a soldier, and wish, when I can no longer render service to my Sovereign in that line, to retire from the bustle of public employ. Your Lordship will see the necessity of sending out immediately for this province a Governor, with every essential arrangement for the re-establishment of Legal Government. This would become a model for future conquests, and from the happiness of its form may at this juncture operate more powerfully than twenty thousand troops.

Intelligence by Mr. Thomas Fanning.

1779, Jan. 19.—He left Pogheepsingh the 15th inst. There is an Assembly sitting there. It is true that the men of the country from Onion River, Otter Creek, &c., on the East side of Lake Champlaine, were carried to Canada in November with the cattle, and that the women and children were sent down to the Southern settlements. There were nearly two Continental Regiments destroyed, in the attack upon Cherry Valley. The fugitives from the desolated frontiers are scattered among all the interior settlements. Vermont still maintains her revolt. Governor Clinton for violence against them, but he can't carry it; some for humouring them now, and using compulsion at a future day. Clinton holds lands in that country under a New York title.

They talk of a Canada expedition this winter. Workmen gone up to cut timber, for launching two ships into Lake Champlaine in the spring. They expect a rising in Canada on their descent. Such conquest thought the only effectual means to prevent Indian irruptions.

There are great complaints of a scarcity of provisions and provender. New England in distress for bread. They come from beyond Boston and from the sea coast of Connecticut to this Colony for flour for private

families, and are often disappointed. The paper money down to eight and ten for one. It will scarce purchase anything. Col. Livingston, of the Manor of Livingston, has lately refused it. Multitudes are distressed. Some sell their plate for provisions. The Southern parts of the country near the Continental Army exhausted. The Farmers there have not even forage for their cattle. They fodder but once in 24 hours. Many will perish in the course of the winter. The Army can't stir from their cantonments. Their draft cattle weak and unsupplied.

Three thousand troops at Danbury and Reading—1,500 at the Forts and Peak's Rill. The rest in Jersey. The whole Continental Army computed at 12,000. Many leaving it daily. Their times expire. They swear they will never enlist again. The Militia lugged to camp to recruit it. This creates great discontent and ferments.

Several late mutinies near Danbury. Some gone off in companies. We saw the troops at Peak's Rill still in tents, erected on sides of turf (?).

Reports industriously spread to lead the common people to believe that Great Britain will abandon the Continent in the spring.

There are five men condemned to be hanged at Goshen next Friday; three of them for conducting Burgoyne's men to New York.

The leaders at Pogheepsingh at strife with each other. They desist from tendering the Abjuration Oath devised last summer; confess it would depopulate the New Republic. The King's Friends stout-hearted. They perceive the weakness of the faction and maintain their loyalty, in a firm persuasion that the measures of another campaign will terminate the war in a lasting reunion with the mother country.

Mr. Fanning is well acquainted with Connecticut, and on hearing the information of Elihu Hall read to him, he says it is a just representation. He holds an estate at Lebanon in that Colony, and was there this fall.

In Chief Justice Wm. Smith's hand.

[Newsletter from Andrew Elliot.] "No. 2."

1779, Feb. 1, [New York].—Everything here has continued quiet from the supply of all sorts in more plenty than was expected; the prices of grain and firewood limited as per newspapers. The privateers vastly successful from this port. The commanders of both departments go on with the greatest harmony; it will be unfortunate if any change takes place. No attack or even alarm has been given to any part of this Island all winter. Sir William Erskine and a number of troops are quartered at the east end of Long Island to protect the country.

The Refugees all employed in cutting wood on Rebel Lands, by which they make money and keep the town well supplied. They wish much to be embodied under a commander of their own, to make excursions; this plan, if well conducted under the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces, may be useful if a destructive war is to be carried on, as in that case they might in armed vessels annoy all the Coast on the Sound, destroy shipping, boats, warehouses, &c., &c. The burning of dwelling-houses can answer no purpose, and excursions to Jersey, a country already destroyed by both sides, would only distress distressed country people, and fill our jails with prisoners that Congress would never pay any attention to, as private revenge would often direct the seizing of the prisoners. It will therefore be dangerous to use Refugees but as the Commander-in-Chief directs, and to him alone they should look up. A separate command given to any other person will produce

disagreeable consequence in times when revenge and necessity go hand in hand, and England aims more at conciliating than conquering.

Expectations have run high in regard to Colonel Campbell; as we have no certain accounts, I decline giving reports, but from report it is certain and past a doubt that he is at Savannah in Georgia. The account of Grant's success came yesterday; newspapers and the enclosed extract is all that is known. Judging by events, the sure way of judging right, how well planned was Grant's going! It once seemed otherwise.

By the New York papers and the Rebel papers that are sent home, it will appear that matters amongst the Rebels, particularly at Philadelphia, are in the utmost confusion; the dispute between Deane and the Lees, although now personal, all originated from the jealousy of the Southern and Eastern spirit; their dislike and contempt of each other is so rooted that no public motive can remove it. Payne, who writes Common Sense, was sent to the country by old Francklin, and recommended to his son the Governor as a Secretary; but Payne, preferring a town, settled at Philadelphia as a writer, &c. In the course of his Common Sense he has touched on Mr. Robert Morris's public accounts, which has called him to answer; Mr. Morris has all along conducted the mercantile affairs of the Congress; a private connection in trade betwixt him and Deane has given room for much jealousy. Morris declines declaring their present connections. B——y P——g has got an intercepted contract for establishing a house at Nantz with a French merchant, Silas Deane, Mr. Morris, Mr. Willson, two Mr. Nesbitts, Mr. Bannister, and Mr. Duer. All but the Nesbitts are or were in Congress. Mr. Duer is an Englishman settled in this Province; he is said to be the writer of Plain Truth in answer to Common Sense. Wilson is also one of their best heads and pens; so it is supposed as soon as the trading Company is known at Philadelphia there will be much writing, accusing, and clearing; but as B——y P——g has been advised to make it public, and as it is a right thing, it is a chance if it is done. The names are set down here as a key to any future newspaper matters.

With this mercantile contract it is said there was also taken a letter from Deane to the Secretary of State, or some such officer, at Paris; such a letter is in B——y P——g's hands, with some cyphers in it; by what I have heard it is a familiar letter, desiring care to be taken of his son; "he complains of Congress, Washington, and everything, a ruined "country, an unsuccessful campaign, one hundred million of dollars "expended, almost all last campaign every necessary of life scarce and "high, the Continental money sunk to nothing; who would have thought "three years could have so reduced a country once so plentiful? &c." He also says he can make no remittances, it is not in his power. As all this is a deep secret here and only whispered by everybody, so that it leaves a doubt with me if the remittances mentioned are public or private, as Deane brought over on D'Estaing's fleet a large cargo of goods, the letter certainly shows what everybody agrees in, that confusion, distrust, and distraction make up the present councils in all the States as well as Congress. Gen. Thompson, who writes the letter to Chief Justice McKean, is just returned agreeable to parole, a good man. What is remarkable, that the executive Council at Philadelphia (a heated body with a hot head) have, on the 31st of December last, passed a decree releasing all people taken up agreeable to law and by their order confined for refusing the oaths to the State, and [they] order none to be molested in future. This is owing to a desire to sweeten before the balloting for a New Government.

If you are firm in England, and can manage France, how soon will things of themselves return to better order than any treaty could put them in, in a general way, as it is clear there will be such commotions among themselves as will make every Province look out for herself, particularly as taxation is begun, and quotas held up that will oblige nine-tenths of the people to rub up their numeration table to find out the sum their Province is to pay. No late accounts from Brant, &c.; less information from up the North River than from any quarter, owing chiefly I believe to there being nothing worth being informed about. Deane says in his letter above mentioned that the Troops are in quarters, and everything inactive in all the Northern States.

Governor Clinton we hear is anxious to engage in a war with Vremont (all his estate laying there); his Assembly for waiting; they have hung a poor man of the name of Smith taken off from Long Island. Constant complaints of want of everything comes (*sic*) down the River; Boston and Pensilvania have bought up all their provisions; nothing left but paper money, which we hear is sold at 30*l.* for one-half Joannes.

A few weeks will inform how pulses beat, as there appears a humour for feeling pulses.

In the same hand as the "Extract" dated 10th January 1779, *and "No. 3," dated 14th February* 1779.

[Chief Justice William Smith] to Lord Carlisle.

1779, Feb. 2, New York.—Having done myself the honour to write to you on the 12th, and again on the 29th December, by the Amazon and the Bedford, I shall trouble your Lordship at present only with the latest private information I have obtained from the Country, and a remark or two on a Resolve of the Congress of the 2nd January, which is one of the best proofs that the flame of the Rebellion is trembling in the socket.

Of the 15 millions of dollars proposed to be cancelled in the course of the year, the proportion of this Colony is a twelfth; and that twelfth, no less than half a million of pounds currency. In judging of the influence of this Tax upon the minds of the common people, who reason always according to their feelings, the burden must be compared with their abilities; and for this purpose your Lordship will be pleased to recollect that our heaviest assessment, and at a juncture when the Province was in its highest prosperity, was little more than forty-one thousand pounds. This was in 1761. To animate us to that contribution we had the flattering idea of the Conquest of Canada. The Army had brought in a deluge of specie. A great part of the opulence of the French Islands, acquired by captures, by flags of truce, and by an indirect commerce at Monte Christo, passed through *our* hands to Europe. That sugar, which then cost us but a dollar a hundred at Hispaniola, and those dollars, procured by our staple at an amazing profit, we sold beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, for four and five pounds sterling; and yet all this notwithstanding, the Province was considered as carried by her zeal beyond her strength, and Parliament reimbursed us for a considerable part of the Tax.

Now then, my Lord, can the Republic of New York, shrunk as it is to the three Counties of Ulster, Dutchess, and Albany, with the undesolated fragments of Orange and Tryon, pay in the half million? Before Tryon was carved out of Albany, the proportion of these districts in all general levies was less than a third part of the common

provincial burden, as our Legislative Acts and Journal in the Plantation Office will demonstrate; and it must be added that the Colony owes for outstanding Bills issued before the year 1775, 190,000*l.*, and for subsequent emissions of her own 250,000*l.* more, exclusive of what is due for the present annual Civil List of near 10,000*l.*, and an enormous sum *concealed* under the general head of Contingents. She paid last year to the Continental relief for sinking the Paper money 80,000*l.*

Perhaps the Demagogues have published the late Confession of their distress (for the Resolve admits a debt upon the Continent of at least 140 odd millions of dollars) to abate the confidence of their own partizans, and acquire the power and credit, if menaced or hard pressed in the spring, of bringing back the Colonies to their ancient Allegiance; and if their ambition is not so sagacious, nor their poverty and impotence reduced to an extremity, we may at least presume everything from their folly; for of all their councils, none has contributed so much as this Resolve to the subversion of their power.

I give you joy, my Lord, on the late success among the Islands, of which however, or of the transaction at the south end of the Continent, we remain still without any official or authentic accounts. These, with the prosperity of the Privateers from this Port, whose ardour has been *too long* strangely repressed, the late supplies of provisions, the flattering predictions of great Reinforcements, and the hope that the operations of the next summer will be better directed, and conducted with more vigour, have dispelled the despondent gloom that prevailed when you left us. I am nevertheless not without anxiety for the due improvement of Mr. Campbel's enterprise, and indeed of all expeditions into the Continent. The Americans, whether Loyalists or reduced and helpless Rebels, will naturally grow impatient, if they find themselves under a Government *perfectly military*, and soon look out for that happiness which is only to be enjoyed under a complete establishment of the Civil Police, or at least that degree of safety that may be afforded by a Board on the spot, with the *ample powers* I before hinted to be necessary for supplying the blessings of peace, as fast [far ?] as it will consist with the main object, of a total restoration of the common tranquillity, to deal them out. New York, my Lord, exhibits proof that the Government of an army will please only in the tumultuous joy of the first moment of redemption; and if all America is to become a garrison, she is not worth your attention, unless your Guards are Americans. Every day adds to the evidence I brought you of your holding such an interest in this Country as, properly managed, will require but half a campaign to compose the ferments, which had nearly tumbled the Empire down the precipice of destruction.

If this object meets with the attention it deserves, your Army will not be dissipated, and no person informed of the divided, exhausted, and debilitated condition of the revolted Colonies, will believe it possible to maintain the Rebellion against the armaments you have here *even now*, unless they are unemployed as heretofore, or the French faction receive reinforcements of *men* as well as money from abroad. For Heaven['s] sake let us preserve what we gain. I ought to make an apology for repeating my instances as to the manner of accomplishing this great end, if I did not think your Lordship's patriotism would excuse, my Lord,

Your Lordship's
Most obedient humble servant.

The Intelligence inclosed is given by persons of undoubted integrity and sound understandings. Hall is gone back. Fanning is still

here soliciting a second time for his exchange of one citizen for another.

Holograph, not signed.

Lord North to [Lord Carlisle].

[1779?] Feb. 14, Sunday morning, Downing Street.—May I desire the honour of seeing your Lordship this evening about nine o'clock at my house in company with Mr. Eden? I wish most earnestly to remove any uneasiness or complaint that you may think you have against me or against any other person, and I trust that you will open yourself freely and without reserve to me, as you may depend upon it that whether our conference ends in friendship or hostility, no part of it shall transpire without permission. I hope that some satisfactory method may be found of preventing your intended Motion, which is, and will certainly be considered as, a declaration of War.

Newsletter from Mr. E[lliot]. "No. 3."

1779, Feb. 14.—The certain accounts of our success in Georgia and the West Indies, which was so unlooked for by the Rebels in general (who had been long taught by their leaders to believe that England fully intended to give up the matter and even evacuate New York), together with their internal feuds, wants, and apprehension of taxes, a matter now declared necessary, has from all accounts from all parts raised universal clamour and discontent against men and measures.

Gerard has fairly bullied the Congress into the declaration of a falsehood under pretence of calling for an explanation of what Common Sense, Mr. Payne, had wrote in his attack upon Deane. The Congress has disavowed Deane,* and we hear from good authority that he is now in jail; the printers all on his side. We hourly from report expect to see papers wrote by him accusing great part of the Congress with everything Administration is generally accused of at home, and recommending purging the Congress, &c., &c. Arnold, the Commandant of Philadelphia, has quarrelled with the Executive Council; threatens to murder Reed the Governor, who has exhibited thirteen charges against him, one particularly for being concerned in trade, and employing the public waggons in bringing and carrying his merchandise to and from Egg Harbour and Jersey, and the head of Chesapeak Bay.

McKean, the Chief Justice of Philadelphia (say Pensilvania) is publishing and abusing General Thompson, who is here a prisoner. Governor Livingston quarrels with all the military in Jersey; a prisoner who returned lately on parole declared in presence of General Maxwell (who commands at Elizabeth Town) and Governor Livingston that they must know the game was up; that the people would no longer be abused, robbed, and deprived of every enjoyment of life to serve the ends of a few, and that he was glad he was going to New York to be out of the way of the scene that must soon follow. Matter to this purpose certainly passed at Elizabeth Town within these five days; there is also reason to believe from good report that Washington has about the 5th of this month called in all his recruiting parties, no reason assigned.

The people that go from this in flags to Elizabeth Town and carry small supplies of necessaries by the General's or Commandant's permission have for some time past been all plundered by the Militia; General

* "Payne" is written (by Eden?) over "Deane."

Maxwell has wished to prevent it, but cannot, as they are chiefly their own people that go that way. This conduct seemed odd, and was imputed to Livingston's severity; but the true cause, which comes from good authority, is, the very bad effect this sort of supply has had, first in Jersey and Pensilvania, and is now felt everywhere, in reducing their Continental money; for any person that found an opportunity of getting a little supply from New York immediately embraced it, and would give thirty, nay forty, dollars for one in exchange for such hard money as would pass at New York; this alone has greatly hurt the currency as well as the draining those two States of hard cash.

If it was possible to send some ships and a few men into Chesapeak Bay to make a division both in Maryland and Virginia, of what consequence it would be! One thousand men employed in that way would be equal to 5,000 sent to Prevost, in Georgia, as it would prevent the march and occasion even the ordering back of any men sent from those provinces to the southward, besides the preventing the carrying of supplies from those provinces to the southward and for Washington's army, for on those provinces all their dependence now lays for provision supplies, those to the northward being drained and not well cropt last season. Then, if as it is said D'Estaing depends on supplies from America, it must go from thence; he carried all he could get from the eastward; of what consequence would be such an expedition then! The General will surely let no opportunity slip, and it is certain the Admiral will agree to what he proposes and give no delay.

If we are reinforced from England, some small expeditions to Chesapeak; Georgia only kept as a frontier, which is done as easily as the Floridas, for that effectually guards the Floridas; some expeditions to the eastward as mentioned in No. 2. (The Commandant is withdrawing his wood-cutting permissions, the city being well supplied, and this will leave the Refugees at large to go into any scheme.) General Haldemand from Quebeck with Indians, &c., will probably make some stir in the back quarter, as will also Brant and Butler, so that the attention of all quarters will be fixed to their own situations; and if the Commander-in-Chief has sufficient force to open the country to Albany or put Washington to rout, the affairs in America must this season terminate happily.

Whatever in future may be Great Britain's connections with this country, Great Britain ought to take some steps to draw back some of the gold and silver she has sent to America; a smaller quantity would have done if the matter had been early attended to; much might have been recovered and saved to the nation if proper steps had been taken at Philadelphia. Should not some plan be fallen on to receive for bills, gold and silver in any shape that won't pass, which may be sent home. Plugged money now is taken. If good security had been held up with interest, would it not have secured not only the cash but the moneyed interest? Is it too late to think of these matters? It is never too late to correct mistakes.

Duplicate. Nothing to add, 1st March 1779.

Not signed or endorsed.

Also two other copies, with variations, one endorsed, Mr. E., 14th Feb. '79.

Dr. Adam Ferguson to Lord Carlisle.

1779, March 10, London.—I should have been to wait on your Lordship with the inclosed papers if I were not confined by the remains

of a smart fit of a fever I had in the end of last week. The person to whom they relate, and who means to present them to your Lordship, has, I believe, stated the facts very fairly, and will probably obtain your Lordship's pardon for this trouble. He flattered himself that his memorial was to have been presented to Lord North by Mr. McDonald, to whom he has been long known, but is disappointed by Mr. McDonald's being gone, as he informs me, to the country for some weeks. He tells me he had the honour of being presented to your Lordship in America, and has pressed me very earnestly to solicit your protection in his application for some relief to his present difficulties. Your name in any way accompanying these papers to the Ministers may procure him some attention, and he will probably leave them for your consideration. The patronage of distressed Americans is not at present a station of pleasure, but times may change.

The few letters I have received from New York by the last packet confirm the former foavurable accounts, and are summed up by saying that the Congress are alarmed and disunited.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle : Dr. F., and my answer.

[Governor] George Johnstone to [Lord Carlisle]. Private.

1779, March 10, K[ensington] Gore.—After considering, with the utmost attention and respect for everything your Lordship recommends, the letter you have done me the honour to transmit for my signature and approbation, I cannot prevail on myself to subscribe my name to it.

In general I approve of the ideas; the mode of expressing them wants qualifications in every particular; and as I love and venerate your Lordship, and the zeal that prompts the principal parts, I advise you most solemnly not to send the letter in the present shape; and particularly I guard you against subscribing that part which advises not to apply to Parliament where the powers are doubtful, under all the veil that is put upon the sentiment.

The only material point of essential business, under the blaze of introduction, council, and advice that should have been offered officially long before, if necessary in this shape, appears to me in that part respecting the declaring the Colony of Georgia at the King's peace. This instrument I shall immediately be ready to sign and dispatch. How it came to be omitted in considering the possible events on dispatching the official papers in the Department of the Commissioners, I cannot conceive!

I beg your Lordship will not form a thought that my difficulties arise from any impracticability in my disposition to do what is right, or any timidity on that score. My confused faculties may occasion impediment, but my inclination is to concur where I can, and to forward business. A little of this consideration I recommend, in the Proclamation that made so much noise here and in America, whose good effects are thereby totally destroyed, would have rendered it the admiration of all instead of receiving the execrations that have been poured on it. The English Government is complicated, but just and harmonious in all its parts; no one has a right to break the slightest chord without lawful authority. When Martial Law prevails, the rules of discretion take place; and from the chief directing that discretion, the whole civil polity must issue. When the civil institutions are

established, the military commander-in-chief must be subject to them, or they are in truth a deceptious institution upon the public, and generate more confusion and oppression than protection or redress. What I partly find fault with in your Lordship's letter is not being sufficiently precise and explicit in several parts, but guarding your advice under generalities, where you might have been perfectly clear and pointed.

All these matters requiring a longer discussion than I can give them now, if your Lordship is inclined to send this letter in question to aid or strengthen Government, which I wish as much as any man to all good purposes, I beg it may go as it was originally intended, without supposing that I had seen it. I can hardly guess that your Lordship (or Mr. Eden, who is seeing Lord North every day) would send a letter of this consequence at this late hour unless it had been first seen by some in Administration. I know this was the mode recommended to be used towards the Comm[ande]rs-in-Chief of the Army and Navy in our transactions with them, and why their superiors are less respectable I cannot feel while the King employs them; and therefore I suppose this draught of the letter is made with their approbation, or else I say it should be shown to them first.

Accept, my dear Lord, my best and kindest thanks for your kind attentions to me, and pardon any imperfections if in disclosing my sentiments there appears (*sic*) any on this occasion.

Lord Lisburne to [Lord Carlisle].

1779, April 12, Admiralty.—It is plain by the letter Admiral Roddam has written, that William Lawson was impressed by the Commissioners of the Land Tax in London executing the powers of the Recruiting Act. It is most probable the Commissioners have been imposed upon in considering him as a fit object to be impressed, and therefore the easiest method seems to be, as the man is in town, for him to appear again before the same Commissioners with proper testimonies of his situation, when they may desire by letter to this office that he may be discharged. If not, your Lordship will please to send the particulars of this case, stating the *man's situation*, to the Board, when it will be immediately taken into consideration, and proper directions given accordingly.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1779,] April 18, Sunday, Paris.— . . . I have managed in regard to my lodging as I once did in regard to poor Mr. Pottinger, whom I wanted to avoid, and so asked him in my confusion to dine with me, which you cannot forget that he accepted. I wished above all things to be lodged as far from a certain Lady as I could, and I have so contrived it, that for the present I am next door. I intend for the future to describe her by that name, that is, La Dame, as Lord Clarendon does the Duchess of Cleveland. I will for the rest of my life mention her as little as possible; but when I am forced to speak upon her subject I will take care not to call her by her name, and I am the more authorised so to do, as she has called me by every name but that by which I should be described, and that is your friend.

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* There is another letter on this subject.

The Barone servante* is gone to England, as you perhaps know, and perhaps she is now on his (*sic*) road back. However I shall be quit I hope for a distant bow; for although honest Iago had taken as much care as possible that he should cut my throat, a much better friend took care that he should *not;* which is the Maréchal B[iron].

I went yesterday to the Maréchal for the first time; he was in his levee room; it was the day that the Officers of the *Gardes françoises* always dine with him. We dropt upon him once [again?] the same day; but this was at noon, and he was giving audience. He took me out immediately into another room, and after some civil reproaches for not having been there before—for some English, who dine with him on a Friday, had told him that I was come—he entered into a very particular conversation upon that very disagreeable subject, upon which he spoke with all the reason and good nature and propriety imaginable.

I said for you everything which I could conceive it would be agreeable to you that I should say. I found it very acceptable, and his respect for you so great, and so much real kindness mixed with it, that having in my coach a picture of Caroline, which I had intended for the Duchesse de la Valière, I desired him to accept of it, and I think he received it as well as I could for her sake have wished him to do. I believe he will think that Lady Dunmore's daughters will not be the only beauties that we shall be able to produce. He was delighted with it. I gave him also another of Admiral Keppell, which is an extraordinary good one. Caroline's was not a good impression, which I am sorry for. I gave my other where I dined to Me de la Vaupalière, to be a pendant to your own, and you must send me one of Lady C[arlisle], ill as she is represented, that the collection may be complete.

What he said besides was inevitable. I am unwilling to repeat it. I wish that there was not so much truth in it. I wish that it could be remedied, but that is impossible, for the only step towards it, which is returning to her family, and to yours, she is determined not to take; she will return no more to England I believe, if she can help it unless [to] be totally abandoned and plundered everywhere else becomes a necessary inducement.

I am at Galan's, at the Hôtel de Bourbon, next door to where we used to lodge, what is now called l'Hôtel de Danmark. But I must remove, for one apartment will not do; we must have three; one for Monsieur le Marquis, another for the child and her people, and one for myself. So I think I must go for the present to the Parc Royal. Every kind of house has been offered to me, to induce . . . . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1779,] *Avril* 18, Sunday night, Paris.—I wrote to you this morning, as I hope that you will know. This afternoon I find *tous mes projets pour le présent sont suspendus.* I am obliged to set out tomorrow for Lyons. It is so unexpected, that it is by much the greatest *embarras* I ever felt, and a monstrous exercise of expense to me. But Mie Mie will be there tomorrow. *Les parens ont changé d'avis,* and I must go to Lyons to fetch [her]. God knows how much further I would go to conduct her safely, but I was made to believe there was

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* Qu. Baron's servante? *Cf.* Jesse, IV., 14 *seq.* The Lady mentioned above was probably the Countess Dowager of Carlisle, to whom and to her proposed marriage to a foreign Baron there are many references in Selwyn's letters.

no occasion for it. I expected her here on Friday next, or on this day sevennight. *Combien de tems faut-il que je sois le jouet des caprices des autres?*

Mrs. Webb also is not in a good state of health for travelling so far or so fast. I have had a letter from Warner; he has seen the Baron, who was charged, I find, with a commission to you. . . .

I shall write to you from Lyons; but when I shall hear from you the Lord knows, and I want to hear how the children do.

Ma patience et ma persévérance sont inépuisables sur ce qui regarde Mie Mie. Je me croyois tranquillement établi ici. J'aurai des entretiens avec la mère, qui ne sont pas toujours composés avec du miel. "Helas! Rende-mi figlia mia." Voila où j'en reviens. Adieu. Ayez un peu de pitié de tous mes embarras, qui ne finissent pas.*

[Chief Justice William Smith] to Lord Carlisle.

1779, May 3, New York.—I have been silent ever since the 1st March, because scarce anything has occurred in this quarter to deserve your attention.

In turning our eyes to the interior country we indeed perceive a variety of objects, but they only confirm what is already known, that the demagogues are at variance with each other, without money or credit, and hated by an increasing majority of the people, whom they have reduced to intolerable miseries, and who only want arms to vindicate their liberties and avenge their oppressions. The paper currency (a good political thermometer to discover the degrees of their strength) is now confessed by themselves to be at 20 for 1 of the original valuation.

Within the British lines hardly anything has been attempted to precipitate the declining state of the Rebellion; for in the clearest conviction, that it never will terminate but by the flight of the usurpers on the advance of the King's army, and the restoration of the Royal authority in a Colony essential to the Confederacy, I make no estimate of petty descents on the sea coast, except for the purpose of wearing out the cattle and carriages of the Rebel army, when the roads are difficult, and at a season when the scant provender of the country provokes the farmers to execrate the troops sent to protect them, but who never fail to increase their distress.

Your Lordship will therefore look for no event of much consequence, till the reinforcements arrive, unless the General should take a post up the Hudson, on some promontory on the hither side of the Highlands; a step that will cut off every communication between the Northern and Southern Colonies on the land side but one, and that not a safe one; its remote distance in the West through a wilderness leaving it exposed to the incursions of Brandt, who has already figured for several weeks on our North-Western frontier. I speak of the road from Morris Town to New Windsor through Sussex and Goshen; and while you are inspecting the map your Lordship will be pleased to recollect that a north-westerly course from Havershaw to the Delaware, and thence to the Susquehanna, runs through a mountainous country, thinly inhabited, in general friendly, and almost impossible to guard. You will therefore not wonder to find me of opinion that if a post is seized on the bank near King's Ferry, not many weeks will elapse before Brandt's party open their way to it, and nearly accomplish what I had the honour to suggest as necessary to render the present campaign a decisive one.

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* The Marchioness Fagniani.

Respecting the Rebel army all accounts agree that it is ill-tempered' badly supplied, not stronger than 6,000, nor likely to be augmented. Conscious of their weakness they still hug the hills, and have meditated nothing but the relief of a fort invested by the Indians. The party, consisting of 300 ('tis said), were intercepted by Brandt near the great swamp north of Euston, and every man put to the sword. The informer, who left Philadelphia the 24th April, says not a man could be raised there to repel the incursion expected, though 200*l.* bounty was offered for a single month's service.

In short, if this is not a decisive year, there must be unpardonable mistakes in the direction or use of the means. I wish it was in my power to give them success; and having a perfect confidence in your Lordship's goodness, I rely upon your patronage to bring my losses into consideration, as well as to dispose of my small abilities in any way that you may think most likely to render them serviceable to his Majesty and the public.

[P.S.] I am sorry Mr. Tryon is called home; it cuts off almost my only access for information to the Commander-in-Chief. It will also abate the zeal of many on the other side of the Lines, who found their hopes on his knowledge of their characters.

Newsletter from Mr. Elliot. "No. 4."

1779, May 4, New York.—The public transactions since No. 3 have been few, and fully mentioned in the public papers. The Rebels' affairs still continue in a very disagreeable situation for them throughout the Continent, which is confirmed by their own papers as well as by every other channel of intelligence, but the happy effect of their quarrels and jealousies depends altogether on the exertions of Great Britain. The heats and animosities that appear to prevail in Britain gives (*sic*) spirits to the leading party amongst the Rebels, and checks the discontented amongst them from acting with that vigour which their spirit of discontent constantly prompts them to.

As it is certainly right that Administration should be informed of the real state of Rebel affairs, yet it is as absolutely necessary to inform them that unless a proper exertion is made on their part the leaders of Rebellion that at present hold the reins will acquire double strength; therefore a revolution is not to be expected but from the arrival of troops and ships, which will convince them not only of the intentions but the power of Great Britain.

The present prospect is certainly flattering; the present plan that is apparently pursued is in the eye of common sense what will most probably be effectual; the following Washington has done nothing; the taking possession and abandoning has given spirits; but if we are able to send out ships and men to harass the sea ports, make residence at any such place disagreeable from uncertainty of its safety, and at same time if the Indians, &c. can keep up the alarm in the back countries, and make inland situations equally uncertain, to what side can the Rebels look for safety for their families, many of whom find themselves at present involved in disagreeable situations from the present Rulers they live under, and many chagrined at being thrown out of power, expectation, and property? Private feelings, interest, and public dissensions must bring about a revolution if the exertions of Great Britain are such as to affect them in the manner above mentioned. If from assistance from the Indians, back-settlers, and Canada it is thought possession can

be kept of the North River as far as Albany, the consequence of such an acquisition is too well known to be enlarged upon, as that river in a manner divides the Southern and Northern Provinces; it would not only stop junction of forces, but inland supplies, &c.

The happy success of Georgia will undoubtedly turn out of great consequence, as no doubt can be made of its being supported. As property had not run into any confusion, the declaring that province at his Majesty's peace and restoring everything to its ancient form was certainly right, and if matters are properly conducted the event will show the propriety of the step. Could civil government be established wherever possession is kept, it would be attended with happy consequences, provided that the consequences (*sic*) of establishing civil government was properly attended to and a plan agreeable to such consequence adopted; and unless such attention is paid and such a plan adopted, such an event taking place at New York would bring about everything that ought to be avoided, discontents and riots amongst the civil, confusion and disorders in the Army, and the hands of the Commander-in-Chief be entirely tied up from doing legally what the situation of the Army might make absolutely necessary. Government's promising to do what it can't comply with when called upon gives every opening for murmuring and discontents; this appears plain from the second proclamation of Lord and General Howe promising pardons, &c. The proclamation in itself was good, fair, and well intended, and was equally well received, but it promised not only pardon, but a re-establishment in property to the pardoned; no previous step had been taken to secure the performance of this promise, from the well-known situation of New York; *see N. York in the Pocket Book;* property was in such a situation as rendered any exertion towards the fulfilling such a promise impossible, but in a few instances, which only gave disgust to those that applied and were refused, as they said they found the pardon did not put all on a footing; so that many went off that came in, and thousands were prevented that intended and wished to come in, afraid of a disappointment which was too often followed by insult from those they had formerly insulted.

If Goverment would settle their intended plan both as to civil and commercial matters with America, civil government might be established at New York to great advantage under the direction of cool, clear heads and honest, unprejudiced hearts, if Government can stumble on such subjects; but if they fill up offices at first because they want to provide for, get clear of, or oblige, much mischief will ensue, worse than giving *Royal patents* for places that are disagreeable to the inhabitants, and that in towns not in a situation to be declared at his Majesty's peace; in such case folly appears more than bad intention, or at least information wanting, as much as judgment. In the first place, if it is meant to establish the Charter and Laws in any province to be declared at his Majesty's peace, the matter is easy; if any alteration is to be made in the Charter, it ought to be settled by the proper authority. What laws of trade are to be repealed, and what new regulations in commerce are adopted, should also be done by the proper authority. A proper plan also ought to be settled about Quit Rents which will answer for all the Continent, and formed in such a manner as to induce all Landholders to renew their grants in order to benefit by the plan adopted. In places in the situation of New York, a number of houses should be fixed on for the use of the Army and rents settled for them, and also certain tracts of woodland for firewood fixed upon, the wood to be paid for at a stipulated price and reserved for the use of the Army

whilst the war lasts; when these arrangements are made the owners of the Houses and Woodlands when they come in will have the emoluments of their estates although not the absolute possession, but as this will be declared they will know what they have to expect when they come in, and not have a right to complain that although civil government is established they are kept out of their property.

When some plan of the above complexion is determined on, it will be highly advisable to establish civil government, as all persons that come in under such a plan of government, commercial regulations, and temporary necessary restrictions will in future have no cause of complaint, and if matters take a proper turn the whole Provinces must at once accept the same plan of government, &c., &c.; which will not only save the honour of the nation by giving, unasked, such a plan, but prevent much delay and cause of animosities should the settlement of government and the commercial affiairs be left to be adjusted by ——— — ——— chosen by Great Britain and the Americans, in which case every trifle would be made a matter of moment, and the meetings on such a subject turn out like those held lately in regard to Burgoyne's Army. But should even a settlement by treaty take place, what advantage does it give the Americans, and lays a foundation for disputes in future about treaties; besides, when once Great Britain can fix on a plan and gives it at once to America, the Americans that wish for peace can at once accept with certainty, knowing what they have to depend on. Taking things in this light, declaring Provinces at his Majesty's peace before necessary plans of government, &c. is (*sic*) settled, is certainly giving up a great point, and giving much opening to America to look on themselves in some measure as independent; if after the war is over their Governments and commercial plans are to be adjusted by treaties, Government would better, in the method proposed, give up certainly more than they might be obliged to do by treaty; as nothing can be of so much future advantage as supporting the dignity of the Nation and lowering the self importance of the Americans, which can never be done but by giving unasked what America must accept, if they mean to accept anything short of Independence.

Not signed. Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Mr. Elliot, 4th May.

Newsletter from Mr. Elliot [to] Lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden. "No. 5."

1779, May 19.—The packet being detained by contrary winds gives this opportunity. If you do exert yourselves on your side of the water, by sending men and ships to show your intentions and abilities, all must end well, as certainly all looks well in America. The expedition to Chesapeak, an account of which goes by this opportunity, has completed its ostensible object, and must in its consequences do more than was ever expected. It must prevent men from Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina joining Washington or assisting in Georgia. The stores being taken and destroyed will prevent any number from even being kept together in these parts of the country; it will give vigour to the Indians, who from reports will expect to find even more assistance than is in fact given, but if they act from report they will succeed from the terror the report of them will spread; all the coast of Chesapeak will be alarmed, provided we keep post, and send out occasional and small water detachments to accomplish any objects, or avoid meeting with an affront or real loss.

Although at present men and ships may not admit of anything considerable being done in the Sound, on the Connecticut shore, yet appearances may be made which will cause equal alarm and keep their men at home. The little parties sent over the North River fully alarms (*sic*) there. The Indians have been near Esopus; the dread of them is driving the inhabitants over from the West side on the settlers of the East, and carrying distress and terror along with them. The Indians have been within 70 miles of Lancaster; all Pensilvania is alarmed. This, joined to faction, discontent, and want of supplies, draws all eyes on Congress, to account for matters; and the cry of all parts of the country, either distressed or frightened, is, What is Washington doing, and what can Washington [do]? He must, to quiet (*sic*), detach his army, and then he is gone, as he never will again get another army. To bring Washington to detach, has ever appeared of more consequence than to bringing (*sic*) him to battle; the first is certain ruin without risk, attended with discord amongst all ranks of the Rebels; the latter is uncertain, and at any rate may be attended with loss of men.

It is said the Congress have sent home proposals; reject every proposal but submission, which must happen if you are sure of preventing France and Spain giving real assistance. A treaty managed under the influence of France and Spain is more consistent, in the idea of common sense, with Independence, than any *consistent* idea held up by Mr. Poultney, in the fifth page of his last pamphlet (a horrid performance), is with the good of Great Britain; all he proposes is Great Britain's arranging matters and assisting America to fix Independence; better at once withdraw your troops and leave them to quarrel with themselves and then return to you, than adopt any part of his *consistent* ideas, or include America in any treaty made with France.

This place abounds with provisions and necessaries, prizes coming in every hour, Rebels deserting, and all accounts from them is their hopes of a treaty of peace going on. The ball is before you; kick fair, and you win the game, if you don't break [one?] another's shins.

Leave the General to form and execute his own plans. Civil government cannot be established, till the military have done their business.

[P.S.] Time will not admit of another copy, the boat just going to the Hook.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Mr. Elliot, 19th May.

Sir H[enry] Clinton to [Lord Carlisle].

1779, May 21, New York.—I have written to Mr. Eden, giving particulars of our expedition to Chesapeak, which has already answered all that I expected from it. I shall with less than 6,000 men (rank and file, the only way I can reckon them after the Minister's speech in the House of Commons) take the field immediately, though there is little grass on the ground. I hope, by threatening both sides of the River, to prevent W——'s detaching; for if he does, I must also, or withdraw. I[f] Grant rejoins me, and I think he must, it may do; if he does not, I have little hopes, except in a presentiment I ever had, and shall have to the end of the chapter, that all must end well.

I understand from Mr. Elliot that he has reason to hope, from his conversation with you, in case in it (*sic*) Government should be re-established, of his becoming Governor; he has in my opinion rendered essential service to Government on many occasions, as well as to his

humble servant in the office he has held under him; and he has my hearty wishes for his success.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle.

INFORMATION from the HIGHLANDS [of NORTH AMERICA].

1779, June 8, Tuesday.—St. Clair with a party of Washington's Army at Kakiate(?) yesterday morning. Washington himself came to Ringwood Ironworks the night before. His main body are on the road coming to that place. In answer to a request to come on to Kakiate he told Lt. Col. Cuyper that he was at at loss to understand Sir Henry Clinton, and fearful if he advanced to the River from Ringwood, a part of the British Army would slip down and cut him off from Jersey.

Washington's whole force on the west side of Hudson's River, reputed to be 5,000. The Congress are damned openly in taverns at Philadelphia. Their order to take 3,000 negroes into their service gives great disgust to the Southern Colonies. The owner of every black recruit is to have only 1,000 dollars, which are depreciated in common currency to 20 for 1. Their Address of the 26th May is called in the country, the Congress's *dying speech*. People in general offended with the French Treaty, and have lost all confidence in the veracity of the Congress.

A late artifice to delude the multitude and procure credit to a tale that Great Britain through France offers Independency for a Treaty ceding the Cod Fishery, is the circulation of a pamphlet under the name of Governor Johnstone, as printed in London and reprinted in Philadelphia, in which the pretended author contends for the Independency of America, and labours to show the impractability of restoring the King's Government in America.

From the impossibility of recruiting the Army, many regiments lately consolidated, and a great number of officers offended and laid aside. The advocates for Peace hourly increase. The common people sick of the War, and think they are made a prey of by commissaries, quarter-masters, forage-masters, monopolisers, schemers, &c., &c.

Two Brigades gone to a Fort at Wioming, to repel the Indians. Sullivan commands in that wilderness.

Officers of family leave the army. It contains many French of low characters, who behave with great insolence to the farmers. Upon every check of their rapacity they set up the stale cry, "'Tis one dam Torie."

To provide for the Army a law was made at Pogkeepsing two months ago, to allow each family a bushel and a half of wheat per head till harvest. The rest is taken by the commissary. The forage-master comes afterwards, and sweeps off the stock of rye, buckwheat, and Indian corn.

Washington's horses put upon the farmers all last winter. He was often obliged to send expresses by footmen. This owing to a scarcity of forage. The country has been drained. There are no magazines anywhere. As he marches, the troops subsist on pastures. His army is fed with flesh by live cattle from New England. The flour for bread he has from the West country. There is little or no salt meat even at the Highland Forts.

The force on the East side of the Hudson, including the garrison at West Point, called 3,000. They choose to talk of their troops by brigades, and call two regiments a brigade. Sometimes a regiment

don't consist of 100 men. Such whose times are out will not stay, and multitudes desert, and either hide in the country or go out a-privateering. They call a month's pay, which is 53*s.* 4*d.* paper money, but *three drunks.* Rum, 30 dollars a gallon; it is dragged about in carts for a market, and so weak that half a pint of it makes but a pint of what they style grog.

Gates has been at Boston all winter. There are a few troops at Providence under his command. Schuyler's name is scarce ever mentioned.

In Chief Justice William Smith's hand.

[Chief Justice William Smith] to Lord Carlisle.

1779, June 10, New York.—I am happy to inform your Lordship that the General has at length opened the Campaign, and in a way flattering to my hopes, that the present will be the last year of the Rebellion.

His seizing the two points at the mouth of the Highlands, 12 miles below the Rebel Forts, has obliged Washington to repair with his main body of 5,000 to Ringwood, and to call in the 3,000 scattered on the confines of Connecticut to West Point; so that the whole Continental Forces, including two Brigades lately sent under Sullivan to Wioming, if possible to withstand the incursions of the Indians, confined to rough and inhospitable mountains, is as it were put between two fires, and the principal settlements left exposed to the joint operations of the Fleet and Army, in any colony they may choose along our extended sea-coast.

I am no judge, my Lord, of the precise number requisite to garrison the New Forts, but if 800 men with a ship or two will suffice, as they who ought to know best declare, and we are not disappointed in our expectations of additions to the Army from England and from St. Lucia, no General ever had surer prospects than Sir H. Clinton of a glorious career; for I allow much to the generous gratitude of the nation, and now risk nothing in asserting, what your Army did not till lately believe, that the main body of the people are, in all places, prepared to co-operate with them, in subverting the usurpation; and that nothing will be wanting to restore the King's Government, and secure it too, but the absence of the Continental Army and the presence of yours till the Loyalists are armed, and thereby enabled to defend themselves in the enjoyment and maintenance of the authority and rights essential to our safety and not incompatible with yours.

Your Lordship will not imagine that I suppose a mere garrison will confine all the Continental troops to the hills, but certainly a very few more will suffice, if a due attention is had to the exposed condition of the North Country, that vast disproportion there is in it between the Loyalists and the Rebels, the course of the mountains, and the easy communication from hence by the River. Washington's dilemma is this. If he quits his ground he runs the risk of losing his Forts, the unrecovered Counties of New York, the Western part of Connecticut, and our junction with the Indian and Canadian force; and if he does not, of insurrections and the restoration of the Royal authority in every other part of the Continent. But I shall add nothing further upon this subject, Mr. P. having doubtless put into your Lordship's hand a paper I sent for that purpose in my last of the 10th May.

Nor shall I recapitulate what your Lordship will hear from all quarters, of the low, distressed, and disgraceful state of the Congress, and from which they are endeavouring to raise themselves by an

Address, weakly asking a submission to intolerable severities, and contributions impossible to be made, and therefore of no other effect than to animate the Loyalists, increase their numbers, and provoke even the contempt of those who have been misled by their frauds and ruined by their councils. Your Lordship, by recollecting my letter upon the requisition of 15 millions, will more clearly discern the affront of exacting *four times* as much in the course of the *same year*.

The inclosed contains my last intelligence from the country, and comes by my nephew, a lad of 18, but who is discreet for his age, and has besides had opportunities to see a good deal of that sort of company at his father's table, who have been used to pass the great route at King's Ferry, and he relates what my brother, who is not yet come down, wished I should know.

I shall write again, my Lord, on the first movement, after the Fleet, for which we are so anxious, arrives. A fourth part of a year is elapsed since the last mail from England. Such long intermissions have a very ill influence upon our public affairs.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1779?], July 17, Saturday evening, Matson.—I have been here ever since Monday, at dinner time, and too long not to have wrote to you; but indeed it must be for the sake of writing if I do, for one of my tenants has as much to say to you as I have, by way of intelligence of [or?] entertainment. *Je suis parfaitement tranquille pour le moment, excepté que je vous regrette*, but there is no help for it. There must be that and other *rabats-joie* in the most complete system of felicity which I can cut out for myself. However, this I will assure you, that not seeing you and Lady Carlisle, and the children, are (*sic*) the *grand fraix* (*sic*) which I pay for my present mode of life. I miss nothing else, except March; I mean, to a degree that would induce me to change it in a great while. *Sans cela je ne sens point d'ennui. L'avenir m'épouvante quelquefois, je l'avouë*, but I think as little of it as I can, and it may never be. . . .

I hope Storer and Hare will write to me; [to] see them I cannot expect. If they pass this way I hope they will not overlook me, but take up with such accommodation as this old place will enable me to offer them. Storer knows what it is, so I need say nothing to him upon the subject, and I hope nothing so needless as to assure him that I shall be most exceedingly glad to see him. Mie Mie is *dans un contentement parfait*, except *aux momens de son travail*, and then I never come near her.

Pray write to me often, and let me know what is to be the effect of Lord N[orth's] decision, or indecision. He is a most extraordinary man in the most extraordinary time that I ever saw. Pray tell Charles, that if he pays no other debt in the whole world, I hope that he will pay me my statue. It was my intention to have risked a hundred guineas to obtain it, and I should be glad to erect it here in my garden, with another inscription—not throwing away the old one, which I can apply better than my old friend did. Adieu.

[Chief Justice William Smith] to Lord Carlisle.

1779, Oct. 24, New York.—I have suspended my correspondence since the 21st of July, for some military achievement grateful to your

zeal for the general welfare ; but it must continue no longer, to preserve my own character, for the summer is gone; and unless your General is assembling his forces for a masterly blow, that the month to come may cover the disgrace of those that are past, the army may be considered as already in winter quarters.

I know not on which side to list between the conjectures that our inactivity is owing to orders from home, or that Sir Henry is sacrificing his name to his compassion for a people posting to destruction too swiftly to want his assistance. A little time will throw more light upon this question than it is in the power of any man in this country to afford. The Commander-in-Chief lives so retired that his secrets seldom take air.

As I had rather be his panegyrist than his satirist, I will readily confess that he has almost everything to expect from the distress of his adversaries; and one ought in candour to presume his eye to be constantly upon objects so important in themselves, and so intimately connected with the end of his mission.

It is undeniably true, my Lord, that the Congress (a term never rightly understood but for an association in arms against *the majority* of this country as well as yours) have nearly lost the means for supporting those troops by which themselves are upheld. Nor does the evidence of this stand solely upon parol proof, which is ever open to the exceptions of a reasonable incredulity, when the witnesses, their capacities, characters, and opportunities are unknown, but upon confessions, in fair deductions from transactions, bespeaking a near approach to bankruptcy and ruin. They have at length been compelled to own a debt of two hundred millions of dollars, without including the enormous amount of unsatisfied certificates from their commissaries, forage-masters, &c., &c., for supplies arbitrarily taken up in all parts of the Continent, carrying interest at 6 per cent., and negociated by the possessors at discount. Is it to be wondered, then, that the depreciation of their immense Stock of Paper is at 40 for 1 ? And what hopes of supporting an army, unless there is some other care [cure ?] for poverty than riches or death.

The attempt to raise the value of their bills by depreciating the necessaries of life, a folly that brought a famine in Julian's time upon Antioch, and had well nigh produced another in France, has been tried here. The new Republics submitted to a tacit surrender of their powers to Committees for that purpose, who have since confessed, as was foreseen, their inability to enforce the regulations. The Congress in the meantime, who left this odious work to the tyranny of the Committee of Philadelphia, publicly assert that whole sum to be lost in the augmentation of prices during the short interval of 11 days, between the 13th and 24th of September.

Massachausetts, with a sagacious but inauspicious self-love, has since forbidden any commodity to pass to her neighbours, and the Legislature of Pensilvania ridiculously implore the Congress for the relief which their High Mightinesses, to avoid the disgrace of impotence, had already left it to the Committees to procure; and now it only remains for the vulgar to discover by their own experience that the Paper Money is a bubble, when the floodgates of animosity will open to scenes of confusion, which no eloquence will be able to describe. A foreign loan (hardly to be expected by a wretched party well known to France and Spain for a tottering faction) will now come too late, for though it may give a temporary subsistence to their army, it must work a sudden annihilation of their Paper Stock, and, by ruining all the possessors of

it, expose its creators to the just desert of the weakness and wickedness of their councils.

From this view of their finances, your Lordship will be able to account for the smallness of the Rebel Army (not above 8,000) even now, and which is soon to lose all that enlisted into it in January 1777 for three years, as was the case in the New England contributions, which make more than a third of the whole regular forces of the Continent; and hence again the cause why they in their turn have only attempted to steal two garrisons in the night, and by Sullivan's march to the springs of the Susquehaña covered the Western frontier from the irruptions of the Indians, who, for want of assistance from Canada and the sea coast, as I imagine, feel disgusts which it will cost us some pains and many presents to assuage.

The evacuation of Newport gives us above 20, some asert 25,000, fine troops. How much cause have we to regret the want of that Council, &c. I had the honour to recommend! If General Robertson arrives before the campaign closes, something still may be done in this quarter to extort overtures in the winter. But I dare not indulge any confidence after what I have seen.

Holograph, not signed.

Intelligence from Mr. Hunter.

1779, Dec. 7.—He came in a few days ago at King's Bridge from Dutchess Country, in the province of New York, with a flag, on the business of procuring an exchange of certain families.

There is a general depression of spirit since the failure of the Georgia Expedition. The multitude had been assured of the recovery of that Colony by the help of the French, and of the capture of the whole British Army there, and that it would be followed next with the conquest of Hallifax and all Nova Scotia, Penobscot, and Rhode Island; and that then, by the blockade of the Hook and the Sound, the army and Loyalists of New York, Staten Island, and Long Island would be starved into a decisive surrender, to the total extinction of the British Power in this part of North America. The Islands of the West Indies were to be seized by the combined forces of France and America in the winter, and Canada in the next summer.

The disappointment has prodigiously affected the public credit, and especially in the South Country. Paper money is now scarcely of any estimation; in private transactions certainly of none. The Commissaries give a thousand pounds for a fat ox in the county of Albany. Butter, between the house-keeper and farmer, is at 18 pence a pound, and wheat 16 shillings a shipple ($\frac{3}{4}$ths of a bushel), hard money. There is a real scarcity even of country produce. No other harvests than of Indian corn were plentiful this year, and there is great apprehension that wheat will be scarcer in the West. The blades perish by a rust called the worm, but the best glasses discover no animation in the substance adhering to the growing corn blades. Families who have no specie, in a very distressed condition. The common language, "We "can't drive the British Army away, and the length of their purse will "ruin us. The Congress must give up the Independency for Peace."

Much discontent from the transmission of provisions to the French. The Continental magazines in a manner empty. Wadsworth, their Commissary General, will hold his place no longer than January, persuaded that it will be a dangerous employment in the spring. No salt in the colony of New York; little anywhere else.

Gates with the Eastern levies on the banks of the Hudson; the main army gone to winter in Jersey. Many who are entitled to be discharged on the 1st of January are tempted to re-enlist for the war, but upon ruinous and precarious terms—to have 600*l.* bounty, and furloughs to the 1st of June. A compensation for the depreciation of their pay, and when they rejoin the army, security against future loss by travelling slop stores (?) at the prices of 1776. Feared that they engage for the bounty and will never return. These privileges disgust the rest, especially those who, having enlisted for 3 years or during the war, who (*sic*) claim the right of determining the alternative in their own favour. Congress say the choice is theirs.

Though 40 millions of dollars have been lately emitted, no payments have been made to the Army or the commissaries for *four* months past. The public money goes out for supplies to the French.

The Loyalists exult in the prospect of a general bankruptcy, and the distresses of the Congressional Party, many of whom come into the scheme of discrediting all the Paper Money to get rid of Taxes. The Congress countenance the whisper that overtures are sent to Europe for Peace, and that if these are rejected, foreign loans will be obtained. The King's interest firm and increasing, but the Loyalists greatly offended at the languor of the campaign. A late act of the usurpers past at Kingston, to attaint 53 persons if they don't come in by October next. They are such as have taken up arms, or privately withdrawn since 4 July 1776, or have broken their parols to return. It was carried after great opposition by a very small majority.

In Chief Justice William Smith's hand.

[William Smith, Chief Justice of New York,] to Lord Carlisle.

1779, Dec. 10, New York.—I avail myself of the mysterious detention of the victuallers, to add to the information in a letter, out of my hands ever since the 24th Nov., what is contained in the enclosed paper. It accords with other detached accounts, and I give it the more credit, because the informer is a Rebel Forage-master, and it differs from his public language, it being confidentially trusted to a friend of his here, upon whom I can rely.

At length we seem to be waking from our slumbers. On the 3rd instant certain corps were ordered to prepare for embarkation. They are estimated at 8,000, and according to vulgar fame destined under the Commander-in-Chief and Lord Cornwallis to Charles Town. The ignorant and high spirited consider the day of their landing as the joyful moment of the termination of the Rebellion.

I think the force as irresistible as if increased to 50,000, and would go far into the common confidence if care is had to the erection of the civil authority, and a proper use is made of the Loyalists, for then I should expect events that will admit of the return of the whole or a great part of these troops (the Flower of your Army), being persuaded that not even the loss of all the Country beyond the Chesapeak will awe the more formidable Colonies of the North into submission, unless we improve the winter here in a way hitherto neglected, and are in a condition early in the spring to open the Hudson, and shake the usurpation in the populous district between that River and the Connecticut.

Had we, my Lord, have (*sic*) put that disgrace upon the Rebel arms of reducing the Mountain Forts before the 27th Sept., when we *first* heard of the approach to the French Fleet, or by penetrating into Jersey at

any time since, drawn Washington out of the Hills, and Sullivan from the desolations in the Indian Country, we should have been now able to render the Southern operations decisive, and have left nothing to be done in the spring.

But, my Lord, if through neglect of plain policy the Force you employ for the reduction of the Carolinas is detained there to secure them, and we remain here in a state of defence till a French Fleet assembles at Rhode Island, Washington may once more collect an army, and another year be spent in the consumption of your wealth, and perhaps your present fair prospects of recovering your dominions be lost for ever.

I think the Rebel army will very soon be short of 4 thousand, nor be much augmented till *June*, and your Lordship will recollect the reasons I have suggested for our movements in *May*. I am happy to find, by so unquestionable an authority as Read's message to the Pensilvania Assembly of the 13 Nov., that we have not lost the Indians, whom we have so dangerously neglected, and I hope the Minister will find a way to speak comfort to them in their afflictions, if not through this Province (which is easy), by messages from Georgia or the Carolinas.

[P.S.] A vessel from Savanna confirms this day what we had on the 18th November from Augustine, but our Admiral leaves us still uninformed of the course and disposition of D'Estainge's Fleet after his expulsion from Georgia. I wish his —— (*sic*) may redound to the interest of his King, as it certainly has contributed to the glory of his little army in the South, who, in my opinion, have preserved the Empire. And is it not some proof of our loyalty, if not of our valour, that 27,000, as we are said to be, have rejoiced as much in their escape as if it was our own?

Holograph, not signed.

FRE[DERICK] SMYTH, CHIEF JUSTICE [of NEW JERSEY], to LORD CARLISLE. Duplicate.

1780, July 1, New York.—By a letter I had the honour to receive a few days past from my friend Mr. Storer, I am made acquainted with certainty how much obliged I have reason to think myself for your Lordship's kind remembrance and honourable recommendation of me to be one of the Council to the Commanders-in-Chief in America. I may venture to promise that zeal, diligence, and fidelity will not be wanting to do some little degree of credit to your Lordship's patronage—happy if my poor abilities may in any respect contribute to forward the views or wishes of Government.

We are too favourably impressed with your Lordship's talents, and engaging address whilst in this country, not to rejoice that your political connection with America is now so honourably and powerfully increased by your station at the Board of Trade. Your Lordship's well known goodness and generosity will, I am persuaded, make it utterly unnecessary to be importunate for your support and patronage of servants of the Crown in America. The scantiness of my present allowance has constrained me to apply to the Treasury for an augmentation; this I trust will now be thought so reasonable in my present situation, that, if necessary, I flatter myself I may hope for your Lordship's aid and countenance to give efficacy to the undertaking.

Endorsed: Mr. Chief Justice Smith. Augmentation of salary. Received Oct. 1st. Answered.

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1780, July 20, Portugal Street.—I believe, even since you went out of town, there has happened an event, which very few people foresaw; this is no less than Lord Egremont's match with Lady Maria being off. It is reported that the Duchess of Gloucester stipulated for a larger settlement than Lord Egremont had proposed, and this obstacle, added to his irresolution, has put an end to all the proceedings. Melbourne told me it was certainly true, so that I have very little difficulty in believing Betty's* account, who was my first authority.

Captain Waldgrave has taken a French frigate, *La Capricieuse*. The two ships fought for four hours, and there were a great many men killed on both sides. The French struck on the appearance of the Licorne; but their ship was so maimed in the engagement that Captain Waldgrave was obliged to burn her immediately after having taken her. The French frigate was what they call a four and forty one, but though Captain Waldgrave's had but six and thirty guns, yet I was told they were pretty nearly matc[hed] . . . .† How this is made out I do not know, but I suppose better seamen than myself can.

I saw Hare yesterday going down to St. James'[s] to resign;‡ but that is an event which I believe you foresaw. There is nothing else new in town, but the first event I thought worthy a dispatch, and therefore I send it to you. I hope you all arrived safe at Castle Howard.

Grey Elliott to [Lord Carlisle].

1780, July 22, Plantation Office.—Mr. De Grey informs me he wrote to your Lordship last night, to acquaint you with the arrival of Governor Browne of the Bahamas. . . . The forms of an application to his Majesty on the part of Mr. Brown[e], and the signification of his pleasure to the Board, will occasion some delay; besides, as the Lieut.-Governor is here to act in behalf of the complainants, copies must be given of the charge, and defence, if any is given in, previous to appointing a hearing. . . .

Lord Gower to [Lord Carlisle].

1780, July 24, Trentham.—I am much obliged to you for the communication of your being destined to succeed to the Lieutenancy of Ireland; I say obliged, because you know whatever accomplishes your wishes or promotes your happiness, must give me great pleasure and satisfaction. You are young, active, and able, most fit therefore for the busy scenes of life. I most heartily wish that a calm may succeed to the tempestuous weather that has agitated that Kingdom, but I fear *motos componere fluctus* will be left to your administration. I see that Captain Waldegrave has had a severe combat with a French ship of superior force, which he had so mauled that she was sinking when they took the prisoners out of her; I have not yet heard the particulars of the action. Lady Gower is still at Buxton, but will return to this place on Saturday next, where we intend to remain quietly till—when I suppose you will be going for Ireland—the end of October or the beginning of November.

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* Lady Betty Delmé?

† Torn off.

‡ James Hare was appointed Minister plenipotentiary to Poland, 1779. (Haydn.) *Cf.* Jesse, IV. 292.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

1780, July 26, Greenwich.—I was in Town today, but did not see anybody who knew anything; I believe however that there was not anything to be known. You see that we continue to take and destroy French frigates, convoys, &c.; we certainly have had a long course of little successes; I live, however, in hourly apprehensions that the balance will be struck by accounts of some thumping loss. *En attendant*, this safe arrival of the Jamaica Fleet is very heartening to the fat and greasy citizens, and not unacceptable to the public purse. I have letters from Wales and other distant parts of the country, complaining of a great scarcity of cash among the tenants, &c.

Lord Loughborough will tell your Lordship more than I know about the Viceroyalty. He dined last Sunday with Lord North, who seems to have expressed an earnest wish that I might be induced to attend you in the Secretaryship. Lord Loughborough's report, however, has confirmed me in my suspicion that on this occasion, as on others of the utmost consequence, every step is neglected or delayed which might put the matter forward to the best advantage. I wrote a letter on their conversation, through Lord L., calculated to force an explanation, and to accelerate the decision: it was written in so much haste that I had not time to take a copy of it, but Lord L. can state it to your Lordship.

I think that some full discussion of the business will follow within a few days. I will keep a note of all particulars for your consideration when we meet; my principal object will be to forward the recall of the other* as quick as possible; but I expect little success. As to my own going, I every day feel less confidence in my own spirits for such an undertaking; and I see no system in our own Government to hearten me. So far as your Lordship is concerned, I told you a blunt and absolute truth when I assured you that I do not know any other possible Lord Lieutenant under whom I could think of serving. So far as all personal considerations are concerned, and so far too as political ones depended on your wisdom, spirit, and vigilance, I should really feel happy.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1780, July 31, York.—I shall have much more satisfaction in paying my compliments to your Lordship at Castle Howard, than at this place, and I am flattered with the hopes that no business here can detain me longer than Friday. Mr. Baron Hotham is much obliged by your Lordship's invitation, but whatever time he can spare will scarcely be sufficient for the engagements he has in the neighbourhood of Sir Charles Thompson.

Drafts of Letters from Lord Carlisle.

[1780, July?]—[To] Lord H. [Hillsborough]. Private.—When your Lordship did me the honour last to converse with me upon the affairs of Ireland, I was confirmed in my ideas by the sanction of your opinion, that every hour that could with propriety be given ought to be afforded to the successor of the present Lord Lieutenant, and that a delay in making the new arrangement must be productive of material public inconvenience.

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* John, Earl of Buckinghamshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Your Lordship's accurate knowledge of the state of that country makes it unnecessary for me to recall to your mind the variety of ways by which such a procrastination might be the means of defeating the best arranged system of public measures on this side of the water, and the utmost zeal and activity in the execution of it on the other. It makes it more unnecessary for me to take up your time on this subject as I learn from Mr. Eden that your Lordship feels the full weight of the mischiefs which will inevitably attend such delay; and I also find from him that you have the goodness not entirely to separate my present situation of awkwardness and embarrassment from the public inconvenience. *Under this impression, I beg leave to inform your Lordship that I have written fully and ostensibly to Lord North upon the delay which there is reason to apprehend; and I must farther* have recourse to your interposition and endeavours to prevent this business from running into such unaccountable lengths. Having had what I considered good reason to think that the arrangement at latest would not exceed the end of November, I must take the liberty of saying that if it is deferred till the period which was to my great astonishment hinted at by Lord N[orth] yesterday, without pretending to foresee all the possible mischiefs that may accrue to the undertaking, it will at all events by that time have taken a very different complexion.

[To] Lord North.—After giving much serious reflection to the conversation of yesterday, I cannot resist pressing upon your Lordship in the most earnest manner the difficulties and inconveniences that must attend the procrastination you hinted at in regard to the Irish appointment. In the first place it throws a different complexion on the whole of the undertaking, and I am warranted in asserting that it will be productive of essential public detriment, at the same time that it subjects me to every sort of $\frac{\text{personal}}{\text{private}}$† embarrassment and awkwardness when I find the intended nomination put off from day to day, after having had every reason to expect that it would take place upon the close of the session in Ireland.

The cabals that will be instantly formed against a new Lord-Lieutenant, and which will gain considerable strength by his absence, and the want of persons fixed in the interests of Government to watch and counteract them; the waste of that patronage which ought to be reserved for sustaining the future system of managing the affairs of the Kingdom; the depriving the successor of the present Lord-Lieutenant of the power of smoothing the road he is prepared to enter upon, in a moment when your Lordship will be the first to allow that every sort of assistance ought to be afforded him; the discouraging prospects of the person who succeeds to that important trust when he has the mortification of seeing *such distressing delays at his outset; and, above all, the irrecoverable loss of that very critical period of a first recess from the late national struggles, when the foundations might best be laid for a system of good and solid government*—these are the circumstances I am induced to present to your view, persuaded that when you reflect upon them you will see the necessity of proposing a more speedy arrangement than that which to my great surprise I found yesterday had been submitted to your contemplation.

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* These words are inserted by Eden in the margin.
† Interlined by Eden.

Dear E. [Eden],—Scratch out or add without mercy, and you will oblige me very sensibly.

Below this is the following note by Eden :—

My dear Lord [Carlisle],—I have added a few words in different places, rather to show my obedience to your wishes, than from a sense of their being in any degree wanted ; for nothing can be more fairly or more forcibly stated.

Perhaps if you write *private* at the head of your letter to Lord Hillsborough it will remove all possible objection to the double appeal ; it will also engage him more eagerly.

All the foregoing are one sheet. The two drafts have a few corrections by Eden, besides the additions above noted.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1780, July ?], Thursday, Downing Street.—If there is any new event, I do not know it. I dined on Tuesday at Lord Sandwich's, where I met Lord Dartmouth, and their Lordships fully satisfied me that the Cabinet has the great virtues of discretion and secrecy, for they said nothing that might not be proclaimed at Charing Cross ; and with respect to political subjects they said indeed much less than is known at Charing Cross.

This morning early Lord Loughborough came to breakfast with me ; after which we crossed the river, and walked through Wapping, Ratcliffe Highway, &c. In talking about the Irish business he agreed with me as to the danger and extreme probability of the long delay which I foretell, unless very decisive measures are taken by your Lordship to prevent it. This you will manage best, perhaps, through Lord Hillsborough.

Before I finish, I should observe, on my first paragraph, that though nothing was said, I did not mean quite to insinuate that anything was concealed. . . . .

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1780, July ?], Tuesday, Greenwich.—I have received various notes and letters from Town today, but they contain nothing new. Lord Sandwich was here yesterday, and talked rather comfortably on our West India situation, which is the most alarming circumstance that we have at present in view. He spoke from the information of sea-officers in regard to the Trade Winds, respective position of the Fleets, &c.

I know nothing of Lord North ; I have not seen so much as his name in the newspapers since your Lordship left London, but I have secret reason to believe that it is formally resolved to issue writs for the new Parliament immediately ; how soon that resolve will be executed time only can show, but what I mention is certain, and to be used cautiously for your private convenience ; you shall know my authority when we next meet.

Lord Robert Spencer wrote to me today in some haste to ask if I knew whether your Lordship had named your chaplains, and whether you might not be likely to name Dickson as a second ; I answered that " I was totally uninformed upon the subject, but that so far as a private " conjecture could lead me I did not suppose that you had once " thought of domestic arrangements for Ireland, or indeed that you

" were likely to settle anything respecting a Viceroyalty not yet " vacant." These are very puzzling and fishing questions. In the same note he examined me very strictly about the Dissolution of Parliament.

Governor Browne has at last forced his way to me, and I have adjourned him to Mr. Elliot; he presses for a speedy hearing; I informed [him ?] that you Lordship talked of returning to town about the 12th instant, but that I was not certain.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1780, July], Friday, three o'clock, Downing Street.—I can only give you the satisfaction of knowing that there is not anything at this hour to be known. I have this moment seen Mr. Keene, who maintains a daily access to the Minister, and is graciously pleased to tell me that the account of the taking of *la belle Poule* by Sir James Wallace is the best piece of news received. He says that there is a report from the West of England that the French and Spaniards have joined 36 ships, and are going against Geary.*

Keene was exceedingly intent to get a conversation on the subject of Ireland, larding it with many handsome expressions respecting your Lordship, and many courtly severities on the present Viceroy, but he had it all to himself; I conjecture that he is a good specimen of an Irish questioner, and it is indeed very difficult to avoid answering him without impertinence and ill humour. He and his Board are employed by the Treasury to ascertain and report the mischiefs done to the property of individuals by the late Riots.†

Lord North's family passed a great part of the day yesterday with us at Greenwich, but he did not come, nor have I heard from him in any manner. It was the Cabinet day. Lord Loughborough will I suppose be with your Lordship when you receive this, and therefore I do not trouble him by this post. I have written to Admiral Roddam about his correspondent; will you have the goodness to tell him so?

In the lady-world I hear nothing but maledictions on Lord Egremont for his late fickleness, and reports that Lord Tyrconnel has sent back his Lady because she drinks tea too often and in too large quantities.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1780, July?], Friday night.—Col. Bruce, Sir A. Hamond, &c., are dining with us, and will carry this to Town; it will merely inform you that the French and Spanish squadrons have joined, and were in Dominique 24th June—35 sail—we have only 21. This opens a very uneasy speculation for Walsingham's convoy, the W. India Islands, &c.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1780,] Aug. 1, Tuesday m[orning], Tunbridge Wells.—I send you enclosed a letter which I received here a day or two ago. Storer was with me, when my letters were delivered to me, and upon telling him that I had one from an old friend of his, he immediately guessed that it came from Dixon; I know not why. I must own that the application does not surprise me, although I could have no expectation of it. But

* Admiral Francis Geary. *See* Jesse, IV. 374.
† The Gordon Riots.

if he chooses to make it through my channel rather than directly from himself, he is very welcome. I have that acquaintance with him, that I cannot refuse being the conveyer of his letter, but if he reflected, or thought on this subject as I do, he would not have made it to me. I wish him well; I have no reason not to do so. But supposing you to be in the situation which public report has placed you, or in any other of power, as I should very carefully avoid giving you any trouble on my own account, so I may and ought to be dispensed with giving it you for another. I shall answer his letter when I go to town, and let him know that I have communicated the contents of it to you, but I can do no more. You know best upon what foot of regard he is with you, and you will know better than you can now what will be your engagements. His request is a very natural one, and very modestly urged. What answer you choose to make to it I will remit to him whenever you give me an authority so to do.

Storer has been here a few days, and will stay with his Honour and Mrs. Brudenell I suppose a few days more. I am going to town with my family today, but how long I shall stay in London I cannot tell. I would go immediately to Matson if I could conveniently. But I must consult a physician first. I have made but little progress in the cure of my complaint here, and the symptoms of it are really frightful as well as painful to me. I have some little business to do in my own affairs, and besides all that, I should be glad to know first your motions and destination. If you go to Ireland, I must see you, and painful as it will be to me, I must take my leave of you, of Lady Carlisle, and I suppose of all the children. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1780,] Aug. 3, Thursday.—This is only to ask your pardon for my excessive distraction the last post, in not sending you Dixon's letter enclosed in mine as I had announced; but I was just come to town from Tunbridge, and the letter was in my trunk with others which I had received there. You have it by this, and pray send it me back, for I have not answered it, and shall choose to defer my answer till I have some hints from you, that I may not say anything improper.

I cannot say that I am much better, I am only not worse. I have now changed my medicines, but the first of these I took last night when I went to bed; the chief ingredient is amber. I had three violent fits, as usual, but am this morning much easier.

I am mightily pressed to go to Matson for the very reasons which are the most opposite to my recovery, and that is, to engage in the bustles and disputes of that abominable town of Gloucester, to assemble together the *débris* of two or three broken factions, and to unite them together in one interest for Government. Their proposals are plausible. There is a great party for me both in the Corporation and in the town, and among the gentlemen on the side of Administration, dispersed in the several counties, my interest is not inconsiderable. The clergy are as so many turnspits, ready to be put into the wheel, and to turn it around as the Minister pleases. There may be something consistent in all this, and with these tools I can work very well if my health permits.

On 8vò paper.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1780, Aug. 8, North Allerton.—I have the honour to send you the letter I mentioned, which contains some pretty strong proofs of the

necessity of establishing a perfect confidence between a Lord Lieutenant and the Minister. It affords likewise some argument against that delay which has prevailed in all our late measures. I have had no letters from town since I saw your Lordship.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1780, Aug. ?], Friday night.—I was in Town this morning, and had occasion to see Lord Sandwich about Greenwich Hospital business, and Lord G. Germaine about Sir H. Clinton, in consequence of which I happened to pick up a few trifles of good news.

There is an account at Lloyd's, which however is not quite believed, that Admiral Edw[ar]ds has taken five privateers off Newfoundland. Admiral Graves has taken an homeward bound French East-Indiamen, and was met with his squadron on the 25th June, lat. 32, long^{de} 50, or thereabouts, near eight days' good sailing from North America. The best news is that Sir H. Clinton with the Fleet army had arrived at New York before the 22nd June, and had sailed up the North River.

I have not heard one syllable from Lord North. I understand from Lord G. G. [Germaine] that our Reports are well received by the Council, but they have not to this hour been able to come to any decision, and consequently the delays which we foresaw will ever exceed our expectations—it is a sad work—it will make the situation much less eligible to your Lordship, and will fall very heavy on those who are to serve under you.

[P.S.] Lord Grantham, Fr. Robinson, and Gibbon dined here today. Everybody seems to censure Lord Egremont's conduct in his late transaction—I do not know the truth.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1780,] Sept. 11, Monday morning, 7 o'clock, Matson.—You will receive a long letter from me today; and this will come to you on Wednesday; so by these repeated courtesies you will see that I have no repugnance to writing, although *you* have, and that I am very well pleased to go on in my old way of scribbling, as long as I am convinced that it is agreeable to you. But a line now and then is comfortable, for, as Lady Macbeth says, "the feast grows cold that is not often cheered," or something of that sort; so a correspondence is awk[w]ardly maintained, and is a contradiction in terms, when it is on one side only.

At present I am afraid that I shall be particularly tiresome, because, much against my will, they have filled my head with Election matters, and will not allow me a moment's time for anything else. I have no comfort, but that it will be concluded on Thursday, or Friday, but till then, what I shall suffer from folly and impertinence, and from everything that is disagreeable, cannot be described.

There is a party here called the True Blues, who lead Sir A. H. and I [me] about, as if they had purchased us, to show in a fair. They cost me, some years ago, twice two thousand pounds, by opposing me, and now are doing all they can to make me pay four for befriending me; and these people have given Administration such an idea of their own omnipotence that I should have never been forgiven, if I had not yielded to this importunity. I am assured that it will succeed, and that both Sir A. and myself shall be returned, but my credulity does not extend to that point. It is very probable, indeed, that by this

effort I may retain my own seat, which I did not care for, but to attempt the other does as yet appear to me a great piece of extravagance, considering the party which we have to contend with, who have had their secrets well kept, and been very industrious for two years in bringing about this opposition, whereas this scheme of the Tories has not been taken up with any support, but a fortnight ago.

My best and ablest friends here are dead; their survivors supine and superannuated; their connections new* Whiggs and Reformers, and Associators; myself grown quite indifferent upon the point; and the principal Tories, such as the Duke of Beaufort, &c., and those who would have been active, if they had been desired to be so half a year ago, never spoke to. Mr. Robinson, in his letters to me, has always spoke in the plural number, *our friend and I;* so it is a scheme adopted by both, I am to suppose, and a hazardous one it is. But one Member they will have, I believe, and I wish they had fixed upon anyone but me to be their choice.

Sir Andr. goes upon the surest grounds, because I believe that he will be franked to a certain point, and is sure of a seat in another place, if not here. He is really a very agreeable man, and seems to penetrate into the characters of the people he has seen very well. He entertained me much yesterday with his account of my old friend the Duke of Newcastle. He speaks of you in terms of the highest esteem.

We stole away the day before yesterday from our keepers, to dine here, which was a great relief, but we were jobed (*sic*) for it at our return. I get here time enough to go to bed, that is about 11 o'clock, and I do not leave this place till about nine, that is till Mie Mie and I have breakfasted together.

We have a committee sitting at what is called the New (?) Inn, which has been built, and never repaired, three hundred years since; and here this swarm of old Jacobites, with no attachment to Government, assembles, and for half an hour you would be diverted with their different sentiments and proposals. There is one who has a knack at squibbs, as they call it, and he has a table and chair with a pen and ink before him, to write scurrilous papers, and these are sent directly to Mr. Raikes. I wish to God that it was all at an end.

What sin, to me unknown,
Dipped me in this? My father's, or my own?

I am very glad that you have so quietly abandoned a contention for Carlisle. When these things come to us without trouble it is very well; but when they do not, I do not know one earthly thing that makes us amends, and it is not once in a hundred times that you are thanked for it. . . .

I am *old indeed*, as the papers say, and if not *trained up in ministerial corruption*, I am used to all other corruption whatever, and of that of manners in particular; and the little attention that is paid to what was in my earliest days called common honesty, is now the most uncommon thing in the world. . . .

Let me have the pleasure of hearing that you are going on well in Ireland, for the loss of that I should have in being there with you, which is impossible. Keep yourself, as you can very well do, within your intrenchments, that no one may toss your hat over the walls of the Castle. I dread to think what a wrongheaded people you are to transact business with for the next three years of your life. But I am less afraid of you, from your character, than of another, because I think that you

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* Or now.

will admit, at setting out, of no degree of familiarity from those you are not well acquainted with. I hope that Eden goes with you. I have a great opinion of his good sense and *sçavoir faire*.

[Lord North to Lord Carlisle.]

1780, Sept. 13, Downing Street.—In the whirlwind in which I have lived for the last week, I have been guilty of an omission with respect to your Lordship for which I ask a thousand pardons. Being pressed to declare the new members of the Board of Trade before the new Elections, I left orders to Mr. Robinson to put the names immediately into the Gazette, without giving notice to your Lordship, as I ought certainly to have done. This neglect did not, I assure you, proceed from any want of respect and attention to your Lordship, but probably arose from two causes; one, the extraordinary hurry of the moment, and the other, that I have for some time considered your Lordship in a different capacity from the Chief of the Board of Trade, and it, therefore, did not occur to me at the time that it was necessary to give your Lordship notice of the promotions in that department.

Lord North to [Lord Carlisle].

1780, Sept. 17, Bushy Park.—Upon returning from my ride, I received your Lordship's obliging letter, with great pleasure, and flatter myself that this business will end as your Lordship and I wish, to your comfort and mine, to the benefit of the public, and, I hope, to the satisfaction of our friend. I will return a positive answer to your Lordship's questions with all possible dispatch, but your Lordship must be sensible that it would not be becoming in me to take upon myself to give an immediate answer to one or two of your propositions, before I take another and more important opinion than my own upon them.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1780, Sept. 18, Harrogate.—The packet you was so good as to direct for me on the 5th of this month arrived here last night safe, but the cover shows that the postmaster of Lancaster had taken no trouble about it.

Upon a review of all the correspondence between Eden and Lord North, I am convinced the business, though it has been strangely perplexed, will yet have the conclusion your Lordship wishes. Lord North's sudden change upon the appointment to the Treasury I cannot comprehend, for most assuredly it could not proceed from the pressure of his engagements to either of the two who are appointed, and I never knew him do anything from mere ill-humour, which yet is the only apparent cause, for in his letter to Eden he remonstrates with him in an eager but affectionate style for insisting upon having what would not be for his good. Eden, I dare to say, will avoid any step that declares to the world his dissatisfaction, and not pressing to quit the Board of Trade immediately, a quarrel obviously against the interests and I believe equally against the intentions of both parties cannot long subsist. The only method to bring things about with advantage, I should think, would be to let matters rest for the present without any further attempt to (*sic*) explanation.

The business of this County your Lordship already knows has turned out miserably. Lassells is much blamed by everyone I have seen. I should have commended his prudence in declining the contest, had he declared that resolution early, but he had no cause for it from any discovery that his friends had made in the course of their attempts to a canvass, and the small amount of the subscription against him, which was less than 15,000, of which only $\frac{1}{5}$th was to be paid down and the remainder promised in four months, ought to have encouraged him. Some of his most active opponents whom I saw on the day between the two meetings had a very bad opinion of their success against him.

The Duke of Newcastle is at this place, and exceedingly angry at the neglect of Government in the West :* Election, and likewise the not giving Lord Lincoln the rank of Colonel, and the general inattentions to Sir H. Clinton's recommendations. If great care is not taken to smooth matters, his interest and good inclinations will be lost, and if one may judge from the newspapers, the acquisition upon the new choice has not been so great as to make such a loss indifferent.

——— to Lord Carlisle.

1780, Sept. 24, Drogheda.—An anonymous letter dissuading Lord Carlisle from the proposed dissolution of the Irish Parliament, on the ground that "the Court party" had lately been in the ascendant, while "the Patriotic party" had collapsed.

3½ *pages.*

Lord Carlisle to Lord [ ].

1780, Oct. 11, London.—As Lady Carlisle undertook to act as secretary and copy the official accounts of our success under Lord Cornwallis, I did not trouble your Lordship with any letter at that time.

The Jamaica packets arrived this day, and left everything quiet in that part of the world on the 14th August. The prevailing idea there was that the Spaniards had separated and were bound for Cuba, and that the French only meant to take up their own trade, and convey them home.

My friend Lord Cornwallis has indeed made a brilliant figure ; I am confident your Lordship approves the good sense and manly sentiment, as well as perspicuous style, that is to be found in every part of his public letter. 'Tis a severe satire upon the miserable business of Seratoga. I have no fears for New York, from its natural and artificial strength ; were the enemy to land in force upon Long Island, and drive the country, the supply of fresh provisions for our ships might be rendered extremely difficult. I enclose you a plan of the action which was given me by Captain Ross, who is an old acquaintance of mine in America.

Lord Carlisle to Lord [Gower].

1780, Nov. 14th, ——— ———.—As I find that Mr. Gilbert does not recommend his son as page, I certainly shall not accept his nomination of any other person. I shall therefore have an opportunity of appointing Mr. Sneyd's son in obedience to your commands, which will be infinitely more agreeable to me. The young gentleman must be in

* Westminster ? *See* letters in Jesse.

readiness to set out at a short warning, because his services will be required immediately upon my landing.

Not being certain whether your newspaper contains the enclosed Declaration of Gen. Arnold's, I send it to your Lordship. Lady C. continues perfectly well, and gives me hopes she will [be] able to undertake the journey at the same time with me.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1780,] Nov. 22, Thursday morning.—Yesterday Gregg dined here, with Dr. Warner, Mr. Hoare the banker, and Mr. Ph. Crespigny, Member for Sudbury. When the others had left me, Gregg stayed and talked to me of your accounts. . . .

Lord Carlisle to Lord [Gower].

1780, Dec. 6, Wednesday.—It is very afflicting to me to acquaint you that Lady Carlisle's illness, though by no means dangerous, yet is of that nature as destroys the hope of her visiting Trentham with me in my way to Ireland, for which country I shall set out next Tuesday, and hope to pay my compliments to your Lordship and Lady Gower on Wednesday. Though I feel very sensibly for Lady Carlisle's situation, yet I own I should have had very strong apprehensions on her account if she had attempted, which I know she would, the long journey before her strength had been sufficiently restored. All my eloquence tends to point out the facility with which we shall meet the moment she may be safely permitted to undergo the fatigue. I wish very much I could dispense with the attendance of three or four persons who will travel with me, but we will overrun you as little as possible.

Lady Gower will accept my congratulations upon the recovery of Capt. Stewart.

Endorsed: Received Dec. the 8th, 1780.

Paper by Lord Carlisle.

[c. 1780.]—An Enquiry into the Causes of the two Revolts of the United Provinces and America.

As the example of the Low Countries in disuniting themselves from the Spanish Monarchy, in spite of any endeavour of Philip to attain his dominion over them, may give rise to many apprehensions in this our critical situation, it may not be thought improper to give a little time to the impartial examination of an epoch in History, that at first sight does wear a very striking resemblance to our present distracted condition. Holland submitted for a long time with resignation to the Spanish Empire. America for a long time did not refuse to obey the injunctions of Great Britain. The levying arbitrary subsidies by Spain gave birth to the first symptoms of disobedience among the Flemish. The levying sums on those who have not representatives in the British Parliament, for the exigencies of Government, has occasioned a Rebellion in America. All the accumulated force of Spain, then in the zenith of her riches and her glory, was unable to force the Flemish to abandon . . . . . to be their inherent rights and privileges. All the military skill of her best generals, educated under Charles the 5th ; the courage of those veteran troops, whom nothing but time and local situation could ever overcome ; all the gold that Mexico could afford ; all

succour, served only to delay, but were insufficient to prevent, a Revolt of those who had obstinately resolved to be free. All the accumulated force of Great Britain, now notwithstanding the enormity of her debt equally with Spain at the vertical point of her national splendour, the military skill of the most experienced generals, all the riches that the most extensive commerce could pour into her harbours, has [have] not been able as yet [to make]* that impression upon America, as such a superiority is supposed always to effect.

There is as far as we have gone there appears (*sic*) a very visible similitude of circumstances, and it will not be a matter of surprise that the conclusion hastily follows without the pain of more minute inquiry, as the Flemish became by their inflexibility their own masters, so America, treading in the same paths, from similar causes, will derive similar advantages.

In the first place, America, if she is not in a state of infancy, she (*sic*) carries about her the most convincing appearance of extreme youth. When the Low Countries were transferred to [the] Spanish Empire by the descendants of the rich Heiress of Burgundy, they were even at that time grown into all the strength and vigour that age, a proper division of different ranks of men, long enjoyments of a peculiar form of Government to which they were attached . . . (*sentence incomplete*).

[Then follow some further remarks on the history of the Low Countries under Charles V. and Philip II.]

Draft, in Lord Carlisle's hand.

W. Fawkener to Lord Carlisle.

1781, Jan. 1, South Street.—We had a Council this morning between the Levee and the Drawing Room, of the business of which I am afraid you will not much approve. I have sent the order to Eden, and as it is to go by a messenger from Lord Hillsborough's office, you will receive it long before this letter. I hope, however, and don't doubt, that the people at Cork will still find means to export as much provision as will keep them and the country in good humour; and probably the vast demand there will immediately be for the supply of our starving West India Islands, will prevent any clamour or plague to you.

I had the pleasure of seeing Lady Carlisle at Court this morning, looking perfectly well, and very little fatigued by the heat or length of it. The Prince of Wales was there with his new establishment, which they say he is not much pleased with. Charles Fox was there too, and the court I take it for granted he went to pay, seemed to be very well received.

You may imagine how differently these last accounts from Lord Cornwallis were received here. The general idea seems to be that the American war is to be given up. If the Emperor and Empress do nothing for us, I don't guess what is to become of us. Capt. Onslow in the Bellona has taken a Dutch fifty-gun ship, after an action, it is said, of half an hour. I am sorry to see they fight so well. Lady Foley, who was supposed to be in a fair way of recovery, is again in the greatest danger. I have just sent, and the answer is that it is impossible to be worse, and alive. . . .

I have not seen George Selwyn these three or four days. I suppose he has told you his misfortune. The Duke of Queensberry says he bears it better than any that ever happened to him before. I hope it is not of much consequence to him. . . .

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* Omitted.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, Jan. ?]—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . . . . upon your good will to him, which you will, I do not doubt, express towards him before he will ask it.

It is today covered with snow, and I have seen nobody as yet, and no answer yet come from Mr. Gregg. I dine with the children at three, and at six I have ordered my coach to go to the House, if I hear of any business to be there which invites me more than a mandamus from Mr. Robinson. George* has just brought me his letter to you, which will, I hope, serve as a palliative to this long one from me. I owe Dr. Ekins now three letters. I will thank him for them all by this post if I have time.

It is now a doubt if Barrow is dead, which the whole town believed when I was last out; not one syllable of it in any letter which I have had from Gloucester. I shall be very glad never more to hear his name or any other relative to that infernal place while I live. It has been truly a *città dolente* to me.

From Milan things are well; at least no menaces from thence of any sort, and I am assured, by one who is the most intimate friend of the Emperor's minister there, that he was much more likely to approve than to disapprove of Mie Mie's being with me, knowing as he does the turn and character of the mother. *Le père*† is blind beyond all hopes, and led about, as poor Deerhurst must be, who is expected in town this week. . . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, Jan.] 25, Thursday, at night, House of Commons.—Lord N[orth] delivered his message; he then moved his Address. Lord J. Cav[endish] moved an amendment. T. Townshend made a sour speech. Burke has taken his seat. Charles has been speaking, but it is not likely to be a late night. No new events. I'm glad that Borée‡ has not lost your favour, and to hear from Gregg that your household will be under better regulations than it seemed once that they would be. . . . .

§For God's sake think of that in time; you will save to yourself in future time an infinite fund of vexation. I had rather see you getting up on a joint stool to put out your wax candles after a Council, as the old Duke of Marlborough did, than see you exposed to some of the mortifications which must be the consequence of a *dérangement* in your affairs. I know *de science certaine*, that there are low people at this instant, unacquainted with you, who have formed hopes of getting from you advancement either in honour or in profit, from their conceptions of the straightness of your circumstances, and of what you might be tempted to do. I have ventured to say that I believe no one that ever came from Ireland, who had filled your station, will leave *avec des mains plus nettes*. I throw out that, that in such impertinence might have birth, or be stifled in it (*sic*).

Barrow walked into this House on Tuesday *comme un revenance;* never did a story, like that of this insignificant man, get ground like that of his death. I some day I (*sic*) shall enter more into the news of this House, if I can pick up any to amuse you, but I have had for some

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* Lord Morpeth.
† The Marquis Fagniani.
‡ Bory in other places.
§ Found apart.

time occupations which have more tenderly engaged me, and which you and Lady Carlisle will more easily comprehend than any [one] else. My best respects to her and to Lady Julia, and my love to dear little Car and to Louisa O. Write to me when you choose, *que cela ne vous soit pas à charge.* I shall be always glad to receive your letters, but never expect them. I am obliged to Dr. Ekins for his accounts of you, and of your way of passing your time. As to my journey to Ireland, it is *à perte de vuë pour le present. J'en ai bien envie, cela n'est pas à douter. Dieu sçait quand ce projet sera exécuté.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, Jan.] 27, Saturday morning.—. . . Storer dined with me yesterday, and when Mrs. Webb and Mie Mie were retired, we talked of his affairs, and I believe the situation of them *triste* enough. He is so *véritablement*, but he is very manly in his manners, and expression, and resolution. Lord B[rudenell ?], Lady Brudenell, Lord N[orth, and] Miss North solicit much for him, that he may have this vacant seat at the Board of Trade, and I hope, if you judge it proper, that you will urge it too. Lord N[orth] has received him civilly, and spoke to him civilly, *mais il en demeure là.* I have very little reliance, as you may suppose, upon his promises of assistance. You know better how to treat with him than I do. I know your friendship for Storer, and his for you. His sentiments concerning you and all [he] said upon that subject did him great credit with me. I shall be sorry if these endeavours to serve him prove fruitless.

One o'clock.—My letter has been interrupted by a visit which I have been necessarily obliged to make this morning to poor Deerhurst at 11 o'clock. He is in lodgings over against your Baigneur. He dines at his father's, and passes his evenings there, or where he likes it. I expected to find him not only changed but horrible. The latter was by no means the case ; he is grown fatter ; one eye, or rather the *etui* of it, is covered with a green silk patch, and the other looks well, but as one that has no vision, or object to fix upon ; excepting this, I saw no disfigurement whatever ; *du côté de la laideur, ou de la beauté, il n'y a rien ni de gagné ni de perdu.*

He was in better spirits than I expected, but his reflections were *tristes*, though manly. He is not without hope, but is preparing himself for a moment when he will be forced to relinquish it. This morning he told [me] that upon coming out of his bedchamber where a person with a good sight could have distinguished nothing, and going into a room which was light, he found a difference, enough to increase the hopes which Potts has given him, of its not being a desperate case. I was glad to quit him as soon as another visitor came. I told him that if the worst happened which could be feared, that it was some comfort that he was not a disagreeable object, and that he would be sure to find all persons with whom he mixed in company, friends or acquaintances, ten times more attentive to him, and desirous to amuse him, than if he laboured under no such misfortune. He brightened up at that observation, and seemed to derive a comfort from it.

I was furnished with it, by what I have heard my poor friend Me du Deffands say, and the truth of it is evident and comfortable. He was told at Woodstock, by a surgeon, that such was the state of his face and jaw, &c., after the fall, that he could have taken it off, and gone with it to the masquerade ; *la comparaison n'étoit ni délicate, ni trop honnête.* But a surgeon feels no more than the instrument which he makes use

of. Lord Coventry assures him that his affection has never departed from him, and that his most confidential friends could assure him, meaning his brother and cousin, that he had never left a shilling from him. This I had often told him. It was upon the whole a *triste visite.*

I met last night, at White's, Lord Buck[ingham] for the first time, and we had some little conversation. He looks better than before he went abroad. Mrs. Orme, Lady Town[shen]d's daughter, died a few days ago. I went this day to see Lady T[ownshend]; *une visite de condoléance* ; she had an *air d'affliction,* but *moderée.* There was no mention of the cause, nor any violent expressions of grief, as I expected.

Cov[entry], among other tender things which he has said to his son on the subject of his misfortune, for he has been very profuse of his consolatory language, told him that if he had lost both of his eyes, his arms, his legs, I do not know if he did say his head too, that he should respect the trunk. *Ce fut bien de lui; il est riche en hyperboles, et il se flatte que ce style en impose.*

I met Lord Lincoln this morning, *qui va gaiement en Amérique,* and not like one who was to have [left?] his heart behind him. I dine today with Storer and Jack Townshend at Lord Carmarthaen's, and tomorrow with Harry St. John. The P[rince] of W[ales] was at the Bunters' masquerade at the Pantheon, and, as they say, with Mrs. Armstead.

Williams tells me that the Session will be a very short one—that the Houses will be up at Easter. That is more than any [one] can answer for. You must have heard or will hear of Lord George's [Gordon] extravagant speech and behaviour at the King's Bench. He said everything contrary to what his counsel advised him to say. His affair will not end without some bustle, and some egregious blunder, I am persuaded. The Chancellor [Lord Thurlow] persists in his opposition to his brother's match, notwithstanding all that Charles F[ox] can say. Tomorrow, being Sunday, I have fixed upon for going to see George and to carry him his Addisons.* . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Jan. 28, Sunday, Cleveland Court.—As there is no particular day for sending a letter to the post, which is to cross the Irish Sea, so there is no particular day neither for my sitting down to write. Saturday is that which I've most determined upon, but today I'm confined at home with a cold, which makes me begin my letter. I found myself yesterday very ill with it, and yet was obliged to go out, but I came home early and went immediately to bed, and today I shall nurse myself and eat nothing but a boiled chicken, that I may be well enough to go tomorrow, as I intended to do today, to make my first visit to George, as Mr. Raikes said I might, and carry him his Addisons. . . .

I dined yesterday at Lord Carmarthaen's with Charles F[ox], Storer, the Duke of Dorset, Lord Colraine, and Jack Townshend; besides these there was nobody but Jackson the parson. I was obliged to run away at eight, to a little assembly, where the Miss Selwyns carried Mie Mie, that I might bring her home in good time. I suffered very much with my cold, and so I shall stay in my house till it is over, at least not go out after dinner; a sudden thaw is a change that, without care, I believe to be very dangerous to those who are liable to catch cold.

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* This and other letters, before and after, refer to Selwyn's visits to Lord Morpeth at Mr. Raikes's school at Neasden, or Neasdon, in Middlesex.

I have received a card from the Duke of Buccleugh to dine with him on the thirtieth of this month, that is on Tuesday, but if I am well enough to dine out it must be with Mie Mie at Lord Boston's. Fawkener dines there. March tells me that he is a great favourite in the Bedchamber; *c'est un excellent cœur, avec un esprit assez mediocre.*

I picked up no news yesterday of any sort. I could not stay till the conversation grew *animée,* and was sorry that I could not, for Charles was disposed to be very agreeable. Storer had *un air forte triste;* he told me that he should put down his horses, and it may be that he must be obliged to retrench many other expenses if this succour of the Board of Trade is not administered to him. I hope, my dear Lord, that you will do what you can for him. I have, when I say this, no doubt but you will. Lady T[ownshend?] does not affect much grief about her daughter, so the children have not much to expect, or Jack much reason to fear a rival.

The House of Lords were very late on Thursday night upon the King's Message, but I have heard of no particular event during the debate. Lord Trentham is returned to London I see, but he never came here to see his nephew, which surprised me. I wish that Lord Gower's family was arrived, that I may know something concerning the two little girls who have been at Stone (?),* and I want still more to know how Lady C[arlisle] and the children passed the sea. . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Jan. 30, Tuesday.—Warner, the Duke of Q[ueensberry], and Storer dined here yesterday; when the others were gone W[arner] showed me a letter which he had wrote at Gregg's request, containing, for your information, a *précis* of his late negotiation. He wished to have left that matter to Gregg, but the other enjoined him the task. It was right that you should have the clearest account possible of what had been done. W[arner] loves too much ornament in his writing, which vitiates his style. But he writes clearly. I dine today as I have told you at Lord Boston's; the rump of the Tuesday N[ight] Club meet at the Duke of Buccleugh's. . . .

I hope that you will recommend to him [George], when you see him, Mr. Rollin's Belles Lettres; he will be able next year to comprehend the whole of that work, which I believe is the prettiest of the kind that ever was wrote; I had scarce ever read three pages of any book, besides my school book, when that work was put into my hands for my amusement. I read it three times over by choice, I was so struck with it. *Pour former le goût,* it is a specific; *pour l'esprit, et le cœur, je me flatte qu'il n'en aura pas besoin.* I was at White's last night, but heard no news. It is some time since I have been at Brooks's. I heard that the bank lost last night. *C'est une banque de fondation.* Messrs. Richard and Charles *en sont les fondateurs,* at least, that is my opinion.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, Jan.]—(*Beginning lost.*) Have you seen a small oval print of Lord Cornwallis, and another of poor André? Shall I send them to you in a letter? That of Lord Cornwallis is like, and I believe the other is too.

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* Or home?

Make my compliments to Dr. Ekins and to Emily.* I am in debt two letters to Dr. E[kins], but I hope that he does not insist upon exact answers to each. Remember me to Eden and Mrs. Eden, and my respects in a particular manner to Lady Louisa Conolly, and to the Dowager Duchess of Leinster, if she is in Ireland. The number of my Irish acquaintances is not very extensive. I shall be glad to hear that you have distinguished our beau Richard† by your civilities. He is an honest good humoured bog-trotter as ever lived, and I hope when the Parliament meets that you will find him a plumper.

This next week I believe comes on Lord George's [Gordon] trial. I find that his conviction is much doubted, or a desire to convict him. Lord Loughborough I hear wishes to be of White's. All the Ministers are of it, except the Chancellor and the President of the Council. It is quite now *remis sur pied.* How it will go on the Lord knows. There is nothing disagreeable in it at present. Lord Chest[erfiel]d is the most likely to be so. Trevis is of it, and young Rumbold, but not Paul Benfeild. I took that man to have been a pirate till lately that Lord Bathurst desired me to go and give my vote for him at the India House, which I did. I had a letter last night from Sir A. Craufurd that should be, but he is out of all patience that his advancement is deferred.

You will have your Burgundy from the M. de Dumas as soon as it is determined what will be the best conveyance. I will transcribe for you what he says. Dr. Gem comes here in the spring. Lord Stormont is blamed by Opposition for sending back the Count Welderen's letter unopened. If he is removed on that account, they should put The Fish in his place. He will avoid that error at least. *En voilà assez pour aujourd'hui.*

On 8vo paper.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781 ?]—I would go this evening to Whitehall to let them know that I have seen George, but it is most piercing cold, and I have a *fluxion aux yeux* which I am afraid may end in my usual spring cough; how they are, *et toute l'histoire de ce pais la*, you will have learned from Lady Ann. I went last night to Brooks's, for half an hour, and I saw Charles, dressed, as clean, and with as good a coat, and gold buttons, as if he had been at the head of affairs. There was Lord Clermont, and he would have told me if anything ill had happened in Ireland.

My lawsuit there is *en bon train*, as Mr. Woodcock assures me, but I expect that Dr. Ekins will give me some account of it, as he has promised, and for that purpose he is to meet Mr. Woodcock at my house; *mes parties ne sont pas moins difficiles à déterrer, chez vous, que lorsqu'elles se refugioient ici.*

I hear nothing of my neighbour Bap.,‡ nor do I believe either Lord or Lady G[ower] go now to see him. The Duke of Bridgwater is still in town, and all *accès* into White's *si bouché*, by his means, as is said, that for the present nobody is chosen. But who can be sure of that? It is his Grace's reputation which creates the suspicion. . . .

The Marlboroughs are not yet come to town; I have not asked the reason, but I suppose there is, by that means, a saving upon a hundred

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* *Qu.* Edward Emly, Dean of Derry, 1781–3.

† Richards, elsewhere.

‡ Leveson? *See* p. 298.

articles in housekeeping, which they contemplate upon as attentively as if necessity obliged them to it. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1781, Feb. 1, Thursday morning, Cleveland Court.— . . . I saw Lord Gower yesterday morning; he is grown very corpulent, and his face fuller of humour than I ever saw it. While this humour keeps out he will be well, but when it returns I am afraid the consequences will be fatal to him. . . .

We dined at March's yesterday. Boothby, James, Williams, Offley, Lord W. Gordon, Dr. Warner, and myself. The place of rendezvous for the morning is I believe the Park, and it is a reconnoitring party too. Where the Prince sups, and lies, and with whom, are the chief objects of the politics of a certain class of people. All agree that at present the agreement between him and the King is perfect. The speculation is only how long it is likely to last. His Royal Highness stoops as yet to very low game. In some respects it may be better. You will have heard of Captain Waldgrave's success with the two Dutch ships, and the French merchantman, if I am right.

Today is to be one of violent attack upon Lord Sandwich and Palliser. Charles makes the motion. We shall have a great deal of abuse, and reply and declamation from Bourk [Burke], and vociferation from Lord Mahon, and perhaps a long day; and I must go down early, because I was yesterday when the House was called a defaulter; so I shall dine there, and after dinner I will collect upon paper what I hear of the transactions of the day.

I read yesterday in the P[ublic] Advertiser an account of your box at the play. I am not knowing enough in what is called humour, to be sure, if that was such, and pure invention, or not. I hear that you did not produce yourself enough, but retired too much within the box, which did not please the Irish, who do not so well comprehend what it is to be out of countenance. I wish to know if Lady C[arlisle] will find for Caroline masters to her satisfaction, and a country house. I have not seen as yet Lord Fitzwilliam, or had any answer about the pictures. Eden they tell me calls too soon for coffee. But upon the whole, the reports concerning you, and your Court, and your ministers, &c. is [are] good. I do not expect this business in which you are engaged to be quite *couleur de rose.* I hope you will preserve your health, and the peace of your mind, your temper, and your fortune. I am in no pain about anything else.

Lord W[ ] had yesterday an air more *égaré* than usual; he is *enlaidi, et mal vêtu, et enfin il avait plus l'air de pendard que son frère. Vous pouvez bien vous imaginer que nous n'avons pas parlé de corde, pas même celle du mariage.* The Maréchal de Rich[e]lieu was told that the mob intended to have hung me, but *que je m'en suis tiré comme un loial chevalier.* This was their notion in Paris of the mob which insulted me at Gloucester.

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, Feb. 5, Portugal Street.—Though your letter was dated the 18th of last month, I did not receive it till the 3rd of this. Both mails,

I believe, arrived at the same time, for Selwyn had got his letter which gave an account of Lady Carlisle's arrival in Ireland, yesterday (I know) and perhaps before. Give me leave to congratulate you on that event. I am glad to find that she did not suffer very much from sea-sickness. You are very obliging in making an excuse for my not writing; it is certainly more than I deserve, for were I to confess the truth, perhaps, my silence is less owing to the trouble and confusion I have had, on account of these distresses in the West Indies, than it is to my false delicacy, which you declare so much against. But whether it be proper or false, I shall not dispute with you: if it be proper, there is no occasion to alter it; if it be false, it is a disorder like my headache, that I have been long subject to, is almost become a part of my constitution, and is very difficult, if not totally impossible, for me to correct. Your letter has relieved me from it however, and enables me to write to you upon a matter which otherwise I am sure I could not have done.

Lord Robert's* resignation of the Board of Trade, after what passed before Christmas between Lord North and myself, made me apply to him again. I assure you that I have had neither pride [n]or false delicacy hitherto in any applications of this side the water, that I thought might be of service. I have worked with Lady North and George North. Others for me have done so with Miss North. *Le père de famille*, Lord Guildford, has not been neglected. Lord Dartmouth has said a word. Robinson too has been applied to. Lord Loughborough has promised to speak to Lord North. Then his Honour and Lady Brudenell have interested themselves with more warmth and friendship than I really could have possibly expected. At Bushey during the holidays Lady B[rudenell] mentioned the matter to Lord N[orth], and his answer was, "I assure you that I am very much "disposed towards him, but I cannot always do those things as quickly "as I wish them." She advised me to write to you to beg you to write to Lord North, but you are the only person I cannot solicit, and had you not first opened this, I believe it would not have been in my power to have wrote you a word about it. I have left nobody unsolicited that has any access to Lord North except Keene. I could not prevail upon myself to try to make Keene imagine that I thought him of any importance, or to let him think for a moment that I could possibly consent to owe the shadow of an obligation to him. Thus you see that I have treated Keene and you just in the same way. I leave you to guess whether from the same motives.

So much for my applications. The West Indies is a very disagreeable subject. Thinking upon it can do me no good. I have heard *quam honesta res sit, læta paupertas*, and therefore, as I am to appear *in formâ pauperis*, it is not necessary to add to the misfortune by constantly having it uppermost in my mind. The West India sufferers are to have a benefit at the Opera next Thursday. I never thought that I should be able to thank M^me^ Simonet for dancing at my benefit. My father says, that I must walk a-foot. The *vehiculum* is laid down, except Lord North takes me by the hand, and poverty is to be the *jucundus amicus in viâ pro vehiculo.*

While I was at Bath, I was in perfect good health; but I am no sooner come to London, than the headache returns; if you were to give me the gout, what with my head and my heels, it would be burning the candle at both ends, and more than my constitution could bear. I am very sorry that you have had it; notwithstanding the dignity which a little lameness may give you. If I had kissed 122 women with the

* Lord Robert Spencer was on the Board of Trade, 1772–81. (Haydn.)

same symptoms of coldness as you did, it would be no wonder, but I am rather surprised that you did.

Gregg t'other day, hearing that I was to have the Board of Trade, advised me to refuse it, or at any rate not to accept it till after the Sessions of Parliament, because he was sure that Opposition meant to attack it, and perhaps it might be totally carried away in the assault this year, as it had so narrow an escape the last. This was not said as a reason for my not accepting it, with any view to my re-election, but as a good substantial reason in itself; consequently I did not by any mean[s] coincide in his opinion; I suppose you don't. What is the plan of Opposition, I don't know; they seem at present very much at fault. Their last attack was upon the appointment to Greenwich Hospital, in which, as I understood, they imagined they were to have had a greater division. I thought, as it was, they were too strong.

Today the House does not sit on account of Lord G. Gordon's trial. I hear he has quarrelled with the Duke and his counsel, and that he is totally guided by a Scotch attorney. Lord Lewisham is to have the White Stick, which is vacant. That is at present a grand secret, and nobody knows it.

Johnston made a speech in the debate on Greenwich Hospital, which made Opposition very angry. In talking about the illuminations in London for the victories gained over the French on the 27th of July, he put his hands in such a ludicrous or scaramouche manner, as he would call it, before his face, that I think I never saw any action have so perfectly a good effect.

Once more, dear Carlisle, let me thank you for your letter, and if you insist upon my putting aside my false delicacy, let me say, that some appointment will be perfectly necessary to me. My finances require it in some degree, but in whatever degree that may be, I assure you that my mind stands as much in need of it.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1781, Feb. 11, Sunday morning, Cleveland Court.—I received your letter of the 5th, yesterday, in the afternoon, and another of the same date from Dr. Ekins, at the same time the day before: why they did not come together, I know not. But so it has happened, I believe more than once before, since my connections with Ireland, which I wish to God were at an end. There is one indeed which will plague me, while I live, and that is an annuity upon Mr. Gore's estate, which I must sue for as regularly as it becomes due.

I was prevented from writing to you yesterday by I do not know how much disagreeable occupation. I had a Drum, and that began early; I was to prepare for it, I was to be served in *ambigu*, and it was to be the easiest, most agreeable, best understood thing in the world. It was to my apprehension the very *antipode* of this. I do not know how my company felt, but I was not at my ease a moment. I had a Commerce table, and one of Whist. My company were Middletons, Bostons, Townshends, and Selwyns.

March came to the door at eleven, but hearing that supper was served, and almost over, and perhaps hearing of the company too, he went away; they were all good kind of people, and who I dare say had conversation enough in their own families, but although we were all related, we had not one word to say to one another. There was Mr. Methuen, Lady Boston's father, who seems to be a shrewd

entertaining man, if he was w[h]ere he found himself at home. The cook, the housekeeper, and *Maître Jacques* all exerted themselves, and did their parts tolerably well, but *rien n'a pu me mettre à mon aise*, and the more I tried to be at home, the more I was *desorienté;* so I believe I shall try some other kind of party for the future; otherwise I may say *que le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.* But now for your letter.

George's subject is not the first in course, but it has taken the first place in my thoughts. I do assure you that I am not his puff. What I tell you of his reading is literally true; but it is not reading that expresses it, for I could have said as much if he had read nothing but the History of Cinder Breech and that kind of biography. He read with me English History, and stopped for information, and showed an uncommon thirst for it. He asked me as many questions in the History of George 1st concerning the South Sea Scheme, the prosecution of Lord Macclesfield, and the Barrier Treaty, as another boy would have asked me about Robinson Crusoe. He likes other books too, and it is agreeable to hear him talk of them. For which reason I should be glad, if you approved of it, that he had a choice of books, to a certain amount—a little library—as many as would fill a small bookcase. Mr. Raikes tells me that he is remarkably careful of his books, and therefore was not displeased that those which you gave him I had well bound, and that it was a fair edition. An early love of books will produce a desire to read, which amusements may suppress for a time, but is a constant resource against ennui. I have been years without looking in a book, and God knows in my long life how few I have read; but when it has happened that I could, *par force*, do nothing else, I have collected together a number, began a piece of history, and have thought at last the day too short, because I wanted to read more; and this I attribute to having once read, although it was but a very little. Rollin was the first author I read by choice. . . .

I am in hopes that your kindness to Storer will take place; *il en est digne, soyez en assuré, sur ma parole.* I never doubted, I was quite persuaded indeed, that you would do what you have done, and properly too. I have been told that he is to have this place, but I have not seen him much lately. I hope that he will dine here tomorrow, or on Tuesday, when all the Gregg family comes, and it may be, Dr. Warner. Your letter to Hare was sent to him by the post of the day that I received it, and you will have had information of it, I doubt not, by this time. He was not that day in town. You desired it to be sent, without loss of time. I therefore lost none. But unluckily he was on the road, although nobody knew it; he must have received it a few days after, so I suppose by this time he has acknowledged to you the receipt of it. I shall send your letter to Dr. Warner today, and invite him to meet Mr. Gregg's family at dinner here on Tuesday. . . . I believe him to be a perfectly honest man; he is uncommonly humane and friendly, and most actively so. But he has such a flow of spirits, and so much the *ton de ce monde qu'il a fréquenté*, that, had I been to have chose a profession for him, it should not have been that of the Church. There is more buckram in that, professionally, than he can digest, or submit to. The Archbishop, who has been applied to in his favour, by the late Mr. Townshend, said he was too lively, but it was the worst he could say of him. Lord Besborough served him once essentially, and esteems him. The family of Mr. Hoare, the banker, has assisted him, and so he has been able to support his mother and his nearest relations, whom his father, with a great deal of literary merit, had left beggars. I have given you this succinct history of my doctor, whom you have enlisted

into your corps. I was once before obliged to write his character for Lord Ossory, when he settled himself in Bedfordshire, and Lord Ossory has found it true in all particulars.

The K[ing] has told my friend M. that Lord Cadogan wants to sell his house at Caversham, for why, I know not. Lord Walpole's eldest son is to marry Lady Cadogan's sister. Churchill, *du côte du falbala, ne réussit pas mal;* his sons, I am afraid, one of them at least, has [have] not managed so well. But I would myself sooner have been married to [a] Buckhorse, than to that [A]Esop Lord C. The Zarina repents of her bargain, and, it is said, will give no more than 20,000 for the pictures. If that is not accepted, Lord Orford make [may] take them back. He gets an estate of near 10,000*l.* a year by his mother's death. Her will is all wrote in her own hand, and not one word, even her own name, rightly spelt.

J[ames] Hare to Lord Carlisle (at Dublin Castle).

1781, Feb. 13, St. James's Street.—I wrote to you a few days ago to thank you for your kind offer of the Black Rod, in case of its becoming vacant, and I must now beg leave to trouble you with my reasons for declining it. The Duke of Devonshire, immediately on the report of the Thunderer's being lost, proposed to Charles Fox to bring me into Parliament in his room, and desired him to write to me to ask me whether I wished it or not, that if I did not, he might decide between many other competitors, to all whom he gave me a preference.

To any one in my circumstances personal security is a great object, and grows every day more necessary; I did not therefore hesitate to accept this offer, which, though it by no means bids fair to enable me to live comfortably, will at least keep me out of a jail. The Duke of Devonshire is so little subject to caprice, that I need not fear his leaving me out in the next Parliament; but, without being very sanguine, I may reckon on a seat for Knaresborough as a seat for life.

I had much rather, on many accounts, remain out of Parliament, and the privilege of freedom from arrests is the only one I care a farthing for. There is no chance of my taking any pains to make myself master of the business that comes before the House, and in my opinion nothing can be more irksome than the attendance there to a person who takes no active part.

As the Duke of Devonshire has not mentioned his intentions publicly, I wish you would say nothing about it. Possibly the Thunderer may still be safe, though there are very little hopes of it; and as no account probably will come, a new writ certainly will not be issued till the end of the Sessions, perhaps not even then. If the Duke of D. had not made me this offer, I must have got over my objections to living in Ireland, though they are as strong as ever, for it would have been impossible for me to continue here.

I stayed six weeks at Foxley, and I cannot conceive why I did not stay six months, as all parts of the family seemed equally desirous that I should not come away so soon. We are to go in about six weeks' time to some sea-bathing place, where we shall stay a month; they will then return to Foxley, and I to Town.

You have very little to regret in passing your winter out of London. The complaint of its dulness is general, and is imputed to a very natural cause—the poverty of all ranks of people. Lady Shelburne has a supper once a week; Lady Salisbury has one or two; and scarcely another

house has been opened. Brookes is in his most grumbling manner, and says he must give up the Club ; but I rather suspect he will oblige the members to give it up, for in proportion as money becomes more scarce, he charges a higher price for everything.

I belong to the Club at Martindale's, but have never been there: Lord North sometimes sups there, attended by Sir Grey, Keene, St. John, Mr. Williams, &c. George Selwyn says he shall frequent that Club, because, after having lived these last fifteen years with persons as young again as himself, he has lately found out that it is better to live with people of his own age; and so it is, for the use he makes of them, which is, to come and laugh at them at Brookes's.

Richard lately has held a Faro Bank, at which Lord W. Gordon is the deepest player, meaning, I suppose, by his prudent behaviour to remove the Chancellor's objections to Miss Ingram marrying him.

Lord George [Gordon] behaved with the most perfect composure during the whole of his trial, and did not betray the smallest symptoms of fear during the recess of the jury, though the Court were of opinion, from Lord Mansfield's charge, that he would be found guilty. He has been quiet since his acquittal.

The Prince of Wales shows himself to the public with as little reserve as any young gentleman I ever saw. He rides almost every day in the Park, attended by one groom very ill mounted ; and his Royal Highness sometimes rides a race against Charles Wyndham, young Meynell, or some such person, to the considerable annoyance of the company. He generally goes to the Opera on Saturdays, and consequently fills the House quite full. . . . .

Lord Lincoln is going to America, with the hopes of dissipating the uneasiness he feels from not being suffered to marry Lady Anna Maria [Harrington], and I hear that Lord Mansfield and Mr. Rigby are to endeavour during his absence to prevail on the Duke of Newcastle to give his consent ; perhaps he may by that time be of another way of thinking. Mr. Rigby, I hear, is in his own case inexorable, and will not hear of Mr. Hale's marrying Miss Harbord, but says he may marry one of Lord Waldegrave's daughters, which Mr. Hale does not consider exactly as the same thing.

Lady Betty looks and seems to be very well, but a little out of humour at the difficulty of getting a macao table. Delmé's hounds are to be sold on Monday, and all his hunters, with a reserve of about nineteen out of twenty. Lord C. Bentinck has burst a blood vessel, which was soon stopt, and he is now almost well. Lord Robert [Spencer], since his late patriotic effort, has been in great danger with a fever, which is almost gone at present, and he is quite out of danger.

I do not hear that there is any public news, though accounts from America and the West Indies are hourly expected, and you will hear whatever they bring from persons who can give you better information than I can. The report of 2,000 men having left Washington's army and joined Clinton seems to want confirmation as yet, though all people think there has been a sort of mutiny in the American army, and only doubt their having come over to ours.

What little I have heard about you since you left England gives me great pleasure, and I sincerely hope you will continue to be liked as much as you are at first setting out, and that your Administration will be successful, and free from difficulties. I am both by natural inclination and very great favours interested in your happiness. Pray present my repects to Lady Carlisle and Lady Julia.

Seal: The sun in splendour, with the motto, " I advance."

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, Feb. 14, Portugal Street.—It is with great pleasure, as you may imagine, that I learn from all those who have any correspondents in Ireland, that everything goes on perfectly well on your side of the water, and that every circumstance at present seems to promise you in future a quiet and easy government.

Here we have hitherto had the idlest Sessions I ever remember. The House of Commons hardly meets but to choose committees. Business goes forward without debate. Burke indeed brings in his Bill tomorrow, but as yet it is not known in what shape it is to appear, whether exactly in the form of last year, or whether it is to be new modelled. I suppose the mode of opposing it, whether at once in the first stage, or by piecemeal at different times, will very much depend on its being exactly the same as it was before or not. I should think, if there is no alteration in the Bill, Ministry had better attack it immediately, and get rid of it at the outset. I hear of nothing else that is coming forward directly. The East Indies must be brought on in the course of the Sessions, but though the time wears away, I do not find as yet that there is any immediate prospect of even this business coming on.

Boothby has had a terrible fall from his horse, and is likely to be confined to his bed or to his couch for three weeks. Pott says there is no danger, but he must have patience and submit to lying upon a couch, or he is very likely to have a sore leg, which may not be cured till July. Lord Robert Spencer has been and is still very ill, but not dangerously. I hear amongst the other reports of the town that the Prince of Wales is to have balls at the Queen's house. Next Friday I understood there is to be one, and Lord Peterborough is invited, who literally never danced a country dance in his life. The Prince of Wales and Vestris engage the attention of the town. This news from America has not half the effect that the expectation of Vestris' benefit has.

A clergyman returned thanks in Audley Chapel the other day for the acquittal of Lord George Gordon: if he had been churched for his safe delivery, it could not have been more ridiculous. The Duke of Gordon's advertisement people think is perfectly mad. His Honour [Brudenell] is very much distressed about Madame Simonet's lameness. Vestris has put off his benefit on account of it. All great personages seem to be lame this year by some accident or other.

The King did not go to the benefit which Mr. Sheridan gave to the West India sufferers, but went the same night to the play at Covent Garden. This my peevish countrymen take very much in dudgeon, and indeed I wish very much for his sake, more than for theirs, that he had gone. His going would not have been but of the most trifling signification to them, but would have been a very proper thing, and perhaps an useful thing for him.

Now I have exhausted all the topics of conversation in this town, I must not finish my letter without saying something of my own affairs, and first of all I must thank you for the pressing letter which you have written to the Premier in my behalf. Yesterday I wrote him one also. I first of all submitted it to George's [Selwyn] consideration, in order to know if there was anything in it which he thought improper, or could in any shape correct, alter, or amend. George approved, so the letter went. Lady Brudenell attacked Lady North at the same time. She said that the matter was not as yet settled, but believed it would do; there was some hitch in the way which deferred it, but [she] did not know what it was. *Voici! où nous en sommes.* The whole family promise that he shall

not eat his breakfast in quiet, till it is done. Lord Guildford wished that you would write, but I could not say you had, for at that time I did not know it. Everybody tells me that I have the best right to it. I am wished joy of it by every man and woman I meet, but as yet their congratulations are premature.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Feb. 15, Thursday m[orning].—You will see that the former part of these dispatches were [was] to have gone Tuesday, and that it was an appendix only to my letter of Monday; not having put it in a case, and the Greggs staying with me till near eleven, the letter did not go. Gregg communicated to Warner the satisfaction which you expressed both to him and to me, as a confirmation of what you yourself was so good as to write to him. He is much elated with the honour which you have done him. Gregg would have entered into further particulars, that is, was for sounding the doctor upon his hopes, views, or expectations, but I put a stop to that discourse *pour le moment*. I will inform myself, by some confidential discourse with him, what are his wishes, and if they can be gratified, I hope they will, supposing them, as I hope that they will, to be reasonable. Then Gregg shall communicate this to you, and you will give it a due consideration. I should ima[gine], as I stand informed at present, that all military services are out of the question; he has no friend or relation to recommend in that line.

He has, I should suppose, but I do not know it for certain, about four hundred pounds a year to live upon; the greatest part is the interest of some money in the funds, saved when he was a preacher at Tavistock Chapel, which was a very beneficial occupation to him, for he had a great congregation, and many admirers. I never was one of them. He preached in my chapel at Matson, during his stay there, and the neighbourhood flocked to hear him, but his style and manner was very different from my ideas of pulpit eloquence. He intended by his intimacy with Garrick to improve it, but it has, to my apprehensions, had a very different effect. I love great simplicity in everything, but most in reading and preaching.

Now, if Dr. W[arner] could, by your patronage, be able to sett (*sic*) down in England, sooner or later, with a piece of preferment, that would put two or three hundred pounds a year more in his pocket, I believe he would be as completely happy as circumstances could make him. In order to this he might perhaps have some preferment in Ireland, and afterwards exchange it. This is my general idea of the matter, but I have reserved all discourse with him upon that subject, as he has not pressed it upon me. As, on the one side, I wish him to have, *de quelque côté qu'il vienne*, a comfortable subsistence, and, if the living of Luggershall was vacant, would save you all further consideration upon this matter.* But that vacancy is an event that I cannot procure. The present incumbent is my relation, the living is three hundred pounds a year, and he is with his family established there. If the present possessor had not been brought up to Orders, by my advice, and with the hopes of preferment from me, I should certainly have given Warner this living, and have consigned my kinsman over to Mr. Townshend. I wish you to talk with Dr. Ekins upon this matter; he is a reasonable, good-natured, disinterested man, and here is no rival-

* This sentence is incomplete.

ship. I should be governed by his opinion of what was right to do, and then as to the time and feasibility, that you yourself will be the best judge of. . . .

I dined yesterday at the Duke of N[orthumberlan]d['s]; we were 12. Lord and Lady A. Percy, Mr. and Mrs. Bennet, March, Lord Coleraine, Sir J. Stepney, K. Steward, The Fish,* Denbigh and son, and Fawkener. I went to White's, and played at whist; old General Grant was my partner, against Woodly (?) and Calvert. 19 Love against us. I won that rubber, and the next. Poor Sir Richard Peirson! He dined at Mr. Drummond's, was in great spirits, proposed a rebound of the dinner, went to the Pantheon, and to bed, seemingly in perfect health; this was on Monday; next morning, at his usual hour of rising, complained of some pain, on his breast and in his shoulder, and in an hour expired, without much suffering. Lady Ranelagh died much in the same manner.

Today, a ballot in the House. I am past sixty, *Dieu merci.* Burke's motion, and a long day, perhaps. Lord Robert mends but slowly; he was in a delirium for two days. He is not allowed to see company, for fear he should talk; if that was his disposition, I should think him in a delirium still. Lady Di has promised to send to me as soon as he is permitted to see anybody. I should have been grieved for him, although I am obliged to condemn him, and so I told him; and it is my conjecture that vexation in reflecting upon the whole of his conduct has contributed to this illness. God knows.

Lord Edward† is well for the present. Mr. Lebreau (?) goes to Whitehall to Lady Georgina, and I believe is to go to Sir J. Wrottesly's for his son. . . .

The Queen gives her Ball to the P[rince] on Friday, and the B[oard] of Greencloth has received their orders. Storer shewed me the letter which he wrote to Lord N[orth] before he sent it; it was *parfaite.* I have heard no more of it, nor who are to [be] benefited or decorated by the death of poor Peirson. His sister, who lost her son in the late affair, was sent for to town, by him, to help dissipate her chagrin, and was arrived only four days before this event.

No event at Brooks's, but the general opinion is that it is *en decadence.* Blue has been obliged to give a bond with interest for what he has eat there for some time. This satisfies both him and Brooks; he was then, by provision, to sup or dine there no more without paying, but *le Carême n'est pas encore entamé.* Jack Townshend told me that the other night the room next to the supper room was full of the insolvents or freebooters, and no supper served up; at last the Duke of Bolton walked in, ordered supper; a hot one was served up, and then the others all rushed in through the gap, after him, and eat and drank in spite of Brooks's teeth. I am now exhausted of all my *fatras de riens.* Yours most truly, and most affectionately. My dear Lord Lieutenant, *tout le monde parle avec éloge de votre manière de representer, de votre politesse, &c., &c., &c. J'en suis bien aise de tout mon cœur.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Feb. 17, Saturday, 4 o'clock, Cleveland Court.—Lord Gower was at the Ball last night. The Duke of Cumberland was not there; I know not how to reason about, or explain it. There were three tables at supper; the Prince was in great spirits. An express came today

* Crauford. † Bentinck?

from Lord Cornwallis, but it brought nothing but that he and Lesley were joined.

I have been since dinner to sit with Lord Robert, by his particular desire; his voice is so low as to be almost unintelligible, and he has a cough that is by no means a safe one to have, but his fever has in a great measure left him. If he does not take the greatest care of himself, *il sera bientôt fait de lui*, I am sure. He cannot bear above one person in his room at a time, and the being alone dispirits him, and he says that from 5 to 7 he wants somebody to be with him; so as soon as I could leave my dinner I went to sit with him.

The Duke of Marlborough is not well, and does not stir out, so he does not see him. His nephew G. St. John is going to Mr. Trevor at Munich; he will have 600*l.* a year, but he wants a wife, and how he will be diverted from that extravagance I know not. I am going tonight to sup at Mrs. Crewe['s], whom I have not seen for a long time. I shall be soon sick of guinea whist; it is so expensive to me, and at White's they are *trop habiles pour moi.*

Lord Gower did not please me with his account of little Charlotte, although she has had the measles so well; pray let me know how she does, if she is come to Ireland. Lord Gower says particular attention should be paid to her health, for she is grown very lean. Warner has wrote to me two or three times to beg that I would give him a *brouiller* of what he should say to thank you for the kind letter which you condescended to write to him. He feels himself quite unequal to the task, and is miserable that he has not wrote, depending upon me.

The Maids of Honour were not at the Ball, and of the Lords of the Bed Chamber only the Duke of Roxb[urgh], the Lord in waiting. There are to be many more of them, to prevent his R[oyal] H[ighness] from searching for these amusements abroad;—a miserable expedient! It lasted till 5 in the morning. *S.A.R. se divertit bien, et boit son coup comme un autre.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Feb. 24, Saturday.—It is a great while since I have heard either from you, or of you, and from some one of the Castle. I should be glad to receive intelligence concerning you. *Je m'interesse pour vous, et pour tout ce qui vous regarde, et fort sérieusement, et fort tendrement aussi.* I can tell you nothing of George, and only hope that he is well. When Storer makes his visit I will make mine, because it will be one and the same interruption; and I believe myself it will be none, as I shall propose to go on a Sunday, and be with him an hour before dinner. I must thank him for his last letter, which accompanied that which I have sent to Lady Carlisle, and I have some questions to ask upon the subjects we talked of before.

I have sent to Storer to dine with me today. When I saw him last we had some conversation upon his expectations, which I do not find are very sanguine, but they are reasonable; that nobody can deny. He wishes me to mention again to you his situation, and thinks that another letter from you to Lord N[orth] would be a necessary stimulus. I have myself, I own, great hopes that he will succeed.

Warner writes to you by this post. He had prepared a letter which was so full of compliments, that I was obliged to desire him to write another, in which I recommended strongly conciseness. He means well, and I hope will be always well understood. But parsons, University men,

and Templars *renvoyent bien loin la simplicité*, and when they would talk agreeably, or write to obtain approbation, give you such a hash of all their reading and such quaint compliments as make me sick. But one ought not to be angry with them; *c'est le ton du corps*, and when you would set them right, you have *leur esprit à décroter*, before you can make them comprehend that all their attempts to be notable are ridiculous. However, it was his fear of doing wrong, and a great desire of pleasing, which has occasioned his not writing before.

I will not say anything to you of myself, because I am not satisfied with myself, less so than with anybody else. I have committed every blunder I could from this time twelvemonth, and the reflection upon it makes [me] very much dejected. Mie Mie goes on here very well, and improves, and I am, as I always have been, much too happy with her, but not one word comes to me from her Italian parents, and the silence is terrible to me, because it is so unnatural. Could I have assurance that it proceeded from a total abandoning her to my care, I should be happy, but that seems incredible, and so I live in a constant dread of some change in that in which now all my happiness is placed.

As to you and your family, it is, I protest, *à perte de vuë* with me. I can never conceive when or how I am ever to see you or yours any more, except George; and if I was to say, as Leonidas does (which would not be strictly true), that he is more loved than any, I should add, yet less dear than all; so here is a perpetual fund for me of abatement.

White's affords me but very little amusement, and Brooks's is a precipice of perdition, upon which I have long stood; and now for fear that I should be *abîmé* in it, I shall, I believe, strike my name immediately out of it, and as soon as the spring is a little more advanced, I will find out some place if I can near Windsor to make a retreat to, for London affords me such little variety, that the *ennui* of the country cannot be greater.

Lord R[obert] has recovered his health for the present, in a great measure, that is, he is in no immediate danger, but* I am convinced from all I know now of his constitution, that his life is very precarious for so youn[g] a man. He seems very much vexed at the part he has acted, and is much condemned for it. Charles denies his having taken any step to persuade him to it. If he had persuaded him against it, he would now have made me believe with reason, what he has made Lord R[obert] believe without it.

I have been to sit with him several evenings, and have been often alone with him, but I have avoided the subject, because it is now past recovery, at least for the present, and I should have nothing to say, but that I condemn him myself as much as those who do not wish him so well. Lord C[oventry ?] comes a great deal to him, and notwithstanding all that has happened, this Polydoro and Castalio are as well together as possible.

I am sorry to hear that after all we shall make no impression on the Rebels in America that can be of any service to this country, and the whole state of it, as far as has come to my knowledge, is such as I see no preservation from disgrace, and the extremest distress. I will not trouble my mind with enquiring why, or who have been to blame, but all this could not have happened, and those who have conducted our affairs be innocent. But to what purpose the proving them otherwise? The more culpable a man is in this country, the more ways he has to escape.

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* The rest was found apart.

I have had a Doctor of Divinity with me, who tells me that he has 500*l.* a year well paid from two livings agreeably circumstanced, and that he would willingly resign them for preferment of more value in Ireland, where he has some connections. He is a man of a very fair character, and one of his Majesty's Chaplains. I heard him with the more patience, because Emily might perhaps profit of it. Doctor Ekins, as I hear, has made his bargain, I hope such a one as he likes.

His R[oyal] H[ighness] looks very ill, as I am told; he diverts himself *impétueusement*, and is dissatisfied with the people about him, so that, had my wishes been complied with, I should perhaps not have been a more acceptable servant than the rest. But I was in no danger, for there never was any desire, or ever will be, to gratify me in anything, and I will never solicit them any more, or take any more pains to oblige them, than to give them my support, such as it is, while I remain in place, which, if I had acted prudently, I might have quitted, without inconvenience, for it is not pleasant to me to act with people whom I do not like. I hope to God that I shall hear from you today; I shall be *au désespoir*, if I do not.

Caroline Fox is going from her oil-shop to live at Bedford House; so far, so good. Ossory's conduct about her seems an odd one, for he is authorised to do most, and for what reason I know not, does nothing, and Lady O[ssory], not being pleased at her not being committed to her care, has made it disagreeable to everybody else. But now I hope that the poor girl will be happy—her situation is a creditable one at least—and whatever ridicules her Grace may have, I give her credit for her care of those whom she chooses to protect; *à cet egard, elle a du merite.* Now I will have done, till I hear from you. My respects to Lady Carlisle and my love to my dear Caroline and to little Louisa. Mie Mie intends to thank C[aroline] for her letter, and desires to be remembered to her most kindly. My compliments to Doctor E[kins], to Emily, and to Eden. God bless you, and keep you from the gout, and may some accident or other produce a speedier return hither than I expect that I may (*sic—end of a sheet*).

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Feb. 27, Tuesday.—I have received no comfort or pleasure for some days, but what I had last night by a letter from Mrs. Sowerby to Lady Gower, and which Lady Gower was so good as to send to me.

I find by that that the children at Trentham are well, and that Charlotte is so altered for the better as to be *méconnoissable*. But of you and of Caroline, Lady C., Louise, I know nothing. The weather has been so wet that I have not proposed to Storer his visit to George, of which I shall profit, for my own pleasure. I long to see him.

We were in the House of Commons last night till half [an] hour past twelve. The majority of our side against the second reading of Burke's Bill, and in fact, by a following question of rejecting it, was of 43, if I mistook not. I was not in the House to hear anybody speak a syllable, nor do I ever wish it. I believe there is no actor upon the stage of either theatre who, repeating what the author has wrote, does not, at the same time, recite his own private sentiments oftener, than our pantomimes in Parliament.

The chief subject of C. Fox's harangue yesterday was an *éloge* upon economy, and Jack Townshend, who spoke for the second time, rehearsed these maxims of his preceptor. Jack did better than the time before, but was so eclipsed by Mr. W. Pitt, that it appeared to impartial

people but an indifferent performance. This young man, Mr. Pitt, gained an universal applause. I heard Lord N[orth] say it was the best first speech of a young man that he had ever heard. It was a very crowded House, but there were there neither Mr. Dunning, Mr. Barry, or General Burgoyne. This was matter of speculation.

The P[rince] of W[ales] is said to have a kind of carbuncle. Mr. Delmé told me that Lady B[etty] had heard from her mother,* and that she talked of being here in April. Indeed I see no feasibility in any other scheme, although many would to her passions appear more eligible. Lord Althrop is to be married before the 10th of March—that is all that Lady Lucan would tell me. I hear of no more news. The Emperor is expected or it is hoped will assist us, at least with his mediation. There is all my foreign politics. The regaining America or having any kind of peace from that quarter is with me *à perte de vué*.

I wish the spring was a little advanced that I might walk out, for nothing but George can make me stir out of my room, except in fine weather, and I have a hundred places to call at. I do not tease you, or ever will, about writing, but pray get some one person in your allegiance to write to me for you. I want neither anecdotes, or sentiments, or politics, but I want to know frequently how you all do. The Attorney General told me last night that there was no expecting an account of you but from me; *j'eus honte de le détromper*. I am supposed to have letters constantly from my Lord Lieutenant, and I give myself so much air at least as not to deny it.

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, Feb. 28.—I have not wrote to you so often as perhaps I ought to do, and as I really wish, because in regard to everything that passes on this side the water at present, the newspaper is a very authentic chronicle. The debates in Parliament are not frequent, and when they do happen Mr. Woodfall reports them very much at large, and almost always faithfully. In regard to the *chronique scandaleuse*, there is no occasion for any report, as the Sessions seems a maiden one. These two heads, which Selwyn does not in general interfere with, I should have thought fell under my department, and I should certainly [have] told you all I knew but for the reasons which I have given. I take it for granted Selwyn writes to you principally about Lord Morpeth, as I perceive he is in general uppermost in his thoughts, and the subject on which he converses *le plus volontiers avec moi. Le seul bien qui nous reste, &c.*

We had a debate on Monday, when Mr. Pitt for the first time made such a speech, that it excited the admiration very justly of every man in the House. Except he had foreseen the particular species of nonsense which Lord Nugent was to utter, his speech could not be prepared; it was delivered without any kind of improper assurance, but with the exact proper self-possession which ought to accompany a speaker. There was not a word or a look which one would have wished to correct. This, I believe, in general was the universal sense of all those who heard him, and exactly the effect which his speech had on me, at the time I heard it.

Mr. Sheridan did very well; he said a very [few] words in answer to Mr. Courtenay, each word being exactly placed where it ought to be—*quasi tesseratâ emblemate*—as if he had studied them a week beforehand,

* The Countess Dowager of Carlisle.

and had read them instead of speaking them. His harvest at the Opera House is likely to be very successful, for his Saturdays and Tuesdays are so full, that he is going even to attempt the Thursdays. Vestris' Ballet people think too long. "It is impossible that an English audience "should be satisfied. They don't know when they have got a good "spectacle, and think that finding fault is the only way to pass for judges." Such are the words of his Honour, the prophet Brudenell. John St. John says that the Baccelli is thrown away in the part of Nannette; *au lieu d'être danseuse, elle n'est que la Colombine.* This he takes from the Baccelli, and the Duke of Dorset. John acts a strange underpart at the theatre. Mademoiselle Baccelli's runner is not so honourable an employment as being Lord North's.

Selwyn lost within this week a large sum of money. He was so *larmoyant* the other morning, that I did not dare to ask him any questions about it. Delmé has sold all his hunters, and sold them at very extraordinary prices; his hounds too sold excessively well; it was fortunate at all events to part with them, but the people who bought them, according to all accounts, were as mad as he had been in keeping them.

Before I finish my letter, which ought to be in this sheet of paper—*ne longo sermone morer* a Lord Lieutenant, whose hands are full of more important business than anything he can attend to from me—I ought to say something about *mes affaires* with Lord North; but, though there are six weeks passed since the application has been made, I know no more than I did at the moment it was made. I wished to have known your opinion, whether I had acted properly in writing to him. As to teasing, and playing Crawford with him when I see him at an assembly, it is really impossible to do it. . . . If I had know how disagreeable it was to ask a favour of Lord North, I really believe nothing would have persuaded me to apply to him. . . . Nobody knew how to manage, I believe, Lord North better than you did, and therefore I should think, though you might do more if you were upon the spot, yet you are not so far removed from our political hemisphere, as to have perfectly lost your influence. . . .

In Monday night's debate neither Dunning [n]or Barry was in the House; that looks very like a measure; it is impossible that should be mere accident. Opposition were without several of their plumpers that evening, either from their being ill or their being out of town. Lord Robert and Lord Edward for instance were ill; Ned Foley and his brother-in-law, out of town; Lord Howe and Doily not in the House, with more that do not occur to me. Burke acted with his usual bad judgment in not letting Sir Fletcher Norton speak before him, but rather pressing his privilege of bringing in the Bill, to speak before him; consequently Sir Fletcher did not speak at all. It was a debate of young members entirely. Neither Charles Fox or Lord N[orth] spoke. There is a Select Committee upon East India affairs sitting, at which there is a great deal of curious evidence given relating to the manners, customs, and religion of the Gentoos. I was there one morning, and was very much entertained with the accounts of the witnesses. A Brammin, who is now in England, was examined on Monday. *Voici, milord, assez de détails.*

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, March 1.—Yesterday, after I had written you a very long letter, I received yours, but not till it was too late to answer it. As you

desire it, of course I take the first opportunity of letting you know my resolution concerning the offer which you are so good as to make me; though perhaps this is as much a matter of form as the letter was, in which you made it to me. . . . I take it for granted that you are the more induced to make me this offer at present from your knowing what has happened lately in Jamaica, and therefore think that my finances require some immediate aid. In this case, I ought and I do feel doubly obliged to you. . . . I hope you will forgive me for doing what I do with the greatest difficulty, which is, declining any proposal which you are so good as to make me. The salary is not a very great one, but were it ever so considerable, the opportunity I should have of living more with you than I shall do for some time to come, would be the great, and if you will believe me, the only inducement, that could make me consent to quit England. It is true that my affairs are not in a very prosperous situation, but I hope still, that it is not the rigid lore [law ?] of adversity that I am to bear. Her milder influence perhaps I can withstand; even though Lord North reject my application, or neglect the good-natured interference of those friends, who, as you think, have no small weight in Downing Street. With regard to Delmé's having disappointed you respecting the payment of the money stipulated, I protest I was entirely ignorant of it, but for God's sake do not let me proceed one step further in my application to Lord North, if the object of my pursuit clashes in the most distant manner with your interest. I never solicited you to ask this appointment for me originally, and I am very ready to forego it, even though it were proposed to me by Lord North, had you the slighest objection to it, or did it not in every point square with your views and designs. It is undoubtedly true that having served Government fairly and honestly, as far as a *petit monsieur* could, one rather feels a right, for more reasons than merely interested ones, to share, as Burke says, the loaves and fishes; but I am sure I shall never dream about my pretensions, either from yours or any other person's application, if my success be attended with the suspicion or shadow of the smallest inconvenience to you.

Vivitur parvo bene cui—
Nec leves somnos timor aut Cupido
Sordidus aufert.

I beg you will forgive me *si je me console avec le reste de mes humanités;* words of this sort are like charms, and very often prove good remedies when everything else fails.

What could induce Gregg to give me the reason he did for postponing my election? An ostensible reason should always have some pretension to common sense, otherwise it generally does more mischief than good. He might have saved me a great deal of trouble and vexation, if he had desired me to defer all thoughts of the Board of Trade for the present, without stating any reason at all. In that case, one supposes some material ground of objection, no matter what, and one desists; but having urged what in my mind was no objection whatever, or at any rate a very trivial one, I proceed pell-mell, and supposing that I had overcome all difficulties, even after my stone has touched the summit of the hill, it comes tumbling down upon me, and I have my work to begin again, because Mr. Gregg won't flatly tell me beforehand to desist, and cannot pass off upon me a nonsensical reason for a good substantial one. Respecting Delmé himself, *non est, in quo differamus*; I am surprised at nothing of that sort that he does, but I flatter myself I can apply something like a remedy; at least, as I run all the risk, I think I have a right to undertake the patient, especially as I shall be the sufferer in not completing the cure. . . .

W. Fawkener to Lord Carlisle.

1781, March 2, South Street.—George Selwyn, I know, has told you so regularly everything that has happened since you have been in Ireland, that to mention a word of news would only be to tire you with repetitions. Opposition have hitherto had no reason to be pleased with the events of this Session, or the general appearance of things; they were, I understand, very much disappointed in their Division on Charles's motion relative to Sir Hugh Pallisar, and particularly hurt and offended at Johnstone's speech, which had the greatest effect: Burke renounced all friendship with him in the House, and Charles says he will never speak to him again.

They have, however, since comforted themselves a little with his remonstrance against Lord Sandwich to Lord Hillsborough: they say he should either be immediately removed from the command of his expedition, or Lord Sandwich from the Admiralty. You know all the circumstances of the thing a great deal better than I do, but I understand it is not near so irregular as it appears, and that the only person to blame is Captain Hawker of the Hero, and he not much.

Burke's Bill was thrown out by a greater majority than Lord North expected a few days before: he thought Opposition would have been about 212, and Government about 230. I am very glad it was not so near a thing. Neither Dunning nor Barré were there. Lord North told somebody in Opposition he supposed they had paired off with each other. I have not heard their absence accounted for, but I dined a few days ago at Lord Shelburne's, and his conversation, though we had very little politics, I did not think, was that of a man coming about; to be sure that does not prove much.

There were twenty-nine sail of the line at Spithead, with their top sails loose, the day before yesterday, but the wind is still directly against them; it is lucky they were not in the Channel on Tuesday. I wish to God Gibraltar was well relieved, and the fleet at home again. If the French mean, as it is supposed they do, to send a great force to the West Indies, it is probable they will not be diverted from their object; but if they should think proper to change their plan, I don't see what there will be to prevent their coming to Spithead. I am aware of the ridicule of talking politics to you, but it becomes so interesting a subject, it is hardly possible to avoid it.

I think Sir Joseph Yorke's success at Vienna will depend in some degree on Admiral Darby's success at Gibraltar. Don Joseph Solano's storm will not have contributed to put the Spaniards in good humour with the war. Lady Jersey, I find, has written to you. . . .

I hear the Duke of Devonshire is to bring Hare into Parliament* as soon as Walsingham's loss or death is certain. I am very glad of it, but if you should happen not to have heard it before, pray don't mention it, as I believe it is a sort of secret. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1781, March 5, Monday night, Cleveland Court.—Lord Gower told me today, that it was requisite that he, Gregg, and I should meet about some business, but he did not explain the particular circumstances of it. The P[rince] is better today; he has not been out of his apartment. People in great numbers resort to enquire after him. The Stocks rose, as you will know on Saturday, amazingly, on the very first prospect or possibility of an accommodation, and mine was 6½ per cent. But that is of no immediate use to me. I have no money but that which

* James Hare became M.P. for Knaresborough 3rd July 1781. He had previously sat for Stockbridge, 1772–4, being then described as of St. James's Street.

I have in trust, and a very sacred one it is too; and I cannot speculate with it, or by selling out, and then buying in, I might perhaps have a great addition to the present nominal capital. Sir J. York is not gone, but is setting out. It is so much to the good, that the Empress of Russia is not our *declared* enemy; the Emperor, I have no doubt, is our friend.

I am very glad that I am to see Ekins next week, or it may be this. I have many questions to ask him. I have been a long time without hearing from you. I hope more from this country house. I shall have no councils, drawing rooms, and levees to interfere with me. My respects to Lady C[arlisle] and my love to the children. Have you thought of Dr. Deckar's proposal of resigning 500*l.* in England, for 800*l.* in Ireland? Does it suit with your scheme for Emily [Emly]? I shall write again as soon as I have seen George. Mr. Raikes will not complain that I have interrupted him; I have not seen him since I was at the school with Lord and Lady Gower. Lord Trentham wants to go from Bruxelles to Paris, but Lord G[ower] does not seem to like it. *Il s'ennuye, et je ne m'en étonne pas.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, March 9?] Friday, 4 o'clock.—I received your last by the post yesterday. I had seen Ekins an hour before. . . . But as yet I know no more than that you are all well, and go on well &c.; so everybody indeed tells me, who desires to say what is agreeable to me; and those who are desirous to find fault with you, if any such there are, do at least suppress their malignity before me.

I can give very easy credit to all this, because I know *de science certaine et par une assez longue expérience*, that both you and Lady C[arlisle] are *faits pour bien représenter. On se loue de votre conduite vis-à-vis du public*, and you speak in this letter so much in earnest in respect to your domestic management, that *je suis rassuré pour le présent sur ce qui me remplit de crainte de ce qui peut être la suite de tant de magnificence.*

I was this morning at Lord Lucan's. They told me that no one ever pleased so much as Lady C[arlisle]. They doted upon her, Lord Lucan said. I hope that my dear little Caroline comes in for her share of admiration.

The new married couple stay at Wimbledon till Wednesday, and then come to town to be presented; an excessive fond couple; she looks quite *renduë*, and Wimbledon House has shook as in a hurricane. Lord Northington has given 7,000*l.* for your house in St. James's Place. I was to have gone there today to see what should be done with the small pictures in Lady C[arlisle's] dressing-room; so I told Bory, but my heart misgave me. I could not go into St. James's Place the other day to make my wedding visits, *sans m'attrister.*

The Teniers picture was brought today to my house, and great care shall be taken of it. It was examined when it came into my room, to see with what defects it came. The frame does not fit it very well, and in the very corner, but almost undiscernible, there is a small crack, that is not of the least consequence, for it is only close to the name of the painter, and was there probably when you bought it. I hear that a great deal of dirt was on the pictures when they were taken down.

I dined yesterday at the Duke of Argyll's. The Duchess had a mind to have gone this morning to see George, but as I was there the other day, and am to go again with Dr. Ekins, so I desired for that reason it might be deferred. Dr. Ekins and I shall go on Sunday.

There is great news today concerning Arnold, who has taken cannon, destroyed iron foundries, and played the devil with the Rebel army, and Lord Cornwallis is making a successful progress, but I have as yet had no opportunity of knowing particulars.

Young Crewe has married a woman in Jamaica who has about 700*l.* a year, and news came of it, when Lady Bridget expected letters from him whom she supposed was to be her *futur*, and who she hoped might be himself arrived. She felt mortified at first, but was recovered enough to go last night to the Opera with Mrs. Crewe.

The Duchess of Argyll looks but poorly; *elle viellit, et elle paroit avoir du chagrin.* She goes to Spa to meet Lady Derby in the summer. The Duke and she are not upon speaking terms.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] March 10, Saturday, 4 o'clock.—I went last night to Lady Melbourn's, where, as soon as I entered the room, I met [heard ?] from Boothby the catastrophe of my old friend Lavie. Hare was going to write to you about it, but was called away to Hazard, as Boothby said. . . .

I met Gregg this morning at Lord Gower's, who will tell you what was determined as to the mines. Gilbert the grey-headed was there. I then went with Gregg to St. James's Place. The pictures were taken down. I am afraid of the fate of them, and shall endeavour to secure from damage a few of the best of them, of which a catalogue will be taken. If all those Ministers at full length had not been made heirlooms, I could have sent them to City Halls and Vestry Rooms, and I should have been able to have lodged all your pictures. They looked in a very indifferent condition when they were down, and the whole house had to me such a *triste* appearance, that I had not spirits to stay in it.

Tonight I have Mrs. Archbishop's box at the Opera, for Mie Mie and the two Miss Selwyns, and we are going there, that she may see Vestris dance. The P[rince] and the young men ride in the Hyde Park of a morning like madmen. Young St. Leger and a gentleman, whose name I know not, rode against one another today with such violence, that one of them is thought to be mortally wounded. St. Leger is the least hurt. Lady M[eilbourn's] assembly was very full and brilliant.

Everybody tells me that no Lord Lieutenant ever succeeded so well as you have done hitherto, and as much credit is given you for your public conduct, as you could desire. It cannot but give me infinite pleasure the hearing this from so many hands. But the loss of you all is not less sensibly felt. I cannot supply it to my satisfaction, and that is the cause that I give it up, and hardly go anywhere but to White's. Brooks['s] I have cut for some time; the politics, as well as other things, make me quite sick of them.

Lord Trentham is in Paris; he did not wait for his father's consent to go there. Franklin is superseded; Laurence's son is in his place. The Banker is broke at Paris where the Congress had their money, which is thought an essential event. The ruin of that country seems more certain than our success, which ought to be the natural effect of it. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] March 12, Monday m[orning], Cleveland Court.—Dr. Ekins, Storer, and I went yesterday about noon to see George. . . . Mr.

Raikes continues to commend him in every particular, but the universal good-will of the other boys towards him is to me the least suspected *éloge* of any, and of his improvement the marks will be very evident; we stayed there in the garden about an hour, the finest morning I ever saw.

I dined at Ellis's, a large party of men and women, Digbys, Pentons, and Batemans, &c. I went and supped at White's; the additional list, which makes the number of 300 complete, is filled up. Storer is one. We have a pretty group of Papists—Lord Petres at the head of them—some Papists reformed, and one Jew. A club that used to be quite intolerable is now become tolerating and agreeable, and Scotchmen are naturalised and received with great good humour. The people are civil, not one word of party, no personal reflections, and no gaming, except a little occasional *trente-quarante* for a few guineas just before supper between Lord Carmarthaen, the Duke of Dorset, and Lord Hinchinbroke. If you ask me, *ipse quid audes?* I may say, not [at?] all. I have relinquished Brooks's to avoid it.

Dr. Warner dined with Gregg on Saturday to settle Lady D[owager] C[arlisle's] business, and the time of his going. He dines with me tomorrow. I have given Bory a list of the pictures which I think it would be safest to have in my house, and those are the best and the most liable to spoil. These will be in my principal apartment, and always under my eye, and only dusted with a soft cloth. I shall give Gregg a catalogue, I shall send one to you, and I shall keep one myself, in part of a book, and in the other part a catalogue of my own pictures, which, in case of my death, I should consign to your care and disposal. So of what you leave behind you I am executor for (*sic*), and these are the principal things. I look upon George as occasionally a *dépôt, et des plus précieux; cela n'est pas à douter.* I shall have Bob for my house-dog; some valuable pictures; and I will endeavour to help Bory to a place, and the porter, if he is not to go to Ireland. My servant William, that *lourdaut*, whom you must have seen, is grown so intolerable by being so often drunk, that I am obliged to dismiss him.

I can tell you no more than I did in my last of Lavie. He has finished his *carrière uniformément*; he has distressed his family, and furnished amusement by the circumstances of his exit to all who happen to have heard of him.

I was with Mie Mie at the Opera on Saturday; I had Mrs. Cornwallis's box. Old Vestris's *menuet de la Cour* was the only part of the entertainment which I was capable of admiring. I have figured old Louis, who piqued himself much upon his *menuet*, and was, as somebody called him, truly *un Roi de Théatre*, to have danced in the same style, and that imagination, well or ill founded, pleased me. The other Vestris skipped about wonderfully, like a gig, but did not interest me to a great degree. Mie Mie was *enchantée*, and so I was satisfied. I intend to treat her with one more Opera before the close of them, for she prefers them to a play, but which she has however never seen, except at Brighthelmstone, when she could have no idea of it. . . .

Yesterday as we passed by the Zar's* we stopped, and Dr. Ekins and Storer left word that they desired to dine there. March intended the same thing, but if he did or not I cannot tell. This morning I had a rendezvous at St. James's with Miss Gunning. I renewed my addresses to her at Lady Meilbourn's on Friday night. I was in hopes that her Ladyship, having been so good as to put me, herself, in mind of the thirty-six guineas (*fort inutilement*), would have paid them to me then, but *point du tout;* however, as the etiquette is not to forget, I do not look

* Apparently Peter Delmé; *see* p. 477.

upon them as desperate; *ce qui est differé n'est pas perdu*, but *ce qui est oublié, l'est pour toujours.* I hate to go to that house for one thing, and that is because it is the object of envy to I do not know how many women, who are always recording what I was supposed to say upon its being built. You must have heard of that foolish pun of my Lord Chesterfield's, which he was pleased to make me the author of. They are two very good-humoured people, and I would not disoblige them; besides that reflections upon the *origine* of families is [are] to my understanding, of all others, the most detestable, as the lowest. Today we are to have the Taxes; what, I do not yet know. If I can avoid the tax of attendance, I shall dine at Lord Coventry's.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] March 13, Tuesday night, White's.—I am come here to partake of the joy which is more prevalent in this house than in many others on the occasion of the news received today of Rodney's success in the taking St. Eustatia, &c. I need not enter with you into particulars of what you will be so much more authentically and officially informed, probably, as soon as this can reach you. I dined today at home; my company were Gregg, Warner, and Fawkner. Storer, the two St. Johns, &c., dined at Lord North's. . . .

J. St. John intends to remove his brother to London, and to take himself possession of the house at Windsor which Bully now occupies. I am persuaded that John thinks to cultivate with his neighbour the King, or with his eldest son, by these means, a closer connection.

Rodney's wealth will be immense, and the whole in some measure owing to the succour which the Maréchal Biron afforded him. The most immediate cause of Lavie's death seemed to have been his vexation, the day on which it happened, for having lost the Borough of Lime. He flattered himself with having, in a certain degree, appropriated [it] to himself. Gregg did not seem to know in what circumstances he died in (*sic*), but suspected that they were bad.

Lord Northington purchases the lustre, but little besides. I was employed this whole morning almost with one of Linnell's men, in arranging and hanging up in my apartment the pictures which I have of yours. They were very well disposed of, and will be taken great care of. I shall begin to set about to make a catalogue of them tomorrow for my own use, distinguishing them from my own, and you will have a copy of the same, about the time of your return. If I live to that period I shall propose that the frames of yours may be gilded, as mine will then be, anew. The pictures I have are the Garrick of Soffani,* the Teniers, the two Wovermans, the Lemoin, and the Pâtel, with the portrait of the Maréchal de Meilleraye, besides the miniatures, so that I have the flower of your collection; the rest will not be so liable to be spoiled, if they are not taken the same care of.

Bob will not as yet be domesticated with me. He returns home by the first opportunity. I intend to invite [him] to dinner, by way of ingratiating myself with him. I have a footman of Lady Holland's in William's room; he has an honest appearance. The other grew intolerable, and must be undone; there is no helping those who will not be helped. Your porter says that he is to go to Ireland.

I have obtained of my neighbour Lord Peterborough, through Lord Deerhurst's means, to have the word *Square* erased, and the word *Court*

* John Zoffany, R.A.

substituted in its room; so now the old reading is completely restored, and no schism in the Court. I believe it is the utmost extent of my credit and interest.

Adieu, my dear Lord; my respects to Lady Carlisle, my hearty love to the children, and my compliments to Crowl and Emily. I hope that Lady Carlisle has said something for me to Lady L. Connolly. *Rappellez moi de tems en tems au souvenir de la petite Louise.* Caroline will not forget me, I am sure, and perhaps not the other two.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] March 15, Thursday, Cleveland Court.—I have very little reason for sitting down to write to you just now, except that it gives me pleasure so to do. I am now fully instructed that one day in regard to the post is as good as another. March has sent me word that he will dine here, and Storer meets him; but although I have assured him that he must absolutely come at six precisely, yet I take it for granted that my dinner will be half over before he comes, for he takes today a waiting for the Duke of Roxburgh, and I see that there is [a] prodigious Court; I suppose that the pretext is the last Dutch news, which everybody does not call a misfortune.

Lord and Lady Althorpe are gone to be presented. Lord Lucan was sent for in a great hurry, because it was thought that his son was dying in France on the road home; he has the measles, but [is] in no danger, as Lady Lucan has sent me word. Lady Pembroke goes to Court, I believe with Lady Althorpe. Lady Ossory does not come to town till after the Easter holidays.

Your pictures, that is, all which I shall take under my care, are not [now?] hung up and arranged, and my apartment with its borrowed plumes has a very fine appearance, and George, if he comes here, will find his room also well adorned with some of the smaller pictures. You shall have the catalogue and disposition of them in a few days.

Charles was so ill yesterday as not to be able to attend the House, but how he is today I know not.

March and his Captain, little Thomas, dined here, and Storer, March, and Thomas went soon to the play, one in attendance on the King, and the other on the Prince. The History of the Irish Duties will be sent to you by this mail, and a letter from March to Eden, which he gave me to seal and frank. The King told me that he believed that I had not passed a pleasant winter. He thought then of one loss, and I have had more, and what I do not find that I am likely to recover for four years to come; and when I do, what shall I have to recover besides? What is irrecoverable, every year in which it was possible that life should be agreeable. *Je veillis à cette heure, mais alors ce sera la caducité.*

The eruption on the P[rince's] face, as the[y] tell me, is still dreadful to behold. I had last night a very agreeable conversation with one of my oldest acquaintance[s], Sir J. Yorke. Bory has just been with me, and has sent a few useful things to my house in Chest[erfield] Street, and intends, when that in St. James's Place is given up, to remove thither himself, and there he will be ready at [to] assist Lady C[arlisle, Dowager,] if she comes. . . .

There were 14 at Lord North's dinner, and they stayed till ten at night. We are to have East India business, which will prolong the Session, or it would have been up at Easter. Storer says that he likes the *ton de société* at White's better a greater (*sic*) deal than that he has been used to, and last night he stayed and played at whist till past 12. I was much pressed by Lord Weymouth and others to make a hazard

table, but I peremptorily refused it. I hope in God that we shal divert ourselves enough without it.

Emily wrote me one letter, and then he plants me; pray, my dear Lord, use your authority with me [him?]. I want to have sent me a Dublin Journal and a Castle Journal. I dreamed that I was there last night; my imagination had made the finest apartments I ever beheld, to which perhaps was added ten times more parade than exists. *Les objets grossissent de loin, cela est sur.* Lord R[obert] Spencer was today at Court; he has been for some days at Salt Hill. Ekins is out of town, but returns on Saturday. I hope that I shall see more of him. I have made as yet but a very little progress in my interrogatories. He has persuaded himself that you will live on your Irish revenue; I pray God that you may. . . .

I hope that the bright day of your administration will not be clouded when the Parliament meets, but I dread the meeting of it on your account. However, you are prepared, I doubt not, to meet all kinds of solicitation, venality, and at last ingratitude. These are as certain taxes as those you will now hear of, but it is certain that at this moment all the prognostics are in your favour. March was the whole morning of yesterday riding with the King; I doubt not but he passed you off to him, as he does to everybody else.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle].

[1781, March] 17, Saturday, 2 o'clock.—. . . My eyes will not suffer me to write more this morning. I am glad that Lady Carlisle does not object to George's coming to me. I was afraid, from what Lady Gower said, that she would. I shall go to fetch him next Thursday three weeks—that will be the 5th April—and take Mr. Raikes's directions about his return.

I dined yesterday at Lord Ashburnham's. I saw in his room a Teniers of the size of yours—the same subject; he thinks his own the best, but (as March would say) the gentleman thinks so. It may be so. *Je ne sais pas faire la comparaison, sans être connoisseur.* But he assures me that he gave but fifty guineas for it at most; *voilà ce qui m'enrage. Hélas! si nous avions dans notre coffre fort, tout l'argent que nous avons payé de trop, ou jetté par la fenêtre, nous serions bien riches tous les deux, chacun suivant son état.*

On 8vo paper.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] March 24, Saturday.—. . . Mr. Potts has just left me. I have been freer from pain these last 29 [or 24?] hours. I am now to bath[e] three times a week, take opiate going to bed for some nights, and begin a course of bark. I take nothing after my coffee, besides, except Orgeat. I have quite relinquished *nasty Brooks's*, as Lady C[arlisle] calls it. I am with the sexagenary of White's, *et de cette manière je passe le tems assez tranquillement.*

12 o'clock.—Here comes a letter from George for Lady C[arlisle], brought to me by a gardener of Mr. Raikes, under his cover. Lord Deerhurst has sent a formal proposal of marriage by Lord Ligonier to Lady something Powis—Lord Powis's sister, who, to save appearance of repulse, has returned for answer that she will take three or four days to consider of it. This I have from Williams. He and his father have constant altercations upon this subject. Lord Cov[entry]

does not object to the plan of marriage, but says it is not practicable, on account of circumstances. I shall hear nothing of the matter from the parties themselves. *Ce n'est pas mon affaire, et je ne m'en mêlerai pas, aux signes de perdre les bonne graces de ce belle-mère.* Lady M'Cartney has wrote to me to hire my house*; but one thing I am resolved upon is, not to let it to an acquaintance. I shall keep it in its present state till these things at Avignon† are determined upon.

I dine today at the Bishop of Salisbury's, and tomorrow at Lord Lisbourne's. I was to have gone for a day with Lady Fitzw[illiam] to Roehampton, if these damned spasmodic complaints *ne m'étoient pas survenus.* However, Potts assures me that I shall be well again, but that I must take more care of myself. *Je le crois.* I have a great mind, as you may imagine, to see you again, and Lady C[arlisle] and Caroline, and all of you, and I have *d'autres raisons qui m'attachent au monde, et je n'en suis pas dégoûté parce qu'il est comme il a toujours été, et comme il sera à toute éternité.* I am very angry with Emily, that he will not write to me; is he afraid that his style is not good, or of what? . . . The play at Brooks's is exorbitant, as I hear; Grady and Sir Godfrey Whistler and the General and Admiral are at the head of it. Charles looks wretchedly, as I am told, but I have scarce seen him. Richard‡ is in high cash, and that is all I know of that infernal house. Adieu; my respects to Lady Carlisle, and my most hearty love to the children. My best compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Eden, and to Crowle, and pray rub Mr. Dean Emily's ears till he writes to me.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1781, March 26, Monday, 3 o'clock p.m., Cleveland Court.—. . . The D[uke] of Q[ueensberry] is going this afternoon out of town with the Duke of Dorset and Lord Ailsford. It is uncertain if I shall see him before he goes, but when I do see him I shall communicate to him what you have said upon his business, the nature of which I am ignorant of.

Today we have a cursed tiresome debate in the House of Commons upon a motion to be made by that troublesome puppy, G. Bing. It concerns the loan, and the list, and who were refused, &c., about all which he does not care one groat; he means to torment, and appear of consequence; he is a horrid jackanapes in my mind.

Now for a story against myself. On my return home I called in at White's, and in a minute or two afterwards Lord Loughborough came with the Duke of Dorset, I believe the first time since his admittance. I would be extraordinarily civil, and so immediately told him that I hoped Lady Loughborough was well. I do really hope so, now that I know that she is dead. But the devil a word did [I] hear of her since he was at your house in St. James's Street. He stared at me, as a child would have done at an Iroquois, and the Duke of Dorset seemed *tout confus; point de reponse à ma question intéressante, et honnête.* I felt as if I looked like an oaf, but how I appeared God knows. I turned the discourse, as you may suppose. He asked me a much more proper question, which was, when I had heard from you. *Dieu merci, je puis lui en rendre un compte bien différent, sur ce qui vous regarde.* When shall I leave off this *étourderie?*

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* In Chesterfield Street.

† The affairs of the Countess Dowager.

‡ Fitzpatrick.

Potts has just left me. He dined yesterday at his daughter's, Mrs. Fry's; she lives at the great house near the school at Neasdon; Mrs. Raikes came to make Mrs. Fry a visit on her coming into the country, and she brought George with her, and he was introduced to some young ladies there. Mr. Potts told me that he was exceedingly well. It is with great pleasure that we have see[n] the holidays approaching, and it adds much to my happiness that you and Lady Carlisle assure me of your being satisfied about his being with us.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] April 24, Tuesday noon, 1 o'clock.—. . . . .

P.S. Tuesday afternoon, 3 o'clock.—. . . Vary has just dropped in upon me, and says that news is come from Arthburnot (*sic*), that there has been a skirmish with the Fr[ench] Adm[iral], and it was a kind of drawn battle; that General Phillips has joined Arnold with 2,000 men. He came to ask after George; *il ne sçait pas encore, à quel point le monde s'intéresse pour lui.* My best and most affectionate respects to Lady Carlisle, and my love to Caroline, and to her sisters, not forgetting Louisa, *chi gia non sovra di me.*

Two balls! very fine, Caroline. Mie Mie will have seen but one, and that is Mr. Wills's annual ball. But we are very well feathered for that, *à la Vestris.* I had not the ordering so much ornament, and when it is over, and we have had our diversion, I shall read a lecture upon heads, which I wish not to be filled with so many thoughts about dress. But she coaxed Mrs. Webb into all this *à mon insçu*, and then I cannot be Mr. Killjoy; so *pour le moment* I seem to approve of it.

We have been at one opera, and instead of other spectacles, I propose to go for the first part of the evening to Ranelagh, *quand la presse n'y sera pas.* Lady Craufurd's new chair is, as Sir C. Williams said of Dicky's, the charming'st thing in town, *et les deux laquais qui la précèdent attirent les yeux de tous les envieux et envieuses.*

Sir Alexander comes and dines here with March, and is as easy as ever was Sir Jos. Vanheck,* and lives with his friends now upon the same foot as before this acquisition of honour. I am told that you have a receipt as Lord Lieutenant to make knights yourself. But I suppose if you intend me such an honour I must come and fetch it. I suppose you do everything that is Royal except touching for the Evil, which would be the most useful *fleuron* of the Crown, if it was effectual.

Storer was out of spirits yesterday at dinner, and I found out afterwards that he had been losing, like a simple boy, his money at Charles's and Richard's damned Pharo bank, which swallows up everybody's cash that comes to Brooks's, as I am told. I suppose that the bank is supported, if such a thing wanted support, by Brooks himself and your friend Jack Manners. It is a creditable way of living, I must own; and it would be well if by robbing some you might pay others, only that *ce qui est acquis et* [*est?*] *jetté par la fenêtre, et si l'on paye, on ne s'acquitte pas.*

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, April 27, Portugal Street.—I have not wrote to you for some time. My silence has been occasioned first by my attention being

* Sir Joshua Vanneck; *see* Jesse, IV. 218.

totally employed in a Committee, and secondly, because, while Lord Morpeth was ill, it was impossible to write you, without mentioning the danger in which he was, and that was a dreadful task for any friend of yours to do, especially as I knew that you had regular accounts every day from Selwyn. . . . His physicians have taken leave, and he goes tomorrow to Salt Hill. The anxiety which Selwyn and Ekins have felt is not to be described. . . .

Amongst other fortunate events, I am glad to find that all Ekins' negotiations are likely to be settled, nay, are so, I should have said, to his satisfaction. He was so excessively uneasy on account of the *tracasserie* which this negotiation had brought on, that I was very much afraid that it might have had very serious effects upon his health; but one morning he came with great joy in his countenance to tell me that the cloud was dispersed, and that for the future Dr. Berkely was to let him sleep in peace and quietness.

As to my own affairs, I see no change in their aspect. I have not heard one syllable from Lord North. *Bis dat, qui citò dat*, is not a proverb which influences his conduct. His speed, if he has any, is of the Onslow kind, and therefore, I suppose, I must have recourse to the old remedy of patience. I cannot help feeling sometimes a spark of anger at his treatment, and wish it was in the power of so little a gentleman as myself to have some revenge. John St. John says I have no right whatever to any favour from Government but from Lord North's friendship and good-will to me: considering the matter as a Smithfield bargain, he says, Lord Carlisle is amply recompensed for the members of Parliament he has or does bring in. It may be handsome to tell Lord North that you should be flattered by an appointment *quelconque* as a mark of his friendship; but I should be sorry to trust to that alone. If a Parliamentary right was not mixed in my claim, I would not give much for my chance. So much for me.

You want to know more, what the rest of the world are about. The East Indies is the grand object, and that is a consideration which makes everybody put on a long face and a melancholy countenance. Hyder Ally is as much dreaded as General Washington. The East India affairs were to have been brought into the House three or four days ago, but the Directors and Lord North have not as yet struck the bargain, and we are waiting for that event before the business is submitted to Parliament. There is nothing else remaining to be done this Sessions.

During this last week we have fancied that there is a storm brewing in the North. Last Sunday neither the Russian [n]or Imperial Minister was at Court. This event gives rise to speculation not of the most favourable sort for us. Sir Jos[eph] Yorke, too, having bought Cholmondely's house, makes one imagine he intends rather passing his summer at Roehampton than at Vienna.

Lord Cholmondely holds a (I do not know how to spell) Pharaoh bank; Charles and Richard, and I suppose Brookes and Co., have their share in another. Delmé keeps not quite so profitable a thing. He entertains Mrs. Smith, but, luckily for him, I believe she thinks that Sir John Lad is a better keeper, and therefore she gives him the preference; so I imagine the Czar (?) will abdicate shortly. As he had got rid of a pack of hounds, he imagined he might indulge himself in some other extravagancy, and so he took a mistress. He was excessively in love. Sir John Lad seems his greatest friend; he takes all his follies from him, and does all he can to hinder Peter from completely ruining himself.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] May 2, Wednesday noon, Salt Hill.—We have finished our first expedition to this place, and return after dinner to Brumpton; we stop, as when we came down, at Cranford Bridge for dinner, and so [shall] be there at Brumpton in the cool of the evening, or at the end of the afternoon. George is as well, I think, as he can be, but we have not yet forgot the state he was in so much, as to laid [lay] aside in any respect the caution which we have used during his convalescence. His spirits are very good; we have had the finest weather that ever was; and *j'ai passé quatre jours délicieusement*. In another part of the house there has been the Duke of Queensberry, Mr. and Mrs. Murray, Mr. M.'s brother, and the wife's sister, the Duke of Dorset, Lord Aylesford, and Sir Charlton Leighton; in another room, Lord and Lady Dartmouth. I have had to dine with me one day Sir G. Metham, and yesterday my nephew Jack Townshend, and Dr. Young, the Fellow. I have in our airings looked at houses to hire, in which both the landlords and their supposed tenant have been equally amused. I think that when George leaves me I shall go to Matson for a month or six weeks; and if I can form any project of passing to my satisfaction the rest of the summer, and till October, I may be able to save myself the expense of a country house. It will be a wiser and cheaper scheme than any new *embarras* of that sort. . . .

We drove by the playing fields when the boys were at cricket. I showed him the place where probably you intended to send him. Of all situations for a school, it is undoubtedly the best. The King hunted yesterday for the last time this season; he is to be at Montem, which is the day after his birthday. If George was not gone then, which I suppose that he will be, I should let him see the Montem, carrying him the day before to Lady Betty's.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] May 4, Friday night.—I am just come from Brumpton, where I have left George very well. . . . Storer has wrote to you; you suppose him to love you; I am confident that he does, or should not encourage you to believe it. His solicitude about George has been very great, proceeding partly from his love of the boy, and partly from his regard to you and Lady Carlisle.

Lady Craufurd carried Mie Mie last night with two of her own daughters to the play. It was her first play, and so she was entertained. It was *Dissipation*, and Robinson Crusoe, the farce; two such performances and such performers I never saw. It was, I believe, 12 years since I had been in the playhouse. The audience was worthy of the actors, and the actors of the audience.

The story which you will see the papers full of concerning Lord Onslow's second son is an abominable one, very disagreeable to the family. All the part of the world in which I live seem to acquit absolutely the young man, and the circumstances make the story highly improbable, but how it will end the Lord knows. I have not been out, or at leisure to enquire about it. There is one comfort in being old, and *quieur* (?), that one gets into fewer scrapes of any sort.

I beg, for your sake, that you will lay as much restraint as you can upon yourself, in regard to the gout. You tell me in your last that you found yourself not quite well the other day. *Je ne puis pas être payé de mauvaises raisons, ni de défaites d'aucune espèce; l'affection est trop*

clairvoyante pour cela. You have had another touch, as they call it, of the gout, *ni plus ni moins.*

Now I must talk to you of your affair with the Holland family. I met Woodhouse today, at Mrs. Robinson's; he assured me that these judgments would be delivered up, there was nothing to fear. He used to know, and does, I believe, now know, *le rafinement de cet hôtel*, and I can depend upon him; *ainsi rassurez-vous pour le présent.*

Charles and Richard's bank is *florissante; elle baisse et se lève, mais elle ne laisse pas d'être une ressource immense.* I see old creditors in Charles' parlour, as I go by, upon the strength of it, and I shall desire Gregg to move for a clearing, while there is a shilling left. Martindale was at the window today, and burst out into a laughter upon seeing me go by, who knew so well what carried him there.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, May 5,] Saturday night.—George still seems to be so much better this evening that I think him near landed, and I believe that Lady Gower intends to tell you by this post, and with truth, that we cannot keep pace with him, in recovering this epidemical disorder; but I believe that there are a few grains of James* to be taken still to-night, I am not sure.

Lady Trentham, Lady Louisa,† Mr. McDonald, Lady Gower have been here today. I could not go out at all; I shall keep all my force for the House of Commons. I suppose that I shall now have occasion for it all. Neither Lord Trentham, nor little Gill, nor Sir J. Wrottesly were last night in the Division. Delmé, I believe, thought that he had had merit enough by attending on Lord Sandwich's motion. Lord Sandwich wrote to me to apply to him, assuring me that you had been so obliging to him that he was sure it was what you would recommend him to do; he had determined to go down, so there was no occasion for me to solicit him. I have had no opportunity of hearing yet people's speculations of yesterday. I would not go to dine at Lord Digby's for fear of being tempted to eat or to drink, and procrastinate my cough.

I fell the other day into conversation with Lord Buckingham, and he seems to have relished mine so much as to have invited me to dinner the 9th of next month, for the first time in his life, although I have been acquainted with him for forty years, and once lodged in the same house with him. He should in civility have paid me first a visit, but I suppose in that respect he has forgot that he is no longer Viceroy d'Irlando. I thought that it had been a mistake, and the honour intended for Mr. Selwin, who was a banker in Paris, for he dines with him—I believe often—at Lord Huntingdon's; so I sent up for the servant, and desired him to inform himself if he had not made a mistake. But the honour was ratified by the return of the servant. I meant it in part as a rebuke for his want of breeding. To have done more would have been too much of an old Dowager. He tells me that he has carried King James's old robes to his house in Norfolk, bugs and all. He seems to think that I have heard a great deal of his reign, and this invitation was to deprecate my censure of him, as I suppose.

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* James's powders, invented by Robert James, M.D., 1703–76; *qu.* the "James" referred to in former letters.

† Macdonald; *see* May 10.

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, May 7, Portugal Street.—Since I wrote to you, as you know most probably from Selwyn, Lord Morpeth has been constantly gaining ground. I think that I am a better judge of this than Selwyn, who sees him every day and all the day. . . . We have had lately two events in London, which have happened in the course of four and twenty hours, which have engrossed the whole attention of the town. Ned Onslow's affair and Lord Chesterfield's accident have been the principal topics of public conversation. Lord Chesterfield is not in any immediate danger, according to the report of the Faculty; but it is said that it cannot be determined very easily or very shortly, in cases of fractures, whether there is one or not. As for poor Onslow, it is all over with him, and he had better be dead. He has made his confession to his father, and is gone off. He acknowledged that the passion he felt was beyond all control, and considering the place, the person, and all the circumstances, it must have been no less than frenzy by which he was actuated, otherwise it would have been impossible to have believed either the charge or his confession. Many other stories have been told since this last, all tending to corroborate the probability of the attack, but his confession and his departure have sealed his doom. What a dreadful event this is for his father!

We have had no official news from Darby,* but it is generally believed that Gibraltar is relieved. Charles Fox told me it was generally believed. His bank thrives prodigiously, and, what is more, he has punted with the same success that he has held the bank. He won four thousand pounds of Lord Cholmondeley's bank. He is now in prodigious affluence. He bought last week Truth, a racehorse, for the Lord knows what; he would not own what he gave for it, so most probably it was for [a] sum of which he was rather ashamed. He comes up tomorrow for the business in the House of Commons.

Tonight Lady Clarges gives a ball, to which I am going to be a mere inactive spectator. *Quantum mutatus!* The life of pleasure is past, and yet no occupation succeeds. There is the rub. I saw Ekins today, who looked very well, though he complained of some appearances of the gout. I hear you have had a second attack. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] May 8, Tuesday morning.—Very good news came from Lord Cornwallis last night, and as I heard Lord G. Germain say, very well authenticated. Lord Cornwallis has killed 500, and taken 2,000 prisoners, beat Green's army, but with the loss of some of our officers.

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[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] May 10, Thursday evening.—George sets out tomorrow from hence at about ten o'clock. . . . Lady G[ower] was here today to take her leave, and Lady C. Egerton, and Lady L. McDonnald. The Duke of Argyle came also with Lord Lorne. I have stayed at home because it was the last day, and that many orders might be necessary to give. He lies here tonight. . . .

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* Admiral George Darby; *see* Jesse, IV. 374.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, May] 11, Friday night.—The poor Bishop of Salisbury dined with me today. I thought that he would not have lived till the dinner was carried off the table. Bory is the only one upon which [whom] I can now depend, if I have two persons to dine with me. Robert lies out of town, being in all probability far gone in a consumption. I hope that Mitchel will not loiter in Ireland; he promises me that he will not, but come away as soon as he has delivered my dear little George into your hands. When he returns to me with an account of his safe conduct, he will give as much pleasure as when he came to my bedside in the night and told me that he was born. The softness and change of this weather has put me today on his account in great spirits, and not the less because this change will seem to justify Lad[y] G[ower's] conduct, which it by no means does in any respect, for it might not have happened this fortnight; but so as it did not happen that she was contradicted, which would have been at Whitehall but a bad precedent, she did not care, that is manifest. However, it is to be hoped that we shall never have any more business of this kind to transact together, so I shall think no more of her or her very extraordinary behaviour.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1781, May 12.—Though I have studied for some time past to forget everything that was interesting, I have not lost sight of your goodness to me, which has ever been one of the few comfortable reflections that presented themselves to my mind, and nothing has given me so much satisfaction as the repeated accounts of the tranquility you enjoy in Ireland. Dr. Ekins's arrival will remove the only circumstance that has given your friends the least anxiety upon your account since your Lordship set out from hence.

I have had no opportunity of rendering any account of the trust reposed in me by your Lordship's proxy, for the question upon the Address has been the only occasion of using it. From that day there has been no debate in the House of Lords except upon the subject of exchanging tithes for land, in which I believe you would not have remained much longer than I did, a witness to a very intemperate and ill-judged altercation.

The session seems likely to close without any further struggle, for I am afraid the East India affairs will again be passed over by a short Bill, and upon all other topics Opposition seems to be fairly exhausted. The discontent amongst the people at large is very evidently abated, and those who from a nearer view of the real state of affairs had entertained the most gloomy apprehensions for the public safety, have very much changed their language, and I am persuaded their sentiments also. I passed a day lately with Lord Gower and Lord Weymouth, and it seemed to be agreed that this country was, in relation to all her antagonists, in a very respectable state. Sir Jos. York has contributed not a little to raise men's spirits, and to put despondency out of countenance, even without proceeding to Vienna, of which there is not much talk at present.

But notwithstanding the visible improvement of our affairs in most quarters since your Lordship left England, I cannot overcome my apprehension of the chance of your meeting the Parliament of Ireland in very cloudy weather. Lord Mansfield, who is become as sanguine as

he used to be diffident, thinks an immediate separation of France and Spain almost certain, and draws more favourable consequences from such an event than seem to me to be just; for I have no idea that France will enter into any plan of pacification that we can submit to, unless all her attempts in America and the East Indies should be defeated, and the odds are against that supposition. Without a prospect of peace, neither Parliament will be as quiet as it ought to be for the re-establishment of government in both Islands, for here the weakness and unpopularity of Opposition is the best support of Government, as yours cannot be strong while this is destitute of its proper internal strength.

I have no right to trouble you with the reveries of a closet politician, but my knowledge extends no farther.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, May 15 ?] 14,* Tuesday m[orning].—Two very long letters of mine to you went last night to the post; this may accompany them; so what time you will find, from Councils, drawing rooms, and dinners, to read them, I know not. Pray give my letters to Ekins to read before they are thrown into the fire. I sent yours to Warner, and by his answer I find him quite in raptures from your kind acceptance of his services. He tells me that he owes this to me; but he is mistaken, as you know. If he could not have recommended himself to your patronage he would have had no recommendation from mine. He dines here today, to meet Gregg and his family, that is, Madame, the two young ladies and their governess.

Storer, it may be, will dine here also; *il a un air fort triste*. He is far from conceiving hopes; and yet there is certainly a foundation for them. He wanted me yesterday to write a letter for him to Lord North, that is, to dictate one, but, good God, how impossible is it for me to know better than himself the propriety of his expressions. I am not a judge of the habits in which he has lived with him. I see him in no light, but that of a Minister, and in that I see him full of defects, and of all men I ever yet sate down to dinner with the most disagreeable. But he is so, in part, from a scholastic, puritanical education, to which has been superadded the flattery of University parsons, led captains, and Treasury dependants. Without this, he would have been a pleasant companion. He has parts, information, and a good share of real wit, and [is], I believe, not an ill-tempered man by any means. But with all this, he has *un commerce qui me rebute*. As to what he says, or promises, it is *sur la foi de Ministre*, and *credat Judæus*, but I never will. If he gives this place at the B[oard] of Trade to Storer, he will go a great way towards reconciling me to him; at least he will make me think that he is capable of friendship, although he has too much *gaucheté* in his expression of it.

Storer says that you have wrote to him, and that letter, that is, your manner of expressing yourself in it (I have not seen it), puts him I find much at his ease. He has the greatest desire in the world that you should be perfectly satisfied with him; which he thinks you are, and is only from that ardour to please you now and then too diffident. I am sure that he would forego any advantage in the world sooner than transcend the bounds of discretion, in what he says or does, in matters

* "Tuesday the 14th" could occur only in August in the year 1781; but this letter was clearly written before Storer's letter of 18th July. Most probably 14th is a mistake for 15th, in which case the month was May.

in which you are concerned. I wish to see him landed, and am out of patience with the Minister, at present, for this foolish procrastination.

I hear a great deal of your levees, and of your behaviour at them; *tout fait votre éloge;* and I am persuaded that Lady Carlisle will please as much at least by her representation. I wish all this may secure you an easy administration; however, so much prevention as is, at present, in your favour, cannot but be useful, if it is not too flattering. Keene continually asks me if I have mentioned his friend Beau Richards to you, and I have as constantly assured him that I have, and the Duke of Q[ueensberry] too. Pray say one word to me in a letter about him. If he is as much attached to Government, and will behave as they say he will, I doubt not but you will show him some countenance; if you could put a little modesty into that which he has at present, it would be doing him a more essential service than any other. . . .

*March has just called in upon me, and he has made me give him in writing your direction, and Mr. Eden's. He has also told me for news, but it that [heard it at?] John St. John's, that five provinces in the Spanish colonies have revolted, and have chose a King. I wish that it had been John himself, and I wish, if our Colonies will revolt, that they would choose, some one King, and some another, and that there was another Heptarchy established in America. We might swallow up these by degrees, but one obstinate, revolted Republic is the devil of a morsel; but yet such a one, as any policy but that wretched one which has governed us would have got the better of. I never knew March in the health and spirits that he is now. He seems twenty years younger than I am, which is not the case. Once more adieu, my dear Lord. If it had not been for this piece of news of John's, my letter would have been of a reasonable length.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] May 16, Wednesday night.—I was engaged to dine today at Lady Ossory's, but I called in at Lady Lucan's, and they obliged me to send an excuse, and so I dined there, and dine at Lady Ossory's on Saturday. I found myself with a party of Irish, Dean Marly, and Lady Clermont, and with her Mrs. Jones, whom I was ravished to see, for she had given a ball where Caroline was, and commended her dancing, and I tormented the poor woman with such a number of questions about her, that I believe she thought me distracted. It is hard upon me to be so circumstanced that I cannot see what would give me so much pleasure, but *on ne peut pas ménager le choux et la chèvre.* If it pleases God that I should live, I shall have that, and for a time a great deal more, for I think that I must be quite wore out with infirmities, and blindness must be one, if seeing Caroline appear to advantage will not give me pleasure. . . .

I saw Charles today in a new hat, frock, waistcoat, shirt, and stockings; he was as clean and smug as a gentleman, and upon perceiving my surprise, he told me that it was from the Pharo Bank. He then talked of the thousands it had lost, which I told him only proved its substance, and the advantage of the trade. He smiled, and seemed perfectly satisfied with that which he had taken up; he was in such a sort of humour that I should have liked to have dined with him. His old clothes, I suppose, have been burned like the paupers['] at Salt Hill.

* This is on a separate leaf, and may not belong to the preceding, as the writing and paper differ somewhat.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] May 19, Saturday.—I received from Mitchel yesterday an account of George, as far as Conway, and of the good Welsh mutton he had, &c., and the compliments of the Sheriff in whose boat he passed the ferry at Bangor, and that he was to be at Holy Head on Wednesday to dinner. This letter was dated the day before, that is, the 15th. I hope, as the wind was so favourable, and the boy so well, that Dr. Ekins went over, and that he is now with you at Abbeville. . . .

Booth[b]y and Storer dined here yesterday with the Duke of Queensberry, and they stayed a good while, and were very good company to one another, but all talking at a time and disputing about the Duke of Dorset, &c., &c. I need not tell you the subjects of discussion. I was glad to perceive that they liked my dinner and my *ménage*, although I did not interest myself much in their conversation. I think March never in his life looked so well and was in such constant spirits. That is a great pleasure to me to see, and I am now so used to his paradoxes and his contradictions, and know so well the nature of the disorder, for it is one, that it gives no peevishness such as I used to have. Boothby proposes to go to you in the shooting season, that is near Christmas, Storer in the autumn. I was glad to see his Highness so well, and eat boiled beef *si bourgeoisement*. He is a very agreeable man to me. . . .

From dinner I went last night to White's, *à mon ordinaire*, and was going up stairs with Lord Loughborough to play at whist, but in came that little pleasant man and irresistibly drew me to a table to deal to him at Pharo, I mean Lord Ailsford, and with his 2 guineas a card, my bank lost 3 parts of what it got the night before. Old General Grant is another steady punter of mine. But Denbigh, who never punts, takes cards that are out, and ask questions till he makes me quite peevish. It is not only of course that the bank should lose sometimes, but necessary to my health. For if the punters win, they cut me, and I get a good night's rest ; but if they lose, I am kept up, and then I go home rich, but *epuisé, rendu, fatigué, et je ne sai*[*s*] *pas quoi*.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] May 21, Monday m[orning].—. . . Yesterday about the middle of the day, passing by Brooks's, I saw a Hackney coach, which announced a late sitting. I had the curiosity to enquire how things were, and found Richard in his Pharo pulpit, where he had been, alternately with Charles, since the evening before, and dealing to Adm. Pigott only. I saw a card on the table—"Received from Messieurs Fox & Co. 1,500 guineas." The bank ceased in a few minutes after I was in the room; it was a little after 12 at noon, and it had won 3,400 or 500 g[uineas]. Pigot, I believe, was the chief loser.

At Devonshire House there had been a bank held by Sir W. Aston and Grady, and that won 700. Martindale cannot get paid, because, as Charles says, he is not allowed to take money from the bank; he means for the payment of debts, but yet I hear some are paid, such as O'Kelly and other blacklegs. But there are at this time two executions in his house, and Richard's horses were taken the other day from his coach, as Lady Ossory tells me.

Charles says that he is *accablé de demandes, comme de dettes, et avec la réputation d'avoir de l'argent, il ne sait où donner de la tête. A vous dire la verité, si j'avais une tête comme la sienne, ou je me la ferois*

couper, ou j'en tirerois bien meilleur parti que ne fait notre ami ; son charactère, son génie, et sa conduite sont également extraordinaires et m'est [*me sont*] *incomprehensibles.*

Lord G. Cavendish is to be married to Lady Eliz. Compton, it being agreed that the Cavendish family must be continued from his loins. *Me la Duchesse fait des paroles, mais non pas des enfans.* I hear that she has won immensely, *et avec beaucoup d'exactitude, ce qui n'est pas fort ordinaire aux dames.*

Harry St. John has been here to ask me to hold a bank tonight at his wife's, and I had an invitation from Mrs. Crewe also this morning to come to her, and I suppose for the same purpose. *Je renonce à tout cela ; les inconvéniens en sont innombrables ;* all my play at present is confined to a rubber at whist, and a little Pharo with Ailsford, and perhaps two or three more. *Le grand évènement c'est la perte or la gain de* 50 or 80 guineas.

4 o'clock.—Come home to dinner. No letters as yet come from Ireland. Lord Egremont tells me that Digby is sent after La Motte Piquet.* I went to Miss Gunning's to carry her a parcel of franks, but I did not find her at home. I expect to see Mitchel back in a few days ; the wind, as I am told, is favourable for his return.

The post has brought me letters from Holyhead, but no other, so what kind of passage my dear little boy has had over the sea I am still to know. But he was, I doubt not, safe with you on Friday, and will I hope in God remain so. I met Sir N. Thomas today, with whom I had some conversation about him. I do not perceive that he has a very favourable opinion of the Irish climate, for those whose lungs are not very strong. I hope to hear that Louisa is better. My love to them all most cordially, and to Lady Carlisle with my best respects at the same time. What a cursed affair to me is this Lieutenancy of Ireland, and a damned sea between us! Lord Buckingham shewed me last night an infernal ugly gold box which he had received from the town of Cork, and such another I understood that you would have. Adieu ; I have heard no news today.

Our club at White's *commence à tomber ; la grande presse n'y* [*est ?*] *pas ; c'est un asyle toujours pour les caducs, et pour ceux qui n'ont pas une passion décidée pour le jeu.*

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, May 24, Portugal Street.—By this time, I make no doubt, but Lord Morpeth is arrived at Abbeville, and I hope that the change of air and the journey have perfectly established his health. Francis North told me he met him at some ferry in Wales. . . . Selwyn was in a great rage with Lady Gower owing to some dispute about his going. What it was I did not rightly understand, but I take it for granted it was not occasioned by anything but George's excess of care. Ekins, I hope, is arrived too in good health, and free from all retrospect of his trouble and disputes about his ecclesiastical negotiations. The Canterbury Stories that he used to tell me, and what he suffered from them, are not to be described. I flattered myself that I should have received a line from you before now. It is difficult to serve always, if you do not return one ball ; it is impossible that there can be anything like a rest.

We are going to have in the House of Commons some business, which very much interests, and is likely very materially to prejudice, the West

* "La Mothe Peignot," *ante*, should probably have been La Mothe Picquet.

Indians, if it takes place. We have had an hurricane and a tax this year, but this is not enough. The Prize Sugars must be sold in order to finish us completely. Lord Beauchamp, by way of gaining popularity in the city, and Mr. Sawbridge, who lost his election for London by the opposition of the refiners to his interest, by way of regaining this set of men, have undertaken to carry the Bill through the House. The planters are making all the opposition they possibly can. They are perfectly united for the first time, but neither their endeavours or their union will avail so much in this matter, as the embarrassment which there will be respecting Ireland, supposing the Bill should pass. Some men try to find out the philosopher's stone, but there never was so fruitless a search as Lord Beauchamp's endeavouring to gain popularity. *Ararim Parthus bibet, et Germania Tyrim*, before he is popular.

The Pharaoh bankers are in excessive great fashion. They are sent for to hold banks, and as much interest is made to have them as there ever was to have Texier. Sir William Areton goes about with his strong box and his memorandum book. Each lady has her day set down in his book, exactly as if he was the physician, to wait upon them at such a particular hour. Charles Fox's bank thrives because he has a great deal of money, and yet has lost a great [deal] too at all other sorts of gaming. He lost eighteen hundred the night before last at quinze. Richard and he deal by turns, so that there is never any cessation of the bank. The vestal fire is perpetually kept up, and they, like Salamanders, owe their existence [to] and flourish in the flame. Selwyn holds a minor bank at White's; but that is a bank of so little importance that it is hardly worth mentioning. He knows nothing about the game, does not even comprehend the terms, and if there was any other competition at White's, he would soon be deposed from his throne, which his small abilities render him so unfit for. Pharaoh has expelled the conversation about Vestris, who, however, holds a great share of fashion. Medée and Jason is still acted to such crowded houses on Tuesdays and Saturdays that you would not believe it, except you had very good authority for it.

In the Legends of Gallantry there is very little new, and no changes in the old departments. *Le Dieu d'Amour a oublié ses caprices.* The same *chacun avec la même chacune,* just as you left them. What the spring will produce I can't guess. This is *il tempo che rinuova i sospiri*, and therefore one may expect some places to be filled which were vacant, and some translations from one bishopric to another. Mrs. North is perfectly happy with the see of Winchester. Lord Walsingham's death makes me think that I have a better chance of the Board of Trade. Most probably this is a place which will be of too little importance for a peer; if so, and the present Lord Walsingham resigns, this will be a parolie upon my card, three times as good as it was before.

I am going next Sunday to see Mr. Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill. It is a long while since our invasion, and I have forgot even the things I did see; besides, what I wish to see most are the prints, which I never saw yet; altogether I propose to myself great pleasure from this visit. I hear, how true it is I do not know, that he is going to publish his play. I do not desire you to publish yours, but I wish very much you would print it, or at any rate that you would let me have a copy of it. I am not likely to write a comedy, and there . . . . . risk of my stealing anything from you. . . . (*A few lines torn off.*)

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] May 28, Monday m[orning].—Mitchel came back to me on Friday. It is a pleasure to me to hear that you found George look better than you expected; his journey and sea voyage were, by Mitchel's account, very agreeable to him; he had sickness enough to be of use to him, perhaps, and not to disgust him from these expeditions. I went yesterday with Mie Mie and Mrs. Webb to dine at Gregg's at Mitcham, and a very pleasant day we had. The Duke of Queensberry dined with us, and after him came Delmé. If anything of that sort can be counted upon, Lady D[owager] Carlisle is far advanced in her journey towards this country. . . . I am going this morning to the Levee, but I have no thoughts of going to the Birthday, and so this, and another Levee, is to do as well.

The Duchess of Bedford made me an offer of Streatham the other day, but as I could not be sure if my accepting it would please her Grace, I declined what I wish for much; I mean the use of it for part of this summer, while I can fix upon something to hire against another year.

The Duke of Q[ueensberry] is in the same pursuit, and seems determined upon the distance of 10 to 15 miles. He went after dinner yesterday to see Mr. T. Walpole's at Cashalton, a very good, spacious, and convenient house, with the best stocked garden in the world, and all kind of appurtenances. I do not suppose that he will take it, but if he did it would make me very happy, for I should know then immediately where to set up my staff, and I would not hesitate a moment after he had made such an agreement; but the purchase is of some thousands, so I am persuaded that he will not make it.

I have no doubt now that for myself the distance at which Gregg is would suit me the best, and so Lady Carlisle thinks; and if I was there settled I might have the happiness of having her and you and some of the children one day or other for my guests, which is what I should entertain myself with in perspective.

Lord R. Bertie is again relapsed as I hear, and if so will probably last but a very little while. My nephew Charles inherits his house and estate in Kent, and there I suppose he will reside with his sister in the summer. There is no event at present to amuse you with. The trade or amusement which engrosses everybody who lives in what is called the pleasurable world is Pharon, and poor Mr. Grady is worn out in being kept up at one Lady's house or another till six in the morning. Among these, Lady Spencer and her daughter the Duchess of D[evonshire] and Lady Harcourt are his chief punters. Hare, Charles, and Richard held a bank the whole night and a good part of the next day, to Pigott, by turns, each of the triumvirate punting when he is not himself a dealer. There is generally two or three thousands lying on the table in rouleaus till about noon, but who they belong to, or will belong to, the Lord knows.

You cannot expect that I should be mentioned in this traffic, who never have above four punters, a hundred pound bank, and two guineas on a card. I cannot find these above twice in a week, but as *la petite pluye merville* (?), so *les petits profits répétés enrichessent*, and *sans que l'on s'en apperçoive*. I have picked up a few hundreds which have been of great service to me. On other nights I am at home; some of the Townshends come to me, we part early, and so my spirits are recruited, and I am very well, as I hope to hear that both you and Lady Carlisle will be.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, May 29.]—You must know that for these two days past, all passengers in St. James' Street have been amused with seeing two carts at Charles's door filling, by the Jews, with his goods, clothes, books, and pictures. He was waked by Basilico yesterday, and Hare afterwards by his *valet de chambre*, they bein[g] told at the same time that the execution was begun, and the carts were drawn up against the door. Such furniture I never saw:

Betty and Jack Manners are perpetually in a survey of this operation, and Charles, with all Brooks's on his behalf, in the highest spirits. And while this execution is goin[g] on in one part of the street, Charles, Richard, and Hare are alternatively holding a bank of 3,000*l.* ostensible, and by which they must have got among them near 2,000*l.* Lord Robert since his ban[k]rup[t]cy, and in consideration of his party principles, is admitted, as I am told, to some small share in this.

What public business is going on I know not, for all the discourse at which I am present turns upon this bank. Offly sat up last night till four, and I believe has lost a good part of his last legacy. Lord Spencer did not sit up, but was there punting at 4. Now the windows are open at break of day, *et le masque levé, rien ne surprend qu' à qui tout soit nouveau, et ne ressemble à rien que l'on ait jamais vu depuis le commencement du monde.* There is tonight a great ball at Gloucester House; it is the Restoration Day, and the birthday also of the Princess Sophia. Lady Craufurd is now dressing for it, with more roses, blood, and furbelow than were ever yet enlisted (?). My love and thanks to my dear boy for his letter, which I will answer.

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, May 30, Portugal Street.—. . . You wish for the news which passes in St. James' Street, and you are in the right, for St. James' Street at present is one of the most extraordinary scenes that ever was presented upon any theatre, or in any country. While Charles, Richard, and Hare are holding the Pharaoh bank night and day, the bailiffs are ransacking Charles' house. I passed by it yesterday, and it put me in mind of Jaffier and his ancient domestic arrangements. Andrew waked Hare in the morning, telling him that he must get up, for the execution was begun, and that the two carts were at the door. Hare fancied, more than Master Bernardine, that he was going to be hanged. It is quite wonderful what the bank has won. I went into the house when it was pulling to pieces, in order to enquire after the fate of the books, and I learnt that they were going too to the Jews. While Charles was poor he had a comfortable house, now he is rich he is turned out of doors.

It is not because John St. John is not as ridiculous as ever that I have not mentioned him, but really because he puts me out of all patience. His importance has increased, and is increased to such a degree that it is quite insufferable, and what is worse, his stupidity and his conceit have exactly preserved the same proportion. One of your questions I answered before you made it, relative to the constancy of our lovers. As for myself, my harp is hung up upon the trees. *Nec mens nec ætas* are suited any longer to the *puellarum choris*, and [it is] not that I have deviated from the common path, or that I am likely to lose myself in Onslow's walk, that I have not talked about women. The fact is that among our friends there is scarce anything new upon this

head. Mrs. Smith has found that Delmé has not money enough for her, so I see no more of that *tête à tête.*

What are my schemes for the summer it is difficult to say. I have some right to entertain some prospect of the Board of Trade, and if that is not determined till the breaking up of Parliament, I must wait in London till that matter is arranged. A journey too afterwards to be rechosen will take up some more time, so that the summer will be far advanced before I can have completed either my establishment at the Board of Trade, or find that I have no longer any prospect of the appointment. As for my accommodations, that is a matter of very little importance. The being the Lord Lieutenant's friend, and not the accommodations which fall to his lot, is all I look for.

What do people say of you on this side of the water? They augur perfectly well of your administration. Everything is said to be going on as it should do. You live magnificently they say, and they would say so if you did not live magnificently: for your character in that respect is so well established, that they would take the shadow for the substance and believe it a solid. I hope you will not take quite so much pains to maintain the character, especially as you have already all the advantages of it, and need not incur the inconveniences attending it.

I have been to Mr. Romney, and have desired him to finish your portrait and the copy as soon as possible. When that is done it will be time enough to think of having it engraved. The difference of the price amongst the engravers is no very great object. Having a clear opinion of my own that Woollett is the best artist we have for this purpose, I went to him, but though he did not refuse to do it, yet he would not positively promise me to undertake it. If you remember a Head of *Rubens* engraved by *Woollett*, and about the same size as *Gibbon's*, I think that would correspond with your ideas. Woollett told me he should not ask more for doing the plate than Hall had for doing that of Gibbon, the price being the same. There can be no doubt which artist to prefer, provided Woollett will undertake it. I have not had a book bound, nor spent a guinea in prints, the whole year, so that the lion you dread, and are afraid of awakening, is perfectly at rest. There are very good reasons for the nap he is now taking. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] May 31, Thursday.—If I did not send you *tous les petits détails de ma vie*, as insignificant as it is, our correspondence must soon cease, which is one of the greatest pleasures to me, or rather comforts, in your absence. I trust to others the information of things of more consequence. I have, then, if this is not disagreeable to you, a perpetual source of intelligence, for although *je ne fais rien qui vaille*, I am always doing or hearing something, as much as those who are employed about more important matters, and if among these a circumstance happens to interest or amuse you, *je ne serai pas fâché de vous l'avoir mandée.*

The diversion of seeing Charles's dirty furniture in the street, and the speculations which this execution has caused, *avec tous les propos, et toutes les plaisanteries qui en resultent*—all that is now over, and he is established either at his Pharo table, or at his apothecary's, Mr. Mann, who, as a recompense for the legacy which was left by his father and not yet paid, has Charles for a lodger. Jack Manners does not scruple to say that he knows for a certainty that this bank has won to the amount of 40,000*l.*, but then Jack does not scruple to lie when he

chooses so to do. I cannot conceive above half the sum to have been won; but then, most of it has been paid.

Trusty's advancement to a share in this bank, and his new occupation of dealing, was what I had a great curiosity see; and although he is, as you know, *fort chiche de ses paroles*, he is obliged for the time that he is upon duty to say "The King loses," and "The Knave wins," and this for some hours, while Charles and Richard are in bed. Hare is also indefatigable, but what his share is, or what have been his profits, I know not. Never was a room so crowded or so hot as this was last night. I could not stay, or chose so to do. The punters were Lord Ossory, Lord C. Spencer, Admiral Pigott, General Smith, Lord Monson, Sir J. Ramsden, &c., &c.

Today I dine at Lord Ossory's with Lord Robert and Harry Conway, *qui m'avoient demandé à dîner*, but it was by Ossory's desire to his house. I mentioned to Lord Ossory the offer which the Duchess of Bedford had made me of Streatham, and I was much blamed for refusing it. If the offer is made again I shall accept it, and it will serve me for a villa till I have hired another.

The Fish came a few evenings ago to dine at Brooks's after the House of Commons was up, but hearing by accident that Lord North dined at White's he went thither, and ordered some champagne and burgundy from his own house for his Lordship's use. He got a dinner by this means the next day at Rigby's with Lord Mansfield and the Chancellor, and then he came to Ossory, and gave himself a thousand airs upon this invitation. I have told you perhaps that a nephew of Lord Chedworth's, the heir of his title and estate, got into the same scrape at Epsom as Onslow did at the Exhibition; *ceci prouve la force d' une passion qui est hors de la nature; les autres ont leurs bornes, et de la discrétion jusqu'à un certain point.*

I went from dinner yesterday to the House of Commons, and came just time enough to be in a division upon some Americain question, God knows what. I was received in the House with a laugh, because three parts out of four believed me to be with you in Ireland, as *bouffon de la Cour*. This the morning papers had instructed them to believe, and such is the notion I believe that the writers of those papers have of my talents and turn. You have not told me that Lady Carlisle is with child, but I hear it from other hands. Be so good as not to let me be ignorant of these probable events, in which my affection to her and to you is so much interested.

I sat a great while the other morning with Miss Gunning at St. James's; Sir Robert was with her. She is afraid of having the measles; her sister has them at present. The Ball at Glouc[ester] House was magnificent, and their Royal Highnesses gracious *al maggior segno*. They call the others, "the people in Pall Mall," and the man in Pall Mall calls the Duke* "the Warden of the Forest," and distinguishes him by no other name. I wonder that they do not let other people find names for them both, who know them better than they do themselves.

Montem is to be a fine sight, that is, a great concourse of people will be there, I suppose, on their Majesties' account. Mie Mie wants to go. If the Townshends, that is Mary and Lady Middleton, had offered to be troubled with her, I should have consented and gone there myself. I have made no preparations for the Birthday, but thinking where I shall go to avoid it; or for yours, but I will; Storer shall dine with me that day, *et ceux que je crois vous être les plus attachés*, and we will drink the health of their Excellencies, *cela du petit dauphin*, of my

* Of Gloucester.

dear little Caroline, *et ainsi du reste.* Pierre tells me that she is not so tall as Mie Mie is at present; *en dédommagement de cela, elle est cent mille fois plus robuste.* As to myself, *j'ai un ménagement pour ma santé incroyable.* For I am determined, if it pleases God, to live to see you and all of you again, but when or where, that must be left to the chapter of accidents. Emily has left off writing to me; he wrote to me twice *pour faire votre éloge, ce qui ne fut fort peu nécessaire,* and there was an end of his epistolary correspondence. Pray goad that Dean* who slumbers in his stall, and make him write. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 1, Friday m[orning].—I am at this moment employed *fort pédagoguement.* I have taken into my own department Mie Mie's translations out of English into French. That is, I am at her elbow when she translates, and by that means can see what faults she makes from insufficiency, and what are produced from carelessness. She is very much so if left to herself, but is very much improved, as I perceive. But Mrs. Webb can be of no use in this, and so I have the task when Lobort is not here. I hope that Caroline has somebody to read French with her who has a real good pronunciation, otherwise it will take *un mauvais pli,* which will not be so easy to recover, and it is better not to speak a language at all than without some sort of grace.

Today I give a dinner to the bankers; the two not upon duty come here at five, and when the other two come off they will find here *des réchauffés;* to the Duke of Q[ueensberry] and Mr. Greenville, and to two chance comers; it may be Boothby and Storer, or Sir C. Bunbury. It is too hot to go out today. I have seen nobody, and the rise and fall of the bank is not as yet added to the other Stocks in the morning papers. It is frequently declared from the window, or gallery, *aux passans.* Pigot was there this morning at four, and from May the 31st (*sic*) at night, that is, from Tuesday night, about nine. The account brought to White's, about supper time, was that he had p—d only twice, and it was said that he had rose to eat a mutton chop. But that merits confirmation.

Young Pitt made yesterday on the Accounts another speech, which is much admired, in which there was *du sel, et du piquant, à pleines mains.* Charles *en fut enchanté,* and I hear that the satire of it was pointed strongly against Lord N[orth]. It wanted no other recommendation to the party who dines here today. Sir J. Irwin will be soon with you. I supped with him at White's, and with Lord Glendower and Lord Westmoreland, &c., &c., and I concluded my sitting with a little bank to Harry Carteret, Sir W. Gordon, Lord Ailsford and General Grant, and to no others. I had them in great order. I do not allow the opposite no greater sum than 5 guineas, and such byelaws as these I oblige the observance of, and I won 120 guineas. They waited till near one before I had finished my prosing, and telling old stories at supper to the two young men. When they were finished, I retired and opened my bank.

Charles's house is now going to be new painted, and entire new furniture to be put into it, belonging to I do not know who[m]. He was security for an annuity of Richard's, and so suffered this seizure on his account. It is a strange combination altogether, and is now more the subject of conversation than any other topic, and it serves me also

* Edward Emly, Dean of Derry, 1781–3.

as one to fill my letter. *Si le récit vous ennuye, vous n'ignorez pas le motif que j'ai à vous le faire.* I suppose that you are not always at audiences, and that you may like sometimes to know what passes in circles from whence everything of moment is excluded, and where you may be again, to relieve yourself from business.

Today I expect a letter from Warner, and of great decision and importance as to the matter about which he has been employed. But if I see him come in while I am at dinner I shall not be surprised. If I have a letter I will send you the substance of it, for I may not go out again after dinner, or only to Lady Harrington's. My bank is not like that at Brooks's; there are a great many *lacunes*, and it is not above once in I do not know how long that I can get such a party as I had last night.

Ossory's new house is delightful, and the furniture mighty well chose. I have not met yet Lord Euston there, as I expected. But I have dined there less this than former years.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 2, Saturday morning.—Charles Fox has desired me to send Gregg to him, and is to discharge the annuity for which you are bound, and, I hope, to pay off the arrears at the same time. I have wrote to Gregg, to desire that he will lose no time, as Charles's property is of a very fluctuating kind. My dinner of yesterday was a very agreeable one to me, and seemed to be so to the rest. But Charles had forgot, when he promised to come to me, that he was engaged to the Duke of Grafton. The rest came, for this remarkable sitting at Pharo was over yesterday morning about seven o'clock, and so shall be my further account of it. The event is so often repeated that it becomes less extraordinary. But I have known of no other to entertain you with for some days past. General Craigs sets off for Ireland in about a week or ten days. I shall send my box of things for the children, either by him or Mr. Kinsman.

. . . .

The Montem is put off from Monday till Wednesday, for the convenience of their Majesties, who are to be there. The Queen will not have prayers read in the manner that they have been used to be there; she sees it [in] the light of a comedy acted, and therefore, improper. Doctor Young, the Fellow, has just been with me, to ask me if I could borrow a regimental suit of clothes, sash, and gorgette from some officer of the Guards, of my acquaintance. I intend to ask Richard,* for the boy who is to wear it is, by Doctor Y[oung]'s account, of Richard's height. If I had known it before, I could have sent to Matson for a sash which my father† wore at the battle of Blenheim, where he assisted as Aid-de-Camp to my Lord Marlborough. It will be a very lucrative campaign for the boy, who is captain. His name is Roberts; he is a son of one of the Fellows.

Storer's business is not, from what I have accidentally heard, in so great forwardness as I was in hopes that it had been. There must two vacancies at the Board before he has a very good chance, if he has any. Lord Walsingham has no inclination to quit; it is a scene of business which he likes. Mr. Buller has been many years in Parliament, and I am afraid that his pretensions will preponderate above the friendship or good-will which Lord N[orth] professes to Storer. I picked up this

* Fitzpatrick.
† Colonel John Selwyn.

by accident as I was going out yesterday airing with Mie Mie, after my company had left me. I met Lord Brudenel, and I collected this from his conversation, for he did not tell it me directly. But this and everything else, trifling or not, I think myself obliged to let you know, *et enfin ne rien laisser au bout de ma plume.*

But I am particularly desirous to inform you of what concerns Storer, because I am persuaded that you wish to serve him. Your protection ought to be a valid one, and Lord N[orth] will not, I should imagine, choose to displease you; as to myself, *maintenant que mes ongles sont rognés comme ils le sont*, he will treat me with what indifference he pleases, and I know no remedy for it, but what is worse than the disease. Then it is more supineness, insensibility, and natural arrogance than any desire to use me worse than another. He has no tact in point of breeding, and he lays all his business on Robinson's* shoulders, who has behaved worse to me than any man ever did; but I must take shame to myself for that, because, if I had rejected his first proposal of standing for Gloucester, by his suggestion, against my own reason and inclination, he would never have dared to have treated me ill any more. I hope to be rich enough in a year or two more, if I live, to be as much a patriot as I happen to choose; but it is a *fichu matier*, as times go, and nobody of common sense ever gives you any credit for it. I shall be contented only, if, instead of making a bargain with a Minister, I can be in circumstances good enough to sell him one, if he uses me ill.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 5, Tuesday.—. . . I know of nothing remarkable at the Birthday yesterday. I put on the best clothes which I had, about nine at night, to make a bow to their Majesties *sur leur passage*, as they went to the ball room, and there the Queen stopped and said some very gracious things to me, which my great deference to her Majesty made me not understand, but I bowed and thanked her, supposing that she said something that interested me. The King's face was turned the other way, and he did not see me, but I was taken notice of *dans l'antichambre du Roi*, and so it was very well, and it was there that I saw my nephew Broderick, who †had just had an audience of the King. His Royal Highness's‡ equipages are very becoming, and give some little splendour to the Court. I could tell poor Guerchy now that we had not *des vaisseaux* only, but *des carros*[*s*]*es;* we have *des Princes*, God knows, *à foison*. The Princess Royal seems a very agreeable young woman, but I had only a transient glance of her. Her air and manner seemed good. One coach came by after another in their liveries, and each stuffed with royal children, like a cornucopia with fruit and flowers. Bory got I do not [know] how many of my servants, by some *escalier dérobé*, to see the ball-room and some of the dances; he has a back stairs interest through that of Lord Trentham's nurse, and being himself the State Trumpeter in a neighbouring kingdom, is of some note and importance, and all is at my use and service. He is a very honest good creature. I wish that I had room for him here in this house instead of in Chesterfield Street. Bob grows every day more and more attached to him, but I cannot dawdle him as Horry Walpole does Tonton, for Me du Deffand's sake, nor does he seem to expect it. He has the *accueil* of a respectable old suisse in my hall, where I meet him on

* John Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury.
† The rest was found apart.
‡ The Prince of Wales.

coming home in a *posture couchante*. Adieu; till I have letters, remember me kindly to all, but to the dear children in particular. It is a great grievance to me not to see them. *Je vieillis, et je m'en apperçois.*

[Anthony Storer] to Lord Carlisle.*

1781, June 6.—Yesterday afternoon I received a letter from Corbett, which I answered immediately, though I was very little able so to do, being ill with one of the worst of my headaches. The last letter I received from you was dated the 16th of May. . . .

I had got an Irish stuff, and I was prepared for the Birthday, but my *tour de gala* was utterly destroyed by this bilious attack. Vestris too had a *grande fête*, but it was past by me in misery and pain. Indeed, indeed, this disorder is a most grievous tax upon my existence. Of late I have been really very temperate, and guilty of no excess whatever with which I can reproach myself. It costs me very little to refrain from those things which I wished for once with the greatest avidity, and yet notwithstanding my persevering abstemiousness, these cursed headaches return, which are the bane and torment of my life. I am well today, but having lain in bed ever since Sunday almost the whole time, and having eaten hardly anything, I am so weak both in body and mind that I am quite tired of my own being. You will forgive me for saying so much about myself, and I will hasten to change my subject.

I received a letter yesterday from Lord Cornwallis, who hopes that you will have easier and pleasanter campaigns in Ireland than he has had in America. In the few lines he writes to me, he desires us not to be too sanguine, and yet he does not seem to despond. I gave you in my last my copper-plate ideas; since that I can add nothing else, nor shall I, till Mr. Rumney has finished the two pictures.

No news from Lord North. I am resigned to my fate, and think I can bear the disappointment, should he at last bilk me, with perfect patience. I have never set my heart very much upon this appointment. I do not mean that I should not be pleased with it, but in comparison with other things I do not wish for it excessively, and as I have learned to bear other disappointments tolerably well, I flatter myself I shall not be very uneasy under this. I am however infinitely obliged to you for the friendship you have shown me on this occasion, as well as throughout life. If I do not tell you so oftener, it is because I do not know how to express my acknowledgment in a manner which I like. I can feel I hope as much gratitude as any one, but it is a difficult task to show it so as to gratify one's own sensations, and yet not run the risk of disgusting another. This is an excuse I hope for any former omissions, and will be so, I flatter myself, for those in future. There are other subjects too in which you surely will do me the justice to suppose that I feel, but I forbear mentioning, thinking that as I cannot do it in the manner I wish, that I had better be altogether silent.

Selwyn I find is still out of humour with the Treasury. He has so many schemes for the summer that I am quite at a loss to guess what his motions will be. Sometimes he is going to a house of the Duchess of Bedford's; the next moment he wants to take one near Windsor, and then he is resolved upon Matson. I wished to have gone to Montem, which was today, but this head has prevented this, like the rest of my schemes. There were very few people last night at the Opera House.

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* Found among Selwyn's letters.

The town is sick of impositions, or perhaps cannot gratify for want of money the inclination that there is to make dupes of them. Perhaps reasons of this sort have weighed too with Mr. Texier to put off the Lecture of Pygmalion, which he was to have exhibited this evening. So far I wrote* at home this morning. Since dinner I came down to Brookes' to hear if there was any news. The great John tells me that there are accounts arrived from Rodney, who is at St. Eustatia with one ship. Hood is cruising off the Island with the rest of the fleet. The Jamaica fleet did not sail till the first of April. Fawkener desires me to tell you that he thinks he shall be with you by the first week in July.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle : Storer, June 6th.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 11, Monday evening.—. . . . The Duke of Q[ueensberry] dined here today, and, by an accident, the Duke of Dorset. I had also Mr. Selwin, who was a banker in Paris, a worthy man, but a more splenetic one I never knew, with an extreme good understanding. We are of the same family, by his account, although I do not know the degree of affinity in which we stand to each other.

Tomorrow I find a Motion is to come from Fox concerning America, to which he may,* contrary to his expectation or wishes, find in the friends of Government an assent. People now seem by their discourse to despair more of that cause than ever. There has been wretched management, disgraceful politics, I am sure ; where the principal blame is, the Lord only knows ; in many places, I am afraid.

The Duke of Gloucester is going tomorrow, as I hear, to Brussels, to meet the Emperor. I hope for our sake that they will be *deux têtes dans le même bonnet*, but *la différence en est trop évidente*. That between our master and his son is not less, if report says true. They have great reason to be uneasy, I believe, but they must, when they reflect, think, that their own conduct has been very much the cause of it, and that they either have not read history, or forgot it.

The Pharo bank goes on, and winning ; *cela s'entend*. The winnings are computed to be 30,000. Each of the bankers, to encourage him in his application and to make him as much amends as possible for the waste of his constitution, is entitled to a guinea for every deal from the bank ; and so our Trusty is in a way of honest industry, dealing at the pay of a guinea every ten minutes. There is also an insurance against cards coming up on the losing side, which is no inconsiderable profit to the underwriters.

Offly has had unexpectedly fallen to him, by way of legacy, an estate of some hundreds a year, which enables him to punt till past five in the morning. Lord Robert sleeps tonight for the first time in Foly House.

I had a very pleasant day yesterday at Gregg's, and as often as I mention these excursions I have a long dissertation from the Duke [of Queensberry] upon the folly of having a country house at above ten or fourteen miles distance from London ; which reflections will end in nothing but a condemnation of what he has, and never procure the enjoyment of that which I am sure he would like above all things if he had it. His uncertainty is in some measure the cause of my own, but shall not govern it, beyond the present year.

Craigs sets out for Ireland on Thursday. I am concerned at the account which you give me of Ekins. I hope to hear no more of your

* The rest was found apart.

own gout. But if you feel symptoms of it, pray do not conceal them from me.

I go tonight to Marlborough House, and there is also a promenade at Bedford House, but it is announced that no candles will be lighted. My nephew Broderick is to have 500*l.* gratuity, and a Majority, and Lord Cornwallis will solicit leave for his purchasing a company in the Guards.

Pray remember me most kindly to Lady Carlisle, and my hearty love to all the children without exception or preference. If George is to come here again, let me know it. If not, I shall not expect it.

Charles's house, like a phœnix from the flames, is new painted, and going to be new furnished, with certain precautions to keep his furniture *à l'abri de ses créanciers.* You have heard how he has liquidated the annuity for which *you was engaged. There are still arrears due to you, to a considerable amount. This Pharo Bank is held in a manner which, being so exposed to public view, bids defiance to all decency and police. The whole town as it passes views the dealer and the punters, by means of the candles, and the windows being levelled with the ground. The Opposition, who have Charles for their ablest advocate, is quite ashamed of the proceeding, and hates to hear it mentioned.

I hear of neither deaths, marriages, [n]or preferments; public news come to your knowledge sooner, and with more authenticity, than through me; so I have no more to say at present, but to beg that I may hear from you as often as possible, and that I may have the satisfaction of knowing that you are well. These assurances cannot be too often repeated to me, who am interested by every degree of affection in knowing whatever concerns you or yours.

My best compliments to Dr. Ekins, and my love once more to George, and to his sisters. He has wrote as often to me as I expected. I shall never, as long as I live, forget his assurances upon that head, the *tone* and air with which he said it, and the cordiality of it. *Il a indubitablement le meilleur des cœurs possibles.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 13, Wednesday m[orning].—As I think, after having wrote a long letter to Dr. Ekins, I shall have little to say to you, so I take only this vessel of paper for my purpose. Mrs. Webb and I are going to consummate our unfinished loves at Streatham, and to reside there at times for the next six weeks. I shall make use of this opportunity to fix myself in a country house for next year, and perhaps the Duke of Q[ueensberry] may do the same, for from that distance to about ten miles further we have agreed is the best to answer our purposes. We must necessarily have two houses, that purity and impurity may not occasionally meet. Lady Ossory has negotiated this matter for me, and this morning I shall go to Bedford House to do homage, as a tenant-at-will.

I heard yesterday young Pitt; I came down into the House to judge for myself. He is a young man who will undoubtedly make his way in the world by his abilities. But to give him credit for being very extraordinary, upon what I heard yesterday, would be absurd. If the oration had been pronounced equally well by a young man whose name was not of the same renown, and if the matter and expression had come without that prejudice, or wrote down, all which could have been

* The rest was found apart.

said was, that he was a sensible and promising young man. There is no fairer way of judging.

Lord Cambden's son acquitted himself but very ill; however, Lord Chatham did him the honour to say that he sees he will make a speaker, so we must give him credit for what he may *do* by what Lord Chatham has *said*.

If I wanted reputation, and to be puffed, and could afford to pay for such nonsense, I would certainly be in Opposition, and sit in the House in the places where Ossory and Lord Robert and young Greenville sit. But the difficulty would be to extol my speaking when I said nothing.

The guinea a deal is deemed now too much, so Charles has published a new edict, and they have only five guineas an hour, by which Lord Robert cannot earn in a day more than Brooks gets by furnishing cards and candles. Pigott has found out that punting is not advantageous, and has left it off. The General is not yet of the same opinion. Lord Spencer, Mr. Heneage, Offley, &c., are *des culs de plomb*, and the bankers' coaches are not ordered till about six in the morning.

Lord Abergavenny's son is certainly to marry Robinson's daughter. He gives her 25,000*l.* down, which does not pay all the young man's debts. Lord A[bergavenny] gives them a thousand a year. He is a weak, good-tempered young man, or, as the King of Prussia called an acquaintance of mine, the Comte de Bohn, *une belle bête*.

Robinson seems rejoiced that he is to be allied to the Nevills, and that his posterity is to have the bear and ragged staff, red roses, and portcullises for their insignia. Malden, to console himself for the infidelity of Mrs. Robinson, is gone to Bruxelles with his Royal Highness.*

On 8vo paper.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, June 13,] Wednesday, 4 o'clock.—P.S.†—I have been at Bedford House, and performed my homage. I dine at Streatham on Sunday, and in the course of the next week go to settle myself there. I met Admiral Biron in my way back, and had some discourse with him on the subject of his sister.‡ He spoke to me about her with great good nature and reason, but said that the correspondence was between his wife and her, and seemed to hint, if he was himself consulted, he should advise her better. He expects her home, from the tenor of her letters to Mrs. Biron, so perhaps, after all, she may come. If she does, Bory and I shall prepare a reception for her.

Storer is coming here to dinner. He lives now with Mr. Walpole; has his lodging at Strawberry Hill, as an antiquarian. March dines here also. There are to be two more promenades at Bedford House on a Monday, and then she [the Duchess] goes to Oubourn [Woburn] for the rest of the year.

The bank won last night, as Lord Clermont [tells me?], 4,000; that must have been chiefly of the General; but of the bankers, those who deal, punt also; so they may have contributed.

At Streatham I shall be within two miles of Gregg, so we shall have together a great deal of discourse about you. Admiral Biron was the

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* The Duke of Gloucester.

† This is a postscript to the preceding, but is on 4to paper.

‡ The Countess Dowager of Carlisle.

other day at Castle Howard, and saw little Elizabeth, who was very well. I like the Admiral much.

P.M. (*sic*).—Poor Storer is gone away in great dudgeon. March fell asleep on one side of him, and I on the other, the moment that the cloth was taken away. He was not last night in the Division, or made any bargain. He has been all this day at Charles's auction, to secure for him his books. All his things were upon sale yesterday and today. Some of his books are very scarce and valuable. I wonder that, knowing himself liable to such an attack, he did not keep them at Brooks's, where they would have been for ever unmolested.

Mrs. Elliot is returned from France, and I have seen [her] in a *vis-à-vis* with that idiot Lord Cholm[ondeley]; so I suppose that is to go on as it did.

My servants tell me that Sir J. Irwin sets out for Ireland tomorrow, but that I believe is not so; I understood him last night that it would be a month before he went. He said that he should go no more this Session to the House of Commons. I believe that Mr. Robinson will find it very difficult to muster so many of his troops as were assembled there last night, any more this year. It was insufferably hot and dull.

I wish that Storer would be in humour with them till the Session was over, and say nothing. If then nothing is done, he may begin his grumbling. W. K. and John, I take it for granted, report these things, if they happen to hear of them. He will succeed at last, I do not doubt; in the meantime, *le meilleur parti est de se taire.*

Lady Julia, as I understand, is to meet Lady B[etty?] in the country, and come up with her to town. What a *fracas* we shall have when my Lady Dowager arrives; and if she does not, I see no end of her vexations. The Admiral says that she talks of coming. . . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 15, Friday.—In the first place I beg you to kiss Caroline for me, and to thank her for her letter, which I will myself also by this post. General Craigs went yesterday, and left me to comfort Lady Harrington in his absence, but whether she will accept of Nicolini instead of Mr. Froth, I do not know. He carries a box of things for the dear girls, and I shall desire Caroline to find out from George what he likes that I should send him. I have a watch for him, when he makes a demand of it, according to my promise. Mr. Smith came to me yesterday; he had been twice before here, once as I was sitting down to dinner, but I had no conversation with him till yesterday morning, and then such an *éloge* of you and of your administration [and] of Lady C[arlisle] as I never heard before of any persons. Pliny is a fool to him at panegyric. I did not, till he was gone, know well what Mr. Smith it was. He talked of the Dorset family; that was a kind of clue, and he is brother, I find, to Jack of the Guards, and a very good kind of man. He was aid-de-camp he tells me to Lord Townshend when in your post. He had not much to say of the nursery, of which I wanted to know most, but that George was well and Caroline a very fine girl, both which I knew.

He told me stories of the corruption of the Irish that surpass all I could have imagined. I do not believe they differ from the English, or from the greater part of them, but in the mode of pushing their fortune and their faces.

I dined at home with patriots of the first water, that is, I had my own relations to dine with me; so when a message came from the House, to desire me to come and to let me know that there had been a Division—and so there had, and the Minister got his Question but by three (?)—and that there would be another, I was ashamed to get up like a tool and a slave, and go down, by a message from Robinson; so the Devil a bit did I stir. I was mighty well received for this at Brooks's by Charles, Richard, and young Pitt.

The bank won 2,300, which put something in Hare and Trusty's pocket, that is, a twelfth in each, and then Trusty and Foley got into their hack and drove to Foley House; a great deal got by insurance, and Hare and Bob had their six guineas an hour—very pretty profit.

I dine today at Northumberland House, and on Saturday at Streatham, for the first time, but I do not know when I shall go to lie there. Dr. Gem goes with me to dine. Today I may have a letter from our Doctor.* I dare say, with all his rant and threats, he will do nothing improper. But he must not be led by the nose; it matters not how ill he uses the Baron, and I will answer for it that he will not be wanting in outward respect to Lady C[arlisle]. But I wish to God that he was come, and his commission ended. Sir J. Irwin is also gone, I hear. Mr. Kinsman means to call upon me, and expects to take a letter from me to you as an introduction. His best recommendation is, that he and his wife's brother are both in Parliament† and at your service, as he tells me, and of that you will make what you think proper. He seems a fair man, and likely to act up to his professions.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 16, Saturday m[orning].—. . . I am going to dine at Streatham. I went last night to the Widow Harrington's, and slept there till it was too late to put my letter into the post, which I had in my pocket, not sealed up. I return this evening. The beds have not been lain in these two years, and my spirits are particularly low. I will not give you any description of my own grievances; you cannot assist them. The lessening them will depend chiefly upon myself, supposing no misfortunes happen which I do not at present foresee. I hope tonight to see Lady Julia. I have many questions to ask her. I called yesterday at Hoare's shop in Fleet Street, thinking that I might there have some fresher intelligence of Warner, but no letter was come from him. . . .

Monday m[orning].—I dined yesterday at Streatham, and Gregg and his family came after dinner to drink tea with me. It is very clean and in good order, but such furniture! Good God, the beds are such I should be afraid of going into them if I did not send down my own mattrasses, &c., &c. I do not know whom I shall find to be with me at night, and if I have nobody, I may be found hanging upon one of the trees before the house; so I have at present resolved upon going there only to dinner. It is a strange kind of house, but if it was mine I should not dislike it. If a house is an odd one, so that I did not make it so, I am contented. There are as many rooms as windows.

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* The Rev. Dr. John Warner, then in France, with the Countess Dowager. For an account of him, *see* Jesse, III. 306.

† The Irish Parliament.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, June] 18, Monday night.—I saw this morning Lady Julia,* who looks very well, and has no brogue. I sat a great while with her and Lady Betty, and talked over with them our foreign affairs; but no letter is come from Warner, although a mail is, as I see by the papers, arrived both from France and from Flanders. The Jamaica fleet is safe at last, and the Emperor declares Ostende to be a free port. The two Houses will rise yet this month, and this is all that I know of public matters. Charles, from paying his debts, proceeds to make presents; he is now quite *magnifique avec une abondance de richesse*[*s*]. Varey dined with me today, Storer, and Lord Carmarthaen.

I have now settled with my servants to go to Streatham on a Saturday after Mie Mie's dancing, and to stay there till Tuesday noon, and this every week, during the time that I shall stay in this part of the world; and if I can get no one else to be with me on those days, I shall take Lobort (?), which will be a benefit to Mie Mie.

The Duke of Gloucester is returned from Bruges, where he passed two days with the Emperor. What object there was in this expedition besides that of seeing an Emperor, I do not know. But a cat looking on a king, could not, in all probability, have more innocent consequences. Malden, I suppose, is come back with him, as his conferences with his Imperial Majesty could not be more interesting, after his R[oyal] H[ighness] was gone.

Lord Cornwallis's letter to Mr. Webster's father on the death of his son *est très touchante*. The town empties extremely. I reckon my stay to be from this time about five weeks. Belgiosioso told me last night, that he had had letters from Milan, by which he was informed that the M. Fagnani was gone quite mad. He has been stone blind a considerable time, and I take for granted both these misfortunes are come from the same cause, that is, mercury. His experiments to ease the one probably occasioned the other. I never hear one syllable from any of the family; I hope in God that I never shall, or poor Mie Mie either. It grows every day less likely, and yet when I am out of spirits, that Dragon, among others, comes across me, and distresses me; and the thought of what must happen to that child, if I am not alive to protect her. You will not wonder then, that I am afraid of being left to my own reflections: *elles sont quelque fois fort tristes*. Clubs are better for dissipation than consultation; all which being considered makes me wish myself not alone, or so much in public. But to find a person who really interests themselves (*sic*) about you, and is able and willing to give you such advice as applies immediately to your case, is of all things in the world most difficult to meet with, but the most comfortable when you do, and is the utmost service which I ever expect from anybody in this world, and yet what I despair of finding, in the circle in which I move. I will not fatigue you with any more *bavardise*. Remember me most kindly to Lady Carlisle and my cordial love to all the children, and pray let me know how my dear little George goes on.

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, June 18, Portugal Street.—I was afraid when I wrote to you last, that one of your letters to me might have miscarried, but from your silence I take it for granted I received the letter which you were apprehensive at the time of Corbett's writing that I had not. Our

* Howard, sister of Lord Carlisle.

Parliament will never be up, it sits as long as anything but the Pharaoh table. Charles' [Fox] books, which were seized, were sold this week. Gibbon's book, which contained the manuscript note by Charles, was smuggled from the sale, for though Charles wished to have sold it, yet it never was put up. He bought in most of his books for almost nothing. He made me a present of one of them, which I consider as a very great curiosity, especially as it has occasioned a copy of verses upon the subject written by Roger Payne.

There are several marriages which they say are to take place. Lord George* to Lady B. Compton, Lord Fairford to a sister of Lord Guernsey's, and Lord Guernsey to Miss Thynn. There is enough almost to make a country dance. His Honour has been greatly alarmed by the fire at the Opera House at Paris. His care extends to all theatres both here and elsewhere. He was afraid that many of the *premiers sujets* were burnt, but yesterday I showed him a French Gazette, and with some degree of difficulty he was prevailed upon to believe that there were no lives lost in the fire.

I dined yesterday at Petersham; you know it now belongs to Tom Pitt. Lady Pembroke dined there; she has a small lodging just on the other side of Tom Pitt's pale at a keeper's house in Richmond Park, to which she has built four rooms out of her pin money. The Bank turns out to Hare better than an Embassy to Warsaw, and Lord Robert's partnership is likely to produce more than the pension of a Lord of Trade. He has let his own house to Sir George Rodney's son, who, as well as his father, a few years ago, had not, nor could have, any house at all, and he is now in Foley House; *voici les ouvrages de la fortune.* Hare was in a great passion yesterday evening, or rather this morning, with General Smith, who, it seems, takes all the liberties of a punter, and treats the bankers with an *hauteur* that very much enraged the partnership, and Hare in particular.

I have been dining very often at different villas in the country. I passed four and twenty hours at Strawberry Hill, and went through his† whole collection of portraits. Lady Spencer gave a great breakfast on Saturday at Wimbledon, to which, for the first time that I ever was asked to her house, I was invited. I did not go, however, though there was novelty to induce me so to do, but I learnt that there was a magnificent breakfast and a grand *monde.* Town seems now, in the middle of June, as full as it is in winter.

They said the Duke of Gloucester was gone to Brussels, but he only crossed the water, and is returned. His visit to the Emperor must have been a very short one. He had scarce time to leave his name at his door. Gibbon is to come into Parliament for Lymington in the room of Mr. Dummer, who is dead; he left nothing to either of the Pentons, who are his nearest relations, but has left all his state to Ned Chamberlayne, who acted for him as his steward. Delmé is gone to Bouverie's to meet Lady Julia. Neither he [n]or Lady Betty talk as yet of going into the country. I think I have now sent you news sufficient, and you see I do not think it necessary to wait always for an answer. I am very much flattered when I get a letter from a Lord Lieutenant, and therefore you must not think it extraordinary that I should wish to hear from you. I beg my best respects to Lady Carlisle, and pray remember me to Ekins, Emily, Corbett, and Crouble‡—*tutti quanti.*

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* Cavendish. † H. Walpole's. ‡ *Sic; qu.* Crowle.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 19, Tuesday.—Last night I went, when I came from airing, to White's, where I stayed in the Chocolate Room till I went home to bed, that is till 12—Lord Ashburnham, Williams, and I—hearing Lord Malden's account of the Emperor, and of the manner of his living, and travelling, and behaving. It was very amusing and circumstantial. He is really a great prince *dans tous les sens*, and by Lord M[alden's] account a sensible man, with a very amiable address and behaviour.

He talked of the excessive gaming here, and of Charles Fox, and he spoke of him not in terms of very high esteem. Speaking of his talents and oratory, he said, "*Il suffit qu'il dite* (*dise?*) *des injures.*"

What of business there was passed between his R[oyal] H[ighness] and the Emperor; Malden was not of that Cabinet. I suppose nothing essential is as yet concluded between them. He promised the Princess Sophia, when he took leave of her, that he should certainly be returned on Sunday, and kept his word very punctually; so something may transpire through her R[oyal] H[ighness's] channel.

While I was hearing these things, I was called into the vestibule by Gregg, who communicated to me your letter, which corresponded with the last which I received from you. It is a pity that Warner should not know your just idea of what is right or wrong. I am and shall be very uneasy till I hear from him.

I observed, in your letter to Gregg, that you press him to solicit the payment of the arrears from Charles. I had mentioned it in mine to you, as you will find in a few days. But you will not be surprised at anything which that boy does; you must know not half an hour before Fawkener said that he left Charles a loser [of] 5,000 to General Smith at picquet, and [he] was then playing with him a 100*l.* a game.

I go tonight with Mie Mie to the Opera in Lady Townshend's box, to see this famous dance of Medea and Jason. The girl had not in her head to go this year any more to the Opera, but Lady Townshend made this party. It will be *étouffante;* Vestris, it is said, dances for the last time.

The Emp[eror], I forgot to tell you, said that he had now in his pay, and ready for service, 300,000 men and 40,000 horse. I have heard before the same thing. He is attentive to the greatest detail; he travels and lives in journeys, and at such places as Bruges or Ghent, with the utmost temperance and simplicity. He refuses audiences to no one individual, [so] that he is occupied with that and his reviews from very early in the morning till it is dark. He speaks French without the least accent whatsoever. He has a dark complexion, *bazané*, but very lively eyes, and fine teeth, and a most manly carriage, with great affability. We all went home to bed in admiration of this Emperor.

He received a letter from Belgioi[o]so while the Duke of G[loucester] was there. I have no doubt but what passes at Brooks's makes part of the despatch. He reads all our papers in English, so I asked Lord Malden if he said anything of my jokes, and was mortified to find that they had escaped his Imp[erial] Majesty's observation. But he has read some of them, *sans doute*, so I may have the same vanity as poor Dick Edgcumbe had, of thinking that the Emperor of Constantinople had from the windows of his seraglio heard him play upon the kettle drums.

I heard no more of an approaching Peace. Dr. Gemm assures me that the French will make no overtures towards it, and that we must ask it ourselves. The Emperor does not seem to be of opinion that we

shall subdue our Colonies, but thinks our cause a just one. He does not seem favourable to the French, or to like his sister the French Queen. He said one day, *Que la bongress (?)* ma sœur aime la France ; that*, if she does, deserves another reflection ; *his* is not a just one ; *elle aime les dames françoises, cela n'est pas à douter. La Princesse de Carignan et M^e^. de Polignac en sont témoins.*

Gregg has been here for [a] quarter of an hour ; he came to desire that I would meet Lord Ravensworth at dinner at his house next Sunday. It is the day I go to Streatham. I have told you that I have now fixed to be there from Saturday till Tuesday m[orning] each week during my lease. I asked Gregg when he went into the North ; he has fixed no time. I asked him if he went alone ; he said yes. It is an idea of mine that he would not dislike the carrying Mrs. Gregg and his daughter with him, if while he went into Cumberland he had your permission to leave them at Castle Howard. I have thought it proper to hint this to you, because, if you cho[o]se to make him that offer, you may. He does not expect it ; and I do assure you that I will not say one single word to him to let him understand that I had mentioned [it]. I do not, indeed, believe that he would like that I should ; so whatever you do, I beg not to be committed.

I believe that I shall take it upon myself to speak to Charles about these arrears, for he has that good humour in his composition, that he never takes anything amiss that I say to him, and I am sometimes very free in telling him how opposite my sentiments are to him, and to his conduct. I should rather say to his conduct, for, personally, I love him, as he would have had no doubt, if he had been like other reasonable people ; *car avec les défauts les plus insignes il y a quelque fois un brin de raison dans la pluspart des hommes ; mais en lui, ce qui est defectueux, l'est radicalement.* He has adopted it with so much earnestness that there is no room for reproof or hope of correction.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, June] 20, Wednesday morning.—Yesterday . . . I was obliged to go, as soon as my dinner was over, to meet Lady Townshend at the Opera, and by the time that I could carry Mie Mie home it was too late to write to you a second despatch. . . . I went, as I have told you, to the Opera. This famous dance almost stifled me, but did not amuse me in the least. The quantity of brimstone on fire, the murder of the children, and all together, was the most disagreeable sight in the world ; besides that, we were too near it. We moved out of Lady Townshend's box into Lady Rockingham's, that is upon the stage. Mie Mie did not like so near a view of this more than myself, and that I am glad of ; for although I have been very sparing of these amusements, and have never carried her but to one play as yet, and but twice to the Opera, I am resolved, for reasons, to put all expectations of them as much out of the question as I can, for the present. As she likes the country and her horse so much better, and as she is both safer and healthier there, I shall endeavour to be there as much as possible for the future.

Dr. Gemm goes with me to Streatham on Saturday, and stays here a fortnight longer before he goes to France, for my satisfaction. I have

* Qu. borgnesse = one-eyed woman.

lent him a room in Chesterfield Street House till Lady* C[arlisle] arrives. He is much to my mind. But he is the reverse of what he appears to be in one respect, and so am I in the same. He has an air *morne, abbatu* (sic), *triste, et rêveur. Le charactère de son esprit n'est pas celui-la;* it is *réflechi*, I grant, but not *triste*. He does not make use of his reflections, but to accommodate himself to the ways of the world, to its caprices, and to all its defects. He comes into the world, and takes it as he finds it, but has no necessity to search it. I am afraid *that* is not my case. I have an air *riant*, that announces all kinds of levity, and I have too much of it for any age, especially for mine. Company is necessary to me, because I am afraid of my own. Those who have abused me know nothing of me; but I, who know myself perfectly, am reproaching myself continually, and am often reduced, for an apology to myself, to say, which is true, that I never intended it. I must have leave to carry Dr. Gemm with me on Saturday to dine at Gregg's, where I am engaged to meet Lord Ravensworth, or cannot go.

I went to White's last night to supper; Williams below stairs sucking Malden for more anecdotes of the Emperor. I went upstairs to sup with Lord Digby and Lord Ashburnham, but could not stay there [a] quarter of an house (*sic*—hour). The candles and the room, *et l'odeur des viandes*, quite overcame me; so I went home to bed; and so I will for the rest of this year, *de bonne heure*. I found this morning the benefit of it; I rose more cheerful, and when I came down into my great room began this letter to you.

How you receive all these scrawls, such *fatras de riens*, I cannot tell; but writing to you amuses me, because my thoughts are much employed about you and yours. In four months more I hope that you will have another son. But if you had forty, it would not make me wish less that you may preserve my dear little George, and that he may be for ever an honour and a comfort to you. My love to him and to his sisters, and my respects to Lady Carlisle. Many compliments also to Dr. Ekins. I am afraid of your *grande chère et exquise*, both on his account and yours, and indeed of all your magnificence. You give your children, especially your son, the best example in every other respect that can be wished. However, patience! Yours most affectionately, my dear Lord.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 21, Thursday m[orning].—. . . . It is very *plaisant* to hear the different language which report has made the Emperor talk, according to the Party the person is of who reports it. I believe that his Imperial Majesty said very little of any importance *à nos deux vagabonds*, and the journey was made more out of ostentation than anything else, and that the Emperor was exceeding glad that they had got aboard their vessels to return home.

March is returned from Anesley; has laid out more money there; ordered, I suppose, more to be done, and goes on exclaiming against the absurdity of having any house at a distance; but no one nearer is as yet taken. He dined with me yesterday, and Sir G. Colbrooke, who is going a writer to Bengal; which must be as mortifying a situation to him as Lambert Simnel being made a turnspit, after the Duchess of Burgundy

* The Dowager. This is the only letter which gives a description of the foreign Baron before mentioned (p. 423). It is as follows: "Monsieur Larcher, who calls himself the Baron de Wenheim, but is not so." He is stated to have been born at Colmar. *Cf.* Jesse, III. 392.

had proclaimed him heir to the Crown. I dine tomorrow at Lord Ashburnham's villa on the King's Road; on Saturday, as I told you, at Gregg's, with Lord Ravensworth and Dr. Gemm; and I shall stay at Streatham till Tuesday.

The rumour last night was, an attack on Gibraltar, in which 2,000 were killed. Sir G. Colbrook[e] tells me we are 200,000 (*sic*) millions in Debt. We did not owe above 49 when I came into Parliament in 1747, and we incur that expense now in two years. The business of Parliament will die away in about eight days more. The Duke of Richmond is going to Spa, but not the Duchess. Lord and Lady Lucan, Sir R. and Lady Payne go to Brightheimstone. Lord and Lady Harrington are returned, and little Frederick St. John. Charles lost 8,000 in two days. It is many since I have seen him. How the Bank goes on I do not know; *il suffit de savoir qu'elle n'est pas en dommage*; without that, it must gain.

Incomplete?

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, June ?]—If I was to go to Ireland, and to stay, I should like to be in the House of Commons there, that I might be one of your plumpers. Lord Portmore's goods are all seized, and a great deal of fine old china and other things belonging to my Lady Dorchester, and which probably the King had given her, will be sold next week at his house in Upper Grosvenor Street. I was in hopes that that old rake and jockey had contrived more comfort for the remainder of his life. He must be near four score.

Lord Loughborough tells me that he intends making you a visit. I feel a great deal when I hear people talking of going to you, and I hope that next year I shall be able to execute my purpose. I am, I thank God, as well as I believe a man can be at my years, and I know of no intemperance which will shorten my days. But they are numbered, and I should dread to be told the period of them, lest I might have no hopes of seeing you again, nor any of you.

I have these thoughts to combat with often, and that they may not make too deep an impression, I shall dread to be at Streatham by myself, which after nine at night I should be, if I did not secure some companion for the evening. I hope that my nephew Charles, who does not find clubs necessary to his social life, will come and stay with me; he is very sensible, and the best tempered man in the world, with the least prejudice, and always a great deal of candour.

Lord Westmoreland's sister, who they tell me is pretty, and has 10,000*l.*, is to marry that Mr. Lowther, who is gone with the Duke of G[loucester]. But do not I tell you things over and over again? There is but one thing I am not afraid to repeat, and that is, to beg that you will live upon your Irish revenue. It has been done, and may be done, and no credit lost. But you will be so *magnifique*, that I am afraid all that Gregg and I can say will avail but little.

Charles assured me last night that at one time he had won to his share 30,000*l.*; in these gains he comprehend[s] what he has won by punting and quinze. He is in high feather, and spirits, and cash, and pays, and loses, and wins, and insures, and performs all kind of feats, to make his *Roman* complete.

Lord Cholm[ondeley] complains that the other day, when he went to the King's Levee, he was not spoke to, and talks of having an audience, and an explanation. If he puts his foolish scheme in practice, the King

will have a good opportunity of getting rid of him. I think he might rid his hands of a dozen such idiots as he is, without any danger to his Government.

No mention yet of the disposal of the vacant offices. I hope that Storer will be discreet till that affair is decided, and receive this favour, for which the obligation will be to you, in Lord N[orth's] own ungracious manner, and at his own time. It is a good thing to have once a footing in Government, and so early an opportunity of being at one of the Boards is what he could not have had but by the means which you have furnished him with.

Well, *adieu donc pour aujourd'hui.* I hope George is as manageable as you say he is for my credit, for if he is not . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 22, Friday.—I must begin my letter of today by contradicting the piece of intelligence with which I concluded my last. I went to Lady Betty's yesterday after dinner, who was gone with Mr. Delmé to Bray, till Wednesday. I saw your porter, who is established there, and he told me that no letter from abroad was come; so this came from the vague report of servants who never comprehend truth, or tell it.

I went to White's, and there met with Lord Loughborough, who goes the Oxford Circuit. He finishes at Stafford, and from thence goes to Ireland. He desired me to go up stairs into the supper room with him, to which I had consented, but Williams and Lord Ashburnham, and he and I assembled around the cold stove, till the supper was forgot, and I fell asleep.

I walked home, but called in at Brooks's as I passed by; Hare in the chair; the General chief punter, who lost a 1,000. The bank concluded early a winner, 12 or 1300. Charles, *de côté ou d'autre*, told me that he had won 900. I said that I was informed from the Emperor that he had lost lately 8,000. He said, in two days, at various sports. I hinted to him that I had a suit to prefer. He guessed what it was, and begged that I would not just then speak to him about money. He was in the right. I meant to have dunned him for yours.

I told him that I had been reading his character in the Public Advertiser. The writer says that his figure is squalid and disagreeable. I told him that my opinion coincided with half of that account, that he was undoubtedly squalid, but if by his figure was meant, as in French, his countenance, it was not a true picture. He said he never cared what was said of his person. If he was represented ugly and was not so, those who knew him would do him justice, and he did not care for what he passed in that respect with those who did not. The *qu'en dira-t-on?* he certainly holds very cheap, but he did [not ?] explain to me exactly to what extent proceeded his indifference towards it. I then went home.

Today we have a late day in the House, but I shall go and dine first at Lord Ashburnham's in the King's Road, and tomorrow to my villa at Streatham. I have bought Johnson's Lives of the Poets, and repent of it already; but I have read but one, which is Prior's. There are few anecdotes, and those not well authenticated; his criticisms on his poems, false and absurd, and the prettiest things which he has wrote passed over in silence. I told Lord Loughborough what I thought of it, and he had made the same remarks. But he says that I had begun with the life the worst wrote of them all.

Charles was yesterday very abusive upon Johns[t]on. Lord N[orth] said in his reply that the gentleman was at a great distance; that if he had been on the spot, he would have given him as good an answer then as he had done on other occasions. We shall sit, I believe, till about the 11th of next month. John says, in regard to the East India business, we are now all afloat. It is *à recommencer*. I should, if I was the Minister, put [it?] into his hands for dispatch.

Mr. Raikes has sent to me this morning to know how George does. I sent him word that he was very well, that I heard from him, and that he had particularly desired to be remembered to him.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 23, Saturday morning.—I am going this morning to Streatham, and from thence to Mitcham to dinner, and carry Dr. Gem with me; Storer meets me there, and Lord Ravensworth, as I told you, is to be of the party. The Duke of Q[ueensberry] has excused himself. Dr. G[em] stays with me till Tuesday. I wrote to you last night, and that a post or mail should arrive in Ireland without a letter from me, who write to you every morning, and often in an evening too, is what I cannot easily comprehend. It might have happened.

I said no more about your shyness than what you tell me that you feel, and would not feel if you could help it. It is very unpleasant, and makes a man very awkward in one company who is the reverse of it in another, and conclusions may be drawn from one in your elevated station having that shyness, which would be disadvantageous. I think that in time it will grow better, and that in the House of Lords you will one day or other be as little embarrassed as when you are talking to Gregg or to me. . . .

The picture which Dr. Ekins tells me of delights me. I must have a copy of it, and I must have next winter a drawing of the House of Lords, and you on your throne. I had a great mind to have had a sketch of George taken before he went, but I wanted to know first if Lady C[arlisle] approved of it. Fawkner talks of going in about ten days, Storer in the autumn, Boothby in the winter.

Charles desires, and so he has told the House of Commons, a very early attendance and meeting of the two Houses, to prevent as much as possible the mischief intended by Ministers to this poor country. People suspect pretty universally that the Pharo Bank must not have too long a vacation. I dunned him again last night, but the tide was at too great an ebb. He said he had paid 600, and would pay the other six when things mended. *Cela n'est pas mal.* I appeared satisfied, and said that Gregg and I were much pleased with his disposition to do what he could. I want to get round him *du côté de son amour propre*, but he has not much vanity about paying what he owes. What pleases me is that I may say anything to him, and he takes nothing ill, and by that and some other things he does in a great measure disarm me, and I can never abuse him heartily, but when I don't see him for some time.

. . .

Incomplete.

Lord Carlisle to George [Selwyn].

1781, June 24, Abbeville [near Dublin].—No news yet from France; what can be the meaning of this silence? Perhaps the next mail will clear up this mystery. Gen. Craig came to the audience, and I believe

will leave Dublin with no favourable impression of it, for he told me its dirt and its inhabitants exceeded all the descriptions he had ever heard. Indeed I am often put in mind of what Jack Mosteyn's (*sic*) said of the poor of this country—that till he came here he never knew what the English beggars did with their old cloath (clothes ?). I am flattered with the hope of seeing Fawkner soon, but don't know from himself when he will be here. . . .

Copy, in the Earl's own hand.

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, June 28, Portugal Street.—I received your letter dated the 16th of this month, for which I thank you very much, and I should have done so sooner, but I have hardly for this week been a day in town. I have been dining at Roehampton, at Streatham, and at Sir Thomas Clarges', who has taken a house near Salt Hill. From thence I went to Bray, and came to town the day before yesterday. The prospect indeed is, as you observe, very gloomy. Look which way you will, and it is difficult to find any rays of hope. Johnston's letter I think I should have known among a thousand. It is so like him, that he could have had neither Cooper or any one else to have assisted him in it. It is he himself *tout crâché*.

It is difficult to determine, or even say with any probability of certainty, when I shall pay a visit to Ireland. As long as Lord North does not fill up these vacancies I suppose it is proper for me to stay in or about London to wait that event. Parliament is as some say to rise shortly, *i.e.*, supposing the India Committee make no report that will occasion any business. This is what Hatsell tells me. I have neither had one word either from Lord North, or any *sous-ministre* about the Board of Trade; nor do I believe that Lord North has said anything to anybody about it. In my last letters I have not mentioned this matter, thinking that filling my letters constantly with this subject could be only tiresome to you, and being sure that it was a topic which generally puts me out of humour. There is however something so extraordinary in Lord North's manner of conferring what are generally called favours, that his excessive awkwardness ought rather to amuse one than to make one angry. Whenever he gives me this place, it will not be in my power to thank him.

Hare comes into Parliament for Knaresbro' in the room of Walsingham. Boothby complains of the want of money. John St. John is more dull, more tedious, more important than ever. As for a mistress, nothing of that sort detains me here. My love, Miss Seymour, is come over to England. Boothby says that she is excessively altered, but I do not see more difference than what five years generally effects in all ladies whatever. Miss Monkton wants her to be married to the Duke of Queensbery, and she imagines that she is so clever at all negotiations of that sort that she will be able to bring about the match. There is nothing that some women do not think that they can accomplish.

Lady Craven gave a tea-drinking last night at a sort of thatched house she has built upon the banks of the Thames. I did not imagine that anything could be ugly upon the banks of the Thames, but she has realised what I never could have imagined. She has made her house look as if it was built in an ait, having surrounded it entirely with willows, and so with a willow in her hand, she waves her love to come again. There were very few people. Malden quarrelled with Mrs. Robinson lately, *like a fool*, as he told me, on account of her flirting

with Lord Cholmondeley; and Mrs. Elliott being come over, C[holmondeley] rather took to her; so Mrs. R[obinson] broke with him, and Malden has made it up with her. Thus this disunion ends perhaps in a stronger tie.

I shall go to Tunbridge, if I can, to drink the waters. I am sure they will do me good, and there I shall be within call supposing Lord N[orth] should send for me. Our estates in the West Indies make nothing at all this year, owing to the hurricane. I am glad to hear that Ekins has recovered his spirits. Indeed, if you had seen him here—*pendente lite*—you would have thought him in a truly miserable plight. I thought he was quite a different man when he left England; he had been so much worse that I did not perceive his wretchedness at all when he went away. Lady Julia, I think, has grown fat since she has been in Ireland, and looks very well. Medee & Jason, which is so completely worn out to us, who have seen it all the winter, was new to her. She has still got Ninnette à la Cour to see before she is upon a par with the rest of the world.

The Duke of Gloucester's visit to the Emperor took up the attention of the town for a few days; but that is now blown over. Lord Beauchamp has not done yet with the poor West Indians; he presents today a petition from the sugar refiners, to try, as they could not get any advantage from their former application to Parliament to themselves, if they cannot from this do us some mischief. Mr. Rumney has not finished as yet your portrait, nor is the copy for the Attorney General * begun. I called upon him the other day to quicken his speed, and he promised to set to work directly.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Gower.

1781, June 30, Abbeville.—Private and confidential.—As I promised when I took my leave of your Lordship every now and then to give you some account of our proceedings on this side of the water, I sit down to write to you, without any particular event or circumstance to justify an intrusion upon the quiet of Trentham, but merely to fulfil that promise.

Our political stupor continues, owing to the general dispersion of those who, when collected either with or without design, are seldom long together without doing some mischief. The great people declare themselves satisfied with what England has done for this country; the English of which is, that they know not what new demand to make in regard to their commerce, and in their cool moments look with more alarm at constitutional innovation than his Majesty's representative can do. But the conviction that nothing can be so dangerous for themselves as extending the jurisdiction of the House of Lords, destroying Poynings' law, or in short, weakening the connection between the two countries, gives me no sort of confidence but that when the Parliamentary fever is at its height, every one of these destructive measures may be proposed, and with difficulty defeated.

The Speaker, the Duke of Leinster, and Conolly are lavish in their expressions of attachment and gratitude for the favours they have received from Government since my appointment. Lord Shannon and Lord Ely I have no fears about, particularly the former. I live with the Attorney General † in the habits of more than political friendship, yet I have my doubts but that his character is a little mistaken on your side the water. But he is a great card in the House of Commons. Daly and Fitzgibbon are men also of very considerable weight both in respect

* James Wallace. † John Scott.

to property and ability. No reason to think that they will be adverse. The latter of these has a very independent fortune, but has not forsaken the profession of the Law, where he maintains an eminent station. Yelverton has the appearance of a clever, pleasant man, but Eden will not always find him so agreeable, as I believe he will not risk his popularity by any connection with us. I don't know that the Provost* has any game to play but to support. I flatter him with attentions to the College, which I believe hardly make up for my reserve in more important matters. When the word reserve is made use of as applicable to my conduct, it commonly means I have not disclosed some secret which I should have real cause to repent of all my life, or that I have not put myself into the hands of some honest gentleman, who is very much disappointed he cannot twist and turn me as he pleases. Naturally I have it to a fault, and wish very much that I had less of it, though I protest to you I would not be deprived of it while I remain in this country, as I look upon [it ?] as my great defence against stratagems and invasions peculiar to my situation, and peculiar to those who make use of them ; unless I could be possessed of what I never saw in any one (and I don't mean to flatter) except in your Lordship—openness of countenance and manner, yet all that secrecy and discretion, that is accompanied in others by coldness and by silence.

Old Ponsonby rather keeps at a distance, which, if you was to talk to Lord Clermont, would be represented to you as the greatest misfortune that could befall me. But I am of a different opinion. Flood, though he came up to Dublin upon my arrival, resents the manner in which I directed he should be talked to, viz., that in consideration of the very high and lucrative employments he held under the Crown, that I did expect a decisive conduct from him. Whether he is now meditating, whether he will fling the V. Treasurership at my head, or force me to strip him of it (which I think I shall be necessitated to do), or behave as he ought, I am perfectly at a loss to guess.

Our Chancellor† will not live, and where his successor will be taken from God knows. I have written fully to Lord Thurlow upon this subject, but fear, if I may judge from the newspapers, that I have not seized the *mollia tempora*. So great a man, if he is peevish, should not let the whole world be witness to it. Foster, who was a conspicuous character in Lord B.‡ administration, is or ought to be firm with me, as I have given his brother a living of near 1,000*l.* a year. You have sent our Commander-in-Chief over in great spirits, but I fear in a great scrape as to money matters, for the other day some official letters were laid before me addressed to Sir J. Irvine, to repay a large sum owing to Governmemt, which I fear he is by no means prepared for. But he talks of the King, and Gower, and Weymouth, and I have no doubt but that he will do his military business with me very pleasantly. Lord Charlemont and his friend Grattan are in determined opposition. The oratory of the latter everybody says is surprising, so I must believe it.

So much for men. Things, measures, and operations must be reserved for another letter. I shall make no apology for the length of this, as you will perceive by the first line, that it is not likely to contain any matter that presses for an answer. I take it for granted you will peruse it at your leisure. Lady C. is very well, and equal to the fatigue of making a great many courtesies in the Phœnix Park next Monday, when I review the garrison of Dublin, which I much wish was over for

* Of Dublin University.
† James Hewitt, Lord Lifford, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.
‡ Buckinghamshire's.

both our sakes. Morpeth continues perfectly well, and is much indebted to your and Lady Gower's kind attention to him. Lady C. desires her love to your Lordship and Lady Gower.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 30, Saturday morning.—. . . Hare comes into Parliament for Knaresborough in Lord Walsingham's room. Lord Malden begged leave to send a painter to see your picture of Garrick, &c., and he has coloured a print after it in such a manner as I never saw; it is so well done that there is not the value of half-a-crown of difference between the original and this painted print. It is incomparable. I shall have another, but that which you promised me I never had. However, I suppose that a proof sheet is not necessary for this performance. I wish that I may have as well done the picture in Ireland which Dr. Ekins has spoke to me of.

The bank won last night considerably; the General again the loser. The small fry around the table put me in mind of all the little porpoises which you see leaping into the great one's mouth in the *Ombres Chinoises*. Charles was at the Quinze table, and seemed to be winning. I never see him but with heaps of gold before him. His house, I mean the place of execution, where he is to go soon, is the sprucest to look at from the street I ever saw; I never knew such a transition from distress to opulency, or from dirt to cleanliness.

There was a very warm altercation in the H[ouse] yesterday between him and the Advocate.* He then went and dined at Vauxhall. If he is at last a field preacher, I shall not be surprised.

The Chancellor is very warm and angry at the defendants in the case of Cullen, and the subscribers to the engagement for the house in Chesterfield Street. He has put the cause over to a certain day, for the sake of giving the noble Lords and gentlemen time (as he expressed it) to recollect themselves. I suppose Cullen to be as much a rogue as Brooks, Kenny, Martindale, or any of them, and like them, his intention was to make a very rapid fortune at the expense of the subscribers. But that does not excuse these voluntary supporters of his scheme in engaging for his indemnification, and then leaving him to be a bankrupt. In this light the Chancellor sees it, and so I believe I should, notwithstanding the friendship which I have for some of the subscribers. I have paid the bill for which I was sued, and have a discharge in full. It was a great fraud, but I never subscribed for the house, and so am not in the scrape. But March is always getting into one of this sort, from obstinacy or inadvertency. I told Lord Egremont last night what I had heard at Lincoln's Inn concerning him and his comrades.

Now I am going to write you a letter which Mr. Kingsman will deliver to you as an introduction to you. He is, as I have told you, and as you must know, a Member of Parliament, and so is his wife's brother, and of that you will make what you please; but he has desired a letter from me, and he shall have it. You know pretty near as much of him as I do; his chief connection has been with Lord Egremont. I have never heard any harm of him, but his foolish match with Tenducci's spouse. I dare say that you will be very civil to him, and I do not desire that you should not be very reserved to him as well as to others. I adopt perfectly your ideas on that point. The public papers, †as I hear, call you Tacitus. There are many others which

* Henry Dundas. † Found apart.

would have offended me more. A word to the wise is enough, and to fools it is too much.

Storer is much out of humour with Lord N[orth], as I understand from his friend Lord Brud[e]nell; he may perhaps in time have reason to be so, but at present I could wish that he did not express it. He will gain *your point*, for it is *yours*, not *his;* and so I should, in his place, govern my resentment by *your* directions; am I not right? But this, *de vous à moi;* you know that I have a great regard for him, and shall espouse his interest warmly, whenever I have an opportunity. He has great merit with me for his civility, but how to appreciate exactly his value with Government is beyond me. If ever Lord N[orth] means to fill up these employments, he must now when the Session is at an end.

There was a tea-drinking yesterday for the family at the B[isho]p of Winchester's,* at Chelsea. Williams tells me that it is a most incomparable mansion. Lord Guildford, I supposed, was not a little happy at seeing both his sons so provided for, and each with a George; one at at his side, the other with one at his button-hole.

Lord Sondes is said to be in a bad way, so there is another windfall for the Minister. If my old friend the Duke of Newcastle dies, and it seems not improbable that it should happen soon, Lord N[orth] will have made a good market of his ministerial talents, as Lord Chatham did of those which he had for Opposition. Then, as Lord Cov[entry] says, Lord N[orth] will give up, and then we shall see an end of the American dispute.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781 ?]†—The company was the Duke of Queensberry, Lord Eglinton, and myself, besides the family. Lord Deerhurst has a great inclination to be married. There are two women he has in his mind, and one is Lady Aug. Campbell. If I had encouraged him he would have proposed himself. I think the system not a bad one, considering his situation, but as to the objects of his choice, *je ne m'en mêle pas.* He has got into Lord Peterborough's house over against me, and such a resort of cavaliers, who meet there on horseback every morning, and from thence proceed to Hyde Park, you never saw. *Mon quartier est devenu bien vivant par cette assemblée de jeun*[e]*s gailliards.*

Charles F[ox] is gone out of town with Lord Robert. He talks upon the funds, setts up drink (*sic*), and spews to an immoderate degree. I sent today to Storer to dine with me, but he did not come; I have not seen him some days, but I let him know by a note what was said concerning him in your letter. I can only tell you that he made you an immediate answer to your last; so the winds must be the occasion of your not having received it. I wish Lord North would be as determined and explicit with him.

I am now going to dress and to go to Lady Gower's, and from thence to Lady Meilbourn's, where there is a great something. She has recollected that she lost 36 guineas to me at Hazard in Lady Carlisle's room some months ago; that sum was gone beyond my hopes.

The P[rince] is recovered; the excess of eruption saved his life, which will be a very precarious one, if the conduct of it is not changed. Everybody now expects peace, but when, or upon what terms, nobody guesses as yet; *il suffit que le tems n'en soit pas bien éloigné.*

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* The Hon. Brownlow North. † Before July.

[Lord Carlisle] to Lord Thurlow, Lord Chancellor of England.

1781, July 1.—*Private.*—Although the sickness of Lord Lifford does not warrant any immediate apprehension of his death, yet his constitution has received from this last attack so sensible a blow as to make it necessary for me very seriously to contemplate the possible event of a vacancy in the seals of this kingdom. . . . I have already had some applications upon this subject, and indeed it would be injurious to a gentleman very high in his profession, and in the estimation of the world, I mean Lord Tracton, were I not to bear my testimony of the general opinion concerning him. Lord Annaly, whom age and infirmities do not decently permit to talk of surviving Lord Lifford, hints at a vague report of his resignation.

But I shall decline entering into the respective merits of either of these worthy men . . . . till I can gain the necessary information, which perhaps your Lordship in confidence may afford me, viz., whether a recommendation in favour of a native of this country would on that account be unacceptable. Sure I am that if there is an idea founded in sense and reason that the being born and connected here would give a bias and inclination unfavourable to his Majesty's just authority in any future difficulties and disputes between the two countries, or the legal rights of the superintending power, such a recommendation ought to be without ceremony dismissed and rejected. If, on the other hand, that opinion admits of doubt, it may be worth considering whether, the choice resting upon an Englishman, because he is an Englishman, the temptations of swerving from duty and honour would be effectually removed.

In the case of the Englishman, when raised to this situation, he enters upon an honourable banishment for life: new connexions must be found to repair the loss of those he has abandoned, new friendships are to be acquired, new admirers, if his abilities are splendid, are to be attracted; and in the anxious endeavour to show that there is no remnant about him of partial inclination for any other air or soil, the very mischief and danger may be incurred, to guard against which was the motive of the choice. . . .

Autograph draft.

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, July 18.—I returned last night from Tunbridge, having perfectly renounced all hopes of the Board [of] Trade, and before two o'clock today I had kissed hands for it. If things cannot be done as one wishes them, one must be satisfied with them in any way. It is certainly true with respect to me that Lord North has contrived to make me a present in the most ungracious way possible. People say that it is his nature and not his fault, and therefore one must be satisfied. If, however, I do not feel much gratitude to him, you will give me leave to say how much obliged I am to you. . . . I have given notice of my appointment to Gregg, and he is to meet me at Brookes' tonight in order to direct my motions.

This morning I received a letter from Robinson to let me know that Lord North wanted to speak to me between eleven and twelve. It was one o'clock before he returned from Bushey, and then he told Sir Adam Ferguson, who is appointed also to the Board of Trade, and me, that we were to go directly to the Levee. I went home as fast as I could, but

arrived too late. The Duke of Queenbery (*sic*) and Lord Brudenell made an apology to his Majesty for me, and in his way from the Closet, when he was going to the House of Lords, I kissed his hand. Tomorrow I shall kiss the Queen's, and then I am to set out for Morpeth.

It is as yet uncertain, at least it is so to me, into whose places Sir Adam Ferguson and myself are to succeed. Whether it is Langley,* Andrew Stewart, or Lord Walsingham who is to vacate is not known. Different people have assured me that each of these are [is] to quit the Board, but as yet I have not learnt for certain who it is.

Lord North dined today at White's, where Crawford dined too, and in the course of the conversation took occasion to say everything disagreeable to Lord North that one could well imagine, and the things he said were the more disagreeable because they were true. The subject of their conversation was concerning the disposal of places.

We have received some bad news from the East Indies. What it is, is kept a secret, but it is not supposed to be the better because it is kept a secret. Six French ships were seen going into the road at Madras. What an unfortunate Governor will Lord Macartney be!

Fritz Robinson is very much disappointed in not being appointed to the Board of Trade with me. He refused the Vice-Chamberlainship to the Queen on account of his state of health, and Lord Lewisham has refused the vacant Stick from some considerations about his county re-elections.

The island of Tobago is certainly taken, as I understand, but it is not esteemed a matter of any great consequence. A letter has been received from Liverpool to Bamber Gascoigne, who is the authority for this piece of intelligence.

John St. John said he had something to say to you, but he has stopped short and left me in the lurch. (*A few words in parenthesis are struck out here.*) This parenthesis was some of his wit, which cannot pass any more than Mr. Andrew's† play. Lady Craven's after-piece comes out tonight. If it is not a better piece than her Ladyship, the Lord have mercy upon it. Delmé is in town, and about some disagreeable business relative to Mrs. Audrey (?). Lady North has had a ball at Bushey, and Lady Aylesford is going to give another at Putney. The great John made a considerable figure at Lady North's; he is now making what he calls a *pas grave* about the room, and insists upon my leaving off writing in order to look at him.

What do you think of the last Gazette? Do you think that there is anything that looks favourable to us in the distresses of the Americans? How this will end *Dieu sçait.* I have not the most distant idea. You speculate more on this political subject than I do, and may have prospects which I cannot see, but in spite [of] Pharaoh's banks, and St. James' Street, melancholy intervals obtrude themselves upon us, and one finds oneself despairing of anything like a fortunate issue from these troubles.

Mr. Tighe to [Mr. Eden ?].

1781, Aug. 12, Sunday, near Bray.—The very moment that I have been able to get to the end of one sheet (not knowing what is to follow) I dispatch it to you. My hand is very weak, but I wish to know whether anything like the enclosed is the thing that you thought of. If it is, you will make Cooke copy it. I really am not able at present to write better. Send me one line by *Tuesday's post to Bray,*

* Benjamin L'Anglois. † *Qu.* Miles Peter Andrews.

signifying in a friendly manner whether the sort of writing which I have used is in either matter or manner what you wish for, or can be of any use to his Excellency.

Signed: G.T. *Endorsed:* Mr. Tighe. *Enclosing—*

The striking features of the interior of Lord Buckingham's Government seem to have been as follows.

1776.—He was appointed at the end of the year 1776, and immediately received the late Mr. Tisdall, who had been Attorney-General for near twenty years, as his principal guide and manager.

1777.—Tisdall very early recommended Mr. Foster and Mr. Hussey Burgh as persons most capable of conducting the business of Parliament under his direction, and as most fit to succeed him as managers.

Mr. Burgh was in consequence made Prime Serjeant about four months after Lord B[uckinghamshire's] arrival in Ireland, and in about four months afterwards Mr. Tisdall died at Spa.

Thus was the Lord Lieutenant just at the eve of his first Session deprived suddenly of his chief agent and adviser. It was at this time that I had first the honour of being sent for to his closet. Mr. Foster was very soon named for the Chair of Supply, vacant by the death of Mr. Malone (not without some supposed discontent on the part of Mr. Beresford), and Mr. Scott, then Solicitor, was made Attorney-General.

1777.—In the Session which immediately ensued, viz., in October 1777, the Supply demanded was readily granted, and the spleen of the House of Commons seemed to be chiefly directed against the alleged prodigality of Lord Harcourt's Government.

Hence the usual orders for printing the several lists of pensions, &c. were extended to particulars of warrants for exceedings on Military Contingencies and concordatum, &c.; and hence arose the questions upon a grant to Mr. Sapple; see the Commons' Journals, Nov. 1777.

Government vigorously and effectually defended the warrant in favour of Mr. Sapple, and soon demonstrated how little ground there was for the invidious and ungenerous notion that prevailed, viz., that Lord B. was willing to let censure fall upon Lord H., who died a little before this time, or his friends.

Lord B. was now well assured of the assistance of Lord Shannon, the Duke of Leinster, Lord Ely, Lord Tyrone, and Mr. Conolly, and others.

1778.—They continued steady during that long Session, except in the instance of the *Law for the relief of Roman Catholics*, which Lord Shannon and Lord Ely and all their friends in place or otherwise vigorously opposed.

The Provost and Mr. Flood were hitherto moderate, yet seemed but little inclined to the service of Government. They were at this time very much occupied and mortified by the ill success of Elections in which they were deeply interested, and which were now in the course of very slow trial by Committees of the House of Commons. B., Mr. Flood being voted not duly elected at Callen, was obliged to purchase a seat at Enniskillen, which he now represents.

Sir R. Heron, however, maintained his ground in the House very confidently, assisted chiefly by Mr. Foster, Mr. Burgh, and Mr. Scott. The very odious Q.[question] of Embargo was adjourned to an impossible

day by a considerable majority, and everything was easy and honourable to Government. A large sum was voted *nem. con.* for the support of the French wars which broke out at this period, viz., March 1778.

But in the interval between the Sessions, from Aug. 14, 1778, to Oct. 12, 1779, want of every kind, discontent, jealousies, and demands arose. An Act for raising an effectual Militia had been passed, but could not, as was alleged, be carried into execution for want of money. This circumstance, added to the real terrors of invasion, produced the Volunteers.

It was not, however, before July 1779 (three months before the opening of Lord B.'s second Session of P.) that Mr. Hussey Burgh signified his intention of retiring from the lead in the House of Commons, giving at the same time assurances (almost with tears) that he should be as friendly to the Administration as his opinions, principles, and the situation of the country would admit. On the first day of the Session of 1779 no man was so violent, so inflammatory, or so perfectly hostile.

In Tighe's hand; incomplete?

Lord Carlisle to Lord H[illsborough].

1781, Aug. 18, Dublin Castle.—*Private.*—It was both with astonishment and anxiety that I perused that part of your Lordship's letter of the 10th inst., containing a strong and cautionary admonition, which I am to understand some part of my conduct has made it necessary for you so formally to impress. That I am not conscious of any intended act of disobedience to the slightest of His Majesty's directions is but a weak consolation to me in this moment, and but little alleviates that anxiety which your letter has occasioned. But if anything can augment my mortification, it is the tedious state of suspense under which I must labour till relieved by your Lordship; for my search into the Military Correspondence does not lead me to guess in what instance I have been guilty of a neglect or omission respecting the Commander in Chief.* It must of necessity occur to your Lordship that in many military arrangements, warranted by His Majesty's frequent approbations, that the private wishes of the Commander in Chief cannot in justice to him be quoted in an official despatch. It is more than probable that I may be inclined in some future day to propose humbly to His Majesty's consideration the lessening the number of the General Officers on the staff, the expense of whose appointments amounts to 29,000*l.* a year; and notwithstanding I am fully possessed of his, Sir John Irwine's, private opinion upon this Scheme of . . . . . (*sic*) I should have conceived I dealt harshly by him in bringing his name forward on such an occasion. He is a gentleman of great liberality of sentiment, with whom in the transacting business I have not had a difference of opinion, and who naturally must wish, when any measures are in contemplation, though of public utility yet not captivating to the soldier, that he should not be forced to endure more than his share of professional reproach. I shall most willingly take blame to myself if beyond this . . . . (*sic*) of him I have not produced his name as often as my duty requires me so to do.

Labouring with no small degree of assiduity to raise myself in His Majesty's opinion by the zealous and punctual discharge of my duty,

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* Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Irwin, or Irvine, K.B.

not at all moments equal to the fatigue and oppression that the complicated business unavoidably occasions in my present situation; I must freely confess to your Lordship that I am most sensibly affected by the seriousness and formality with which I am reprehended, and made the subject not of friendly caution but grave and austere admonition.

With respect to the promotion on Col. Reynolds selling out an older Major, Sir Hew Dalrymple, than the Major of the 68th . . . . . to purchase an old Captain comparatively speaking . . . . . (*sic*) proposes to buy Sir H. Dalrymple's majority. There being nothing novel in such an arrangement I had no scruple humbly to make a private communication of it, and through your Lordship's good offices attain, if possible, His Majesty's sentiments in order that I might act in perfect conformity to them, and if agreeable transmit with official regularity the succession.

When your Lordship says you *have good reason to doubt whether the King will think the Provost of Dublin University has held such conduct towards Government as to give him a claim to have his son preferred to older captains*, I am at a loss to discover your Lordship's meaning; because, if it is intended that no favours of Government should be extended to him (and a smaller mark of favour will hardly be solicited by him), I should humbly conceive there is but one part to take, which is to dispossess him of such employments, which the liberality of the Crown has left itself the power of resuming, and make him as an enemy as little dangerous as possible. I must beg your Lordship to reflect a little upon the task which is imposed upon me. If individuals are to be marked for punishment . . . . . and if it is expected that . . . . . suffer this idea but once get abroad . . . (*sic*) will be deceiving our Royal Master in the most treacherous manner if we did not fairly tell him that an Administration so circumstanced would inevitably bring disgrace and ——.

Draft.

[Lord Carlisle] to Lord Hillsborough.

1781, Sept. 8, Dublin Castle.—*Private and confidential.*— . . . My official despatches will afford your Lordship every information that I am capable of giving in the present situation of our affairs. But it is necessary I should say one word more upon the transactions of this day, conceiving them to be of something more than common importance.

In accepting the eventual services of the Volunteer Corps, these considerations presented themselves to me, and quickly decided me in the part I was to take; viz., that our Army consisted of hardly ten thousand men; that your Lordship's intelligence announced an invasion of fifteen thousand of the enemy; that there existed in this country a force of about twenty-five thousand men bearing the arms which Government had put into their hands; that these would undoubtedly take the field; that many had made the actual offer to act under Government:—under these circumstances I make no doubt you will perceive the danger of hesitation, as it might have implied distrust, and have made it very difficult indeed for me to have obtained hereafter the direction of a power which may possibly decide the fate of this country.

Copy, in Dr. Ekins's hand.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Gower.

1781, Sept. 16, Abbeville.—*Private.*—The intention of the enemy to make an attack upon Corke, which was formally and officially trans-

mitted to me, engaged for some days every moment of my time, so that I have been under the necessity of delaying the giving your Lordship an insight into the situation of the country at this moment, which in fact is both curious and interesting. However slow I was to give credit to an attempt seemingly so small in its object, and so hazardous in the execution, as a landing upon a difficult coast at this season of the year, yet the information coming in so serious a form, the moving the army together with other preparations were indispensable.

Corke and its neighbourhood being the places threatened, I have in as short a time as possible contrived to collect in the province of Munster an army of men fit for duty, exclusive of officers and non-commissioned officers, amounting to above seven thousand, fifteen hundred of which are cavalry. This arrangement took away in a great measure my apprehensions for the immediate safety of that place; but you will suppose that my mind was not so easy for other parts of the country, drained of that military force which, small as it was, we always found necessary for the support of civil government and for the enforcement of obedience to the law.

There was another object of very great magnitude to which I was obliged to direct my immediate attention, viz., the Volunteer Corps. My conduct towards them has been very decisive, and I hope not culpable. Their numbers at the lowest calculation [are] above twenty thousand, well appointed, and not ill-disciplined. They made liberal and unconditional offers of serving in any manner I should direct. They had the arms of Government in their hands, which, as they shewed no disposition to return in the hour of quiet, they would undoubtedly not relinquish when their country was invaded by a foreign enemy. We were told that the embarkation at Brest consisted of fifteen thousand men; our regular force consisting of not much above ten thousand for the defence of the whole Island, and the Volunteers, as I have said above, of more than twenty thousand. In this case I did not hesitate a moment to accept their eventual services in case of necessity, conceiving that I had no alternative; that hesitation would justly have had the appearance of distrust; and by procrastination I might have lost their confidence, which if I have gained, cannot fail of being of the greatest consequence, when they are to take the field in conjunction with the regular Army.

This is my plain story. If my conduct requires apology, it requires that I have not the ingenuity to annex to it, because, if it is not supported by necessity, it will be idle to have recourse to any other prop or assistance.

Since I began this letter we have less reason to think anything serious was ever intended against this country, Minorca appearing to be the object of attack. Lady Gower's letter received by the last mail makes Lady C. and myself very happy in the expectation of seeing so soon Lady Anne* and Lord Trentham, and affords us the truest satisfaction in the accounts of your Lordship's health, and that your cough is much abated in its violence. Lord Loughborough is still with us.

Two copies, one (in Dr. Ekins's hand) omitting the last paragraph.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Sept. 30, Sunday morning, Matson.—Storer, as I suspected, is gone to Wilton, there to divert himself till Becksford's (*sic*) fête

* Lady Anne Leveson-Gower, afterwards Vernon-Harcourt.

should begin, which was to be on Friday, and to last two days, so it may be tomorrow before I see him here. *Cela m'a beaucoup impatienté*, for although I have done just as if I had had no expectation of him, I know that, to a macaroni, it is the same thing. Every one of them, like the Frenchman, as described by my Lord Sudmer in the Anglois à Bordeaux, *entrainé par des legers desirs, ne voit sur ce cadran qu'un cercle de plaisirs;* and so the old country squire may stay at home *faisant le pied de gruë*, till, in the revolution of caprices, he, in his turn, receives a visit from them. I hope George will not grow up with any of these *qu'importe's*, and be *aliené comme une dame de palais* in every place where there is less company than in another.

I have had a letter today from the Duke,* wrote *dans l'antichambre du Roi*, a pleasure to me equal to that of the Bourg[e]ois Gentilhomme's, and it is from him I learn this vagary, for Storer has not wrote me one line, and twenty letters are here waiting his arrival. He will, it is true, have the pleasure of seeing George, which is more than he deserves, and the best entertainment I can afford him.

Here is a rainy day, and my woods, which have been so pleasant and so dressed, and all *in usum Delphini*, if the rain continues, will not be [fit] to be walked in. I have been up since five, because I heard Bob bark and could not sleep afterwards. By the way, my coachman has entirely debauched his [Bob's] inclinations from me. He takes it ill if I desire his company a minute, but I intend to call him back to his allegiance as soon as the heir apparent comes. He always goes out with us, and is as happy as the day is long; and I believe Bory is so in London, by the letters which he writes to Michelet, but he has as yet no other establishment, except in my house. He would be a treasure to some Dowager.

What think you of Rodney's motto? who chose it for him? and has anybody told him what it means? † I am mistaken if this eagle does not generate more pigeons than he is aware of, that is, if a great part of his acquisitions do not become a prey to the hawks of Brooks's, and if the Pharo table there will not be the vortex into which his money will be swallowed up. I am sorry for it; *en queis consevimus agros!* However, the Leeward Fleet is safe; if that is not *autant de gagné*, it is *autant d'épargné ou sauvé*, that is certain.

Now I will leave the rest of my paper to announce George's arrival. Harris has been very importunate with me to permit him to give Dr. Ekins and him a dinner at Gloucester, but I easily conceive that it is not what you or Lady C[arlisle] would like, so have desired him not to think of it, by which I have saved him the expense of I do not know how much provision. He will be satisfied with my Welch mutton and turkeys. I know Mie Mie has made an offer of her pony for him, *par une grace singulière.*

Warner sets out for France, I believe, next Wednesday, and in company with Messieurs de la Borde et de Comeyras. Lord North was for detaining them longer on account of this experiment. Many have been in treaty for the secret, as Warner tells me. I do not know what to make of the account; sometimes it succeeds, sometimes it does not. It is extinguished, revives; beats our City lamps which are run against it; money is offered by some for the discovery, while others treat it as a will of the wisp. I am glad, whatever becomes of their lamp, that they are going, for that it will be clear that they are no spies which I have harboured. . . .

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* Of Queensberry?

† "Non generant aquilæ columbas."

Lord Gower to [Lord Carlisle].

1781, Oct. 1, Trentham.—I take the opportunity of Trentham going to Ireland to make my excuses to you for not answering your two last letters, but the truth is that I have had nothing to inform you of worth my writing or your reading. I am in total ignorance respecting politics, but had anything come to my knowledge of importance enough to communicate to you, or that could have been of service to you in your present situation, you may be assured that my natural and now habitual idleness would not have prevented my troubling you.

Although the Chancellor* was here near three weeks, I think we entered into serious politics but once, when the subject was awakened by his receiving a messenger to come to town to give his opinion whether Darby's fleet should sail, when the first intelligence was received of the combined fleet being on our coasts; but that he thought might be determined without a lawyer's opinion. I understand that there is some negotiation going on for a reconciliation with the Dutch; if it is patched up suddenly, I fear that Mynheer will soon be at his old game of supplying the enemy with stores, &c., &c. We shall at that time be more exhausted, and they will have had time to put themselves in a more respectable and warlike situation; in consequence we shall be afraid to curb their unjustifiable and unfriendly practices, which by the present situation of things we probably effect with some success; for I have received yesterday a letter from Keith Stewart, dated at Sea the 21st of this month, informing me that the Dutch fleet is returned from the outward road where they were lying upon the point of putting to sea; that in that operation, however, they lost a 74 gun ship. He says their plan was to have sent their whole trade, East, West Indian, African, and Baltic ships, under convoy of that squadron, which they conceived to be superior to any force we could spare at present. He seems to think their plan will now be to try to slip out, which he will endeavour to prevent; but I much fear that our late tempestuous weather may counteract his intentions, and make his success in that business very uncertain.

By the information you have been so kind to give me respecting your political situation in Ireland (if no sinister events happen), I flatter myself that your Parliamentary campaign, though it will not be a quiet one, will not turn out very troublesome. Considering the alarm given to your Lordship from the Government here, I think you could not avoid acting with civility, nay, with cordiality to your self-embodied army, which is certainly constituted in a more singular and extraordinary manner than any that ever existed in a country which had an established government; it is an unlawful weapon, which one knows with certainty whose hand is to direct, and being a kind of two-edged sword, one knows not which side it may cut. I do assure you that Lady Carlisle ought to be much obliged to me for lending her Lady Anne, for I feel very sensibly the parting with her, though it is only for a given time; and the more so as Trentham has precipitated his departure, and brought it forward more than a month sooner than I expected; but it would grieve me more if I had not the highest opinion of the person to whose hands I entrust her, *car elle a une bonté de cœur et un fond de principes qui ne devoient pas être gâtés.*

Wishing you and your *cara sposa* all imaginable happiness, &c.

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* Lord Thurlow.

Lord Carlisle to [Lord Gower].

1781, Oct. 11, Dublin Castle.—Notwithstanding the perpetual hurry in which I am obliged to pass these first days of the Session of Parliament, I cannot suffer the detail of so important a moment to reach your Lordship from any other hand but mine. Our Addresses have passed unanimously, and without amendment, and much good humour prevailed in both Houses of Parliament. No possible exertion could have turned the tide which gave the thanks to the Volunteer Corps, and I am far from being convinced that if we had succeeded in opposing that measure, any real advantages would have resulted in the end to Government. However erroneous this speculation may be, I cannot be mistaken in thinking that the failure in the attempt would have been productive of the greatest difficulties. The careful separation of this Vote from the Addresses, and the wording them in as little offensive manner as possible, are indications that faction was not the motive that gave life to these measures, though it is certainly true that similar ones in the last Parliament were produced for no other purpose but to recognise an institution, illegal in its nature, and not capable in that moment of referring to any public services which could demand the requital of the thanks of the country. Their behaviour on this last occasion has been beyond doubt praiseworthy, however embarrassing their nomination must always be to Government.

I enclose your Lordship copies of the Addresses of the Commons; by mistake those of the Lords are not sent to me, but they are in all respects similar to the others.

Nothing can be more flattering than the first appearances of the Parliamentary campaign, but I have now lived almost a year on this side the water, and see so many instances of versability in those I have to deal with, such quick and unexpected fluctuations in political systems, and such a miserable idolizing of the people even in the stoutest, that I must prepare you for the reception of the most mortifying disgraces which must hang over every Administration, in spite of all the caution that prudence can suggest.

We are much obliged to you for giving up to us Lord T[rentham] and Lady Anne. They are very well, and I flatter myself, while the scene is new, they will not pass their time disagreeably. My love to Lady Gower.

*Autograph.**

[W. Fawkener? to Lord Carlisle.]†

[1781,] Oct. 14, Middleton Park.—It is near six weeks since I received your letter, and scarcely one day has passed without my thinking about answering it. The riddle with which you began it has puzzled and distressed me more than I can tell you. I have till now followed Lord Chesterfield's maxim, "that when you are in doubt *what* to do, the *wisest* thing is to do nothing." But as wisdom does not always agree with my inclination, I must no longer deprive myself of the pleasure of hearing from you, and in spite of your vile mystery I shall torment you with my stupid letters, and stupid they will be for some time, as I shall remain here till the end of next month.

I hunt three days in a week; the others and all the evenings I pass in reading, or now and then playing at cards with any unfortunate

* This looks like a letter actually sent, or intended to be sent, and not like a copy.

† Found among Selwyn's letters.

people whose bad luck has brought them to this place. Nothing can be more insipid than this life, yet I rather enjoy such a state of vegetation, and think with horror of the fat women and macao, the stupid men and long suppers.

I expect Mrs. Ponsonby in a few days; she goes to Ireland soon; she is quite well, and a very pleasant creature. I think you liked her when she was here dying (*sic*); her man is a good deal enlivened by the societies of Avignon, &c. The Duchess* is vastly miserable at Lord R[ichar]d's death, and I am afraid will make herself ill by living at Plympton with the D[uke] and Lord George, who are very unhappy about it; they fancy he died from taking improper medicines; his sufferings were horrible.

It seems an impertinent thing to ask you, who have so much real business, to waste a moment in writing to me, but time is not wasted when it is charitably employed, and you will not make any of your Patriots happier by giving them a pension than you will me, by proving to me that you remember me, and that with affection. You know I have not many friends, but the few whom I really love make my happiness by their partiality to me, and I believe I need not tell you that you stand very high in the list.

I am told you have some English visitors; I shall long to see them. I was so cross at your friend ———, for going, that I had no comfort in asking him questions about you. I hope you will not invite him again. Once more let me complain of the beginning of your last letter, and beg you to explain it. Adieu.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, Oct. ?]—I did not expect you to take so much notice of your conduct about answering letters; it was enough that I told you what Lord Foley said. I shall continue to give you those informations, and suppress nothing, lest I may suppress what you might desire to know. Your rule seems to be founded in perfect good sense, and the caution very necessary, and if his Lordship had an ounce of judgment he would have found a solution to his doubt before. There will be no end of conforming to other people's various modes of judging about propriety. I will answer for it, if you never vary from your own, that upon the whole you will gain many more friends than enemies; and your satisfaction is to arise from the balance of this account, which cannot be *appurée* till the end of your administration. . . .

I shall now, when I have finished this letter, begin one to Storer, and as it is much my opinion that he would do very wrong both in [on] his account, as well as yours, if he absented himself from the meeting of our Parliament, I shall tell him so, taking the occasion which he has so fairly offered me by what he has said in his last letter. I shall do this as you desire it, and as I intended it, and for his sake and yours, for it [can] never be imagined that I shall ever do anything hereafter for the sake of Administration only. I know as well as Storer how incapable Lord N[orth] is of laying anybody breathing under an obligation, and therefore he will avoid one misfortune which you must inevitably experience, and that is, finding people ungrateful. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Oct. 26, Friday.—I sent you by the post of last night a most slovenly wrote letter, but it was, I am sure, an agreeable one to you;

* Of Devonshire. Lord Richard Cavendish and Lord George Cavendish are also referred to here.

I judge so by what I felt when I wrote it. The account Mr. Macdonnald came and gave me of George was so corroborative of all my arguments for hoping that he was quite well and recovered, that it put me in great spirits for the rest of the day. But I was aware that I might be interrupted, and so I sat down to write before I went to Court, and I am glad that I did, for from that time I had one civility or other to perform, and could write no more.

Lord Ashb[urnham] and Williams stayed with me till ten; I then carried them in my coach to White's, and might and should have been contented with going home from thence without supper, but I would make an engagement with Sir Grey Cooper to meet him there and sup with him, and what the devil possessed me to do that I know not, but that I would *faire l'agréable.*

Fish sent to me yesterday to dine here, but I would not let him, because Lord Ash[burnham] dined here. He would have come today, and I have put him off again because I dine at Lord Ash[burnham's]. The poor Fish! If everybody, from the beginning, had treated him as I do, and he had not been so humoured, one objection to him would have been removed; but he has another *défaut* so *paîtri* with his whole composition, that *le guérir radicalement, ce seroit de plus grande impossibilité.* That abominable cortigiano-ism, with his affected disinterestedness and *noblesse d'âme*, make him intolerable; *d'ailleurs je pourrois le supporter assez bien, et ce qu'il a de capricieux à d'autres égards seroit en sa faveur.* . . .

My Lord Chamberlain* vaunted to me yesterday his injunctions to Richards not to loiter at Rayley, but to hasten to give you all the support imaginable, and a great deal more of that flummery, that would not pass upon anyone who had been twice at Court, or in his company. But the Beau professes to be your *âme damnée.* I said, when he went out of my room, "Remember you are to be a plumper, thick and thin," —if we have occasion for it, but there will be none, for I did not believe you would countenance one measure in Ireland, let the proposition come from whom it might, that any reasonable Irishman (*je crains que le nombre de ceux-ci ne soit pas considérable*) would not voluntarily support.

I am going this morning to see his Grace of Richmond, who is confined with a cold. I am curious to hear what he says of his nephew's conduct. Lady Sarah† told me that if he *would* support Government, which was but a paltry system, she was glad that it happened to be under your administration. So much from ancient partiality; *il en subsiste encore, je suppose, un petit brin.* Mr. Nappier has made me a visit; *un grand garçon assez bien fait de sa taille, mais une phisiognimie (sic) peu intéressante, plutôt rebarbative.* Miss Bunbury pleased me much, a mixture of the Richmonds and of Lord William. I had not seen her till the other day since I assisted at her christening for old Lord Holland. The Duchess of Richmond came in while I was there, and was, in her way, very agreeable. The *sous-ministres* brag to me of the great assistance which you have from hence; I shall not take their word, but yours, for that; Sir St. Portine‡ *parmi d'autres*, the greatest oaf in appearance I ever conversed with; if he has sense, or

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* Francis, Earl of Hertford, afterwards first Earl of Yarmouth, and Marquis of Hertford. (Haydn.)

† Bunbury.

‡ Sir Stanier Porten, Under Secretary of State for the Southern Department. (Haydn.)

parts, or knowledge, he keeps it from me as great a secret as any of his office.

After dinner I shall go and sit with Ekins. I hope all is going on well there. Offley was near dying at Lord Pelham's of the gout in his stomach. Lord Harrington has quite recovered his good looks. Bap Leveson, my neighbour, is, I believe, in a miserable way; his *imbecillité et caducité s'augmentent de jour en jour.* Lord Ailesford sups every night with his future at Lord Weymouth['s], and then *le beau père et le gendre* sit up together. I believe Mr. Martindale wishes most devoutly that the consummation was over, and the drinking at his house renewed. He has painted the D[uke] of Q[ueensberry] out of it for the whole winter. Lord Rochford was at Court; *on ne peut pas être plus gueux.*

Lord Loughborough was at Trentham when Lord Gower wrote to me; he gave *tolerable accounts*, as Lord Gower expresses it, of what is to be hoped for in Ireland. No one is prepared by my conversation to believe, if what I said signified anything, that your whole administration is to be *couleur de rose.* I am authorised to say what I think, that you will leave . . . . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Nov. 3, Saturday afternoon.—Boothby has just called upon me as he was setting out for Leicestershire; he carries with him some preparatives for making you a visit, such as a sword, a dress coat, &c. It is not, however, certain that he shall be able to go now; he has desired me to say this, and to add that if you should wish him to make the visit at any other time, preferably to the present, he will regulate his motions accordingly. He tells me by way of news that Conway is just arrived from America, but why, on whose account, and what he brings he does not know, but his finding means to come at this time when he has not be[en] gone half a year, occasions great speculation at this moment. He is not a favourite, so that if he cannot defend or give a very good account of this unexpected return, he will not meet with much candour from those who are of the profession. We have been both grieving about this gout of yours.

It is a fine day, but I have not been to see George. When Gregg returns, I suppose that he will be for going, and I shall tell him that Saturday is the properest day, and I will go with him. It is from my full confidence of his being perfectly well that I refrain, and then Mr. Raikes would let me know if he was not.

I shall go out this evening on purpose to see Ekins. When he is to have his mitre? and where? or how he is to carry it to market, I do not conceive. He has such simplicity of character, and so helpless a one, that I can easily conceive you to bestow twenty thousand a year on parsons for whom you have no friendship and are obliged to provide for, from convenience to your administration, before he is one shilling the better for it.

Lord North and Sir Grey Cooper dine, as I hear, *tête à tête* at White's. Craufurd has not been well served in point of information, or the party would have been transferred to his house. I have had this evening a letter from Warner. He was at Versailles the day of the *accouchement de la Reine.* They are preparing [a] great fête *pour le*[*s*] *relevailles*, and the shops are filled with things *à la Dauphine.* They talk much there of a peace, as he says. I must have been misinformed

about Lord Maynard's design in the audience which he asked of the K[ing], for the Lieutenancy of Essex has been given some time since to Lord Waldgrave. Lord Weymouth has been in with the K[ing] also, whether to ask for some new employment or to announce the match of his daughter I cannot tell; his has been a most shabby conduct *à mon avis*. His Honour Brudenell came and sat with me last night from ten till eleven, and was reckoning up all the great offices through which you were to pass before you had that *otium cum dignitate* with which I wish you now to be invested. *Pour abréger le chemin*, I want [you] to come from Ireland, and have Lord Talbot's Staff, which must fall out of his hands very shortly; *ce bâton n'y tient que par un fort petit filet.*

I have been most excessively pleased with the accounts which have been given me of Lady C[arlisle's] extreme satisfaction in the life she leads at present, and how much it appears in her looks. I hope it leads to some more essential happiness, and I shall now begin to expect by every post to hear of an event which is more interesting to my feelings than the birth of a Dauphin.

Lord Carlisle to George [Selwyn].

1781, Nov. 5, Dublin Castle.—We are going on tolerably well, but the idea that we do not experience infinite trouble and vexation would be, if generally entertained on your side the water, very injurious to us. The hint that comes from Lord Foley I am persuaded is well meant, though it will not affect the rule I have without variation pursued in regard to answering letters in my own hand. The eternal scrapes that my predecessor was in from this single circumstance is (*sic*) a sufficient warning to me, and they must be obvious when you consider the advantages that may be taken of a double correspondence upon the same business issuing from my Secretary and myself. . . .

Copy, in the Earl's own hand.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Oct. [Nov.?] 7, Wednesday night, C[leveland] C[ourt].—I have received today, my dear Lord, yours of the 1st of this month, with a kind of bill of fare for the disposal of your time. I see in your present situation no possibility of your dispensing with these occupations, but I must own that I wish the situation happily ended for your sake; but it is probable that when I do see the conclusion of it I shall see soon after the conclusion of my own. If your whole life was to be employed so, it would be a lamentable one indeed, and I should in your place be, upon reflection, tempted to exclaim with Pliny, *Quot dies et quam frigidis rebus absumpsi.*

I am sorry for the news which you send me of your Secretary.* There is a great affliction I suppose in my neighbourhood on his account, and that calls for my compassion. I enclose a letter which I have received this afternoon from George for Lady C[arlisle]. I am persuaded that this habitude in which he is of writing to you, to Lady C[arlisle], and to his sister, is not displeasing to you; he really goes on *à souhait*, and I am persuaded that he will be a source of great happiness to you, and when other things grow very insipid.

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* Apparently Fraser, private Secretary to Lord Carlisle; *see* Nov. 20. Eden was the Chief Secretary for Ireland; *see* Nov. 10.

Fish (?) has sent up this week a doe ; one half was intended for Mr. Raikes, and one was a compliment to me. I sent to Mr. Raikes his half, and the other helped to provide me with a good dinner the day before yesterday, when Lord Loughborough, Mr. Macdonald, and Lady Louisa dined here. I expected the Duke,* but he, thinking that my dinner would be at my usual early hour, and being but just arrived from Newmarket, did not come to me.

I went yesterday to the Duchess of Bedford, and sat a great while with her. My visit was to do homage for Streatham. Gardiner and his wife are disappointed in regard to Conolly's house. That Irish hotel is occupied by Lady Sarah, and will be so the whole winter ; so they have a house to seek and hire, which I am afraid is very inconvenient to them in their circumstances. Mrs. Gardiner is come to lie in. Her Grace made a most piteous story of it. The Duke's younger brothers are going to a foreign university. The Duke† himself is on a party with Lord Chatham and little George Cavendish to Belvoir.

How Mr. Conway was prevailed on to return from America, you will see in our Gazette. I do not find that our young *militaires* approve of these compulsory persuasions.

A new character is coming on the stage, and a new point of discussion for the lawyers, for our big wigs, for their Lordships. It is one whose name I have not in my head at this moment, an attorney, the son of a baker in Kent. He now calls himself Earl of Leicester, of the name of Sydney, the legal son of the last Earl of Leicester, who died in 1743. He is the undoubted son of that Earl of Leicester's wife. It is as little to be doubted that he is the son of the baker with whom she cohabited for some time. His father, whether *par un esprit d'équité, ou de prudence, ou par je ne sçai quelle raison*, prohibited his son in his lifetime from offering such claims as he now sets forth. Lord and Lady Leicester did not cohabit together for some time, but were not only within the four seas, but in the same county, never parted by any legal or formal act whatsoever. What prevents this claimant from being the legal heir to the late Lord Leicester of the House of Sydney, his estate, titles, &c. ? I shall be able I suppose in a short time to tell you more of this story. I heard it yesterday only from my nephew Charles, who dined here. I wish that I had known of it the day before ; it may be that Lord Loughborough might have said something of the case. *Voilà du fil à retordre.* Sir G. Young had the estate, by what title I know not. He conveyed it away; neither that [n]or the purchase money remains with him. Mrs. Perry, one of the coheiresses of that family, who now has Penshurst, loses her pretensions to it. All Sir Ashton Lever's fowls and beasts must go out of his ark at Leicester House. *C'est une étrange histoire, et remplie de difficultés et d'embarras de toute espèce.*

I supped last night at Brooks's on the Duke of Q[ueensberry's] account, with Charles and Richard, &c. I threw out this apple of contention, debate, and discussion, and it furnished us with a great variety of argument, of law, of reasoning, but there was less variety of opinion than I expected. I cannot tell you if Lord Despencer or Lord Falmouth are dead, but have heard they are. I expect Gregg to be in town tomorrow. I may go to see George on Saturday ; it seems long since I saw him. I cannot get that abominable fellow to bring me home his wig. I shall now look for Storer's return every day. Ekins

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* Of Queensberry.
† Of Bedford.

is much as he has been lately. Mrs. Ekins is better. The debates in your Houses of Parliament I must wait to know from Storer.

Portugal has been in some degree an object of my reflection lately, but my thoughts have been carried back by my reading to the time of Sebastian. I have, with my one eye and *sans bésicles*, read in a morning two or three hours in the French History, but whether I have done right or not I cannot tell. If I did not read I could not stay so much as I do now at home; but I may be too free with my eye. The loss of my teeth I am in no respect sensible of, but that of my eyesight would now distress me excessively.

They talk of giving Lord Falmouth's place to the Duke of Dorset, but who talks so with any authority I know not. The Duchess of B[edford] told me that yesterday a ball was given to Lord Trentham and to Lady Ann. I hope that Caroline *y a tenu sa place et sa réputation pour la danse.* My love to her, I beseech you, and to her sisters.

I must conclude, from the manner in which you are obliged to pass your time, that I am not to expect to hear so often from you this winter as I could wish. I do not indeed expect it, my dear [Lord]. It would be unreasonable to do so, to the last degree. I have nothing on my side but my wishes, which are pardonable, and they carry me great lengths indeed, for I would hear from you and of yours every day; *le sujet ne m'ennuye point.* But I say, that I shall continue to write as I do, *currente calamo*, without any expectations of your writing again.

This scene of business, and of dissipation, and of representation, like everything else, will pass away, and you will have leisure *de reste;* I may then hope to profit of it. *En attendant je n'exige rien.* Thomas has taken it into his head that the King intends to give the Duke of Q[ueensberry] a Garter; *mais d'où il a péché cette idée j'ignore; mon ami ne m'en a rien dit.* I believe it to be the offspring of Thomas's zeal; *aussi est-il plus crédule que l'Apôtre qui portait le même nom*, should he have heard so.

Mr. Flood.

1781, Nov. 8.—Memoranda of a conversation held with "Mr. F." on the subject of arrangements to be made on the removal of Mr. Flood, regarding himself and Mr. H. B.

1½ *page, in Lord Carlisle's hand.*

[Lord Carlisle] to Lord North.

[1781, Nov. 10th,] Dublin Castle.—By my despatches of this night to Lord Hillsborough, which are equally intended for your Lordship's perusal and consideration, you will observe that the foundations of security and strength, which I hope by your concurrence I shall be enabled to lay, are such as do not only regard my own case in getting through this Session of Parliament, but, by giving a severe blow and effectual interruption to those who intend nothing but mischief, are such as will in their more remote effects reach my successor, whenever it shall please his Majesty to dispense with my services. In looking forward with ardent satisfaction to the completion of this business, one reflexion naturally must occur to me very distressing to my feelings. By these extensive arrangements almost every employment that Mr. Eden could with credit accept at my recommendation is appropriated to different

individuals. His industry and labour is beyond any requital, because it cannot fail of affecting his health, and his manner of living must greatly exceed the scanty provision made for the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant. At my earnest desire he exposes his situation to your Lordship both as a Minister and as his private friend, and submits to your justice and friendship some propositions concerning himself which I am persuaded you will not deem unreasonable.

The eager and generous manner in which he has laboured to bring this business to an issue without any regard to his own interests, which are certainly affected by it, demands from my hands every acknowledgment of so disinterested a conduct. His own letter will best explain his ideas to your Lordship.

Copy, in Lord Carlisle's hand, endorsed: Copy of my letter to Lord North, Nov. 10th, 1781.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Nov. 10, Saturday night.—I have this afternoon received yours of the 5th, that is of Monday last; and I believe, notwithstanding what you suspect, I have not as yet failed in receiving any one which you have been so good as to write to me. If you can, by recollection, compare my answers with what you wrote, you will, I am persuaded, find them exact. But posts have been retarded, and Lady C[arlisle] had not, the 2nd of this month, which was her birthday, received my compliments wrote a week before, and because, as I understand, so many mails were due. I was as soon as I could be acquainted with your recovery, and am happy that these attacks are as yet not more violent; but three in one year, at least, disturb me much, and make me wish you in any state, the most obscure, rather than to have the rest of your life, which I must wish, and do from the bottom of my heart, to be a long and happy one, embittered by pain and confinement.

I was glad to find by the letter which I received yesterday from Storer of the 3rd inst. that you had been at Abbeville. I shall be always more pleased to hear of you there than on a Th[r]one or at a Levee, and of your acquiring health and ease, than of your bestowing preferment, on what my old and valuable friend, Dr. Newton, in his Book of Pluralities, calls the *self-seeking clergy*.

The accounts of the bustles in the H[ouse] of Commons are now come over. Storer by yesterday's post prepared me for them. Flood will, I suppose, be removed from his employment; Williams, who dined here yesterday, said that the Government of this side the water so intended; by the Government he means his own patron. He named Lord N[orth], whom from him I understand to be sole director of this machine. I take for granted that as violent as this debate was carried on by some particulars, there will be still more fuel added to the flame from both Countries, and a man must be very ignorant or short-sighted who can suppose your situation either now or *in futuro* free from a great many disagreeable circumstances.

I have not read any paper of today; before I go to rest I shall send to St. James's Coffee House for papers, both English and Irish. I left my own this morning with my dear little boy George. I had not been to see him for a fortnight, and thought today that I could avail myself of that *foible* pretext of carrying him his wig. This wig was ordered, as I understood from Dr. Ekins when he came to Matson, by Lady C[arlisle]. Two seem necessary for the reasons you mention, but the boys might make their own use of the other, and then he would be in

the situation of the *Chevalier de Beauce, qui reste au lit, tant qu'on racommode ses chausses.* He looked perfectly well, and is so. He has been at romps with the boys, and had a fall among some faggots in the barn, by which he had scratched his nose; I thought that he had had a flirtation with the cat, and that this had been an effect of her *cocatterie.* . . .

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH to [LORD CARLISLE].

1781, Nov. 12.—The event and the incidents of the Debate upon the Portuguese business have made a very strong impression here to the honour of your Administration. In Ireland I am persuaded you will derive great strength from this early success, but whether it may lessen your difficulties on this side is a more doubtful question. I dread whatever tends to flatter an opinion that Ireland is disposed to be easily governed, as much as some people here dislike to hear anything that contradicts it. I was astonished to be told today by Lord Mansfield that he concluded you would, after such a trial, be under no difficulty to throw out all the projects for any alteration of the old system with regard to Ireland, and he is the only person I have seen who will hear with patience that the old system must be reconsidered now that Ireland has got a free trade, a volunteer army, and above all an octennial Parliament. To say the truth, there is very little curiosity to hear anything that at all interrupts the common routine of business, and I have got back very quietly into the old track of precedents and records in West[minster] Hall, where they certainly are of some use.

I cannot help suspecting that you will find it necessary to recommend particularly and strongly the Habeas Corpus Bill to the Chancellor, notwithstanding the reasons you have had to suppose that it would meet with no obstruction here. The precaution at least can do no harm. I should be happy there were any ground to imagine that there had been advances made to Lord G[ower]. I discovered nothing that indicated it at Trentham, and I have not heard it whispered here. There has been a talk of Lord Bathurst's retiring, but Lord Weymouth has been spoke of in that case. I imagine however there is not much ground for that conjecture. My neighbour* with a White Staff is in a very shattered state, and cannot possibly attend much longer, which would make a very fair opening for Lord G. if he is not grown too fond of farming.

Lord Sandwich has been extremely ill, and looks still very much reduced. People choose to say that his illness was partly owing to the many attacks upon him in the course of the summer from the Chancellor, but I think it more likely to have proceeded from some attacks of his Lordship above the rate of his vigour.

I had a letter from the Provost,† in which he took notice of the neglect of the newspaper, and I wrote to him in return that the letters to Lord North had done him ample justice, and that he should not disturb himself with such doubts.

I begin to envy almost your short fit of the gout, for the good health I brought over with me does not hold out in London; but I cannot bring myself to wish your Lordship any return of it, for you are not in a situation to become languid for want of either business or amusement.

[GEORGE SELWYN to LORD CARLISLE.]

[1781,] November 13, Tuesday night.—In the first place I have to forward to you a letter, which I do by this post, from your son, and

* Lord Talbot? *See* Nov. 3.
† Of Dublin University.

which was sent by the penny post of yesterday. *Secondement*, I have to tell you, that this morning I received a visit from Warner, who landed at Margate last Saturday from Ostend. He left Paris this day sevennight. He is come in high spirits, and because he is come, I hope that he will make no more excu[r]sions, for although he is more a *cosmopolite* than any man I ever knew, yet I think, as the Maréchal de Biron once said to me, "*On n'est jamais bien que chez soi.*" I feel that, *à votre égard*, most sensibly, having persuaded myself that you will not be in a confirmed state of health, as you used to be, till your return.

I have had a letter from Storer today, by which I find that he will set out next Tuesday. *Il a l'esprit un peu trop échauffé, et il fera bien de s'en corriger.* This is *de vous à moi.* You may take occasion to speak to him gently upon the matter. I am no advocate, as you know, for Lord N[orth] or the Treasury, but I wish him to conduct himself with temper and by your directions, for you have [been] and must be the *artifex suæ fortunæ.*

Warner tells me that my Lady Dowager will undoubtedly be here in the spring. All correspondence between them is at an end, but when he was at Paris Mrs. Villette, the Ordinary of Newgate's *belle sœur*, had a letter from her; to such she will speak *à cœur ouvert. Hélas!* my dear Lord, there is no help for these things; we are not *dans le particulier* responsible for them; God forbid.

I shall finish tonight because I have a mind to go and see poor Ekins, who labours much under his disorder, and is now become an object of serious consideration for me. I hear of a story *qui me fait fremir;* I have heard that it was suspected long since. Lady Molesworth's house was set on fire by a servant, who has confessed it. My intelligence comes from Baron Hotham. The man is in custody in Ireland, and to be brought over here to take his trial; so you should know more of this man, &c.

Warner has brought for Mie Mie *quelques bagatelles; parmi d'autres, un petit pot de pommade; il a pour titre "Pommade du Caca de Monsieur le Dauphin;" et le plus à la mode des cartes, des jeux d'enfance, tout à la Dauphin.* I wish that Nation had nothing but Folly belonging to it, with all my heart.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

1781, Nov. 17, Saturday night.—I do not know how I shall conclude my letter, but I begin it in no better spirits than I can have, when I reflect, as I can never help doing, upon a loss which I sustained this day; it is now thirty years, and which as many more, although they will certainly annihilate the reflection of, can never repair. I will not be so unjust to the kindness which I have received from you and some others as to say that when I lost my father* I lost the only friend I could have, but I most undoubtedly lost the best, and being today where that happened, and more at leisure to recollect it, *je la sens, cette perte, avec la même vivacité aujourd'hui, que je ne l'eusse faite que depuis trois jours.*

I set my heart therefore particularly on receiving today a letter from you, *et la voici.* It is a great consolation to me, as that it proves to me, with manifold other arguments, that whatever may be your occupation, you will find a moment to tell me, what if you did not I should have not the least doubt of, and that neither business or distance will deprive

* Colonel John Selwyn.

me of the place which I have always maintained in your mind and regard.

But *mes jérémiades ne sont pas encore finies.* The Castle air, by which I find the health of the children must be in some measure affected, and your own to be made a sacrifice to I do not know what, is to me a great grievance, and one to which I know as yet no remedy. The only one is to return here, and the sooner you do the better, and the happier we shall both be, I am sure.

Ce retardement de la poste, aussi, si cela n'est pas un malheur excessif, il ne laisse pas d'être un très grand inconvénient ; and I have only to comfort myself that when it was the most necessary to the ease of your life to have my letters come to you more exactly, that is, when the poor little boy was so ill, that then they came with more expedition, *et qu'alors et les courriers et les vents aient eu également compassion de ce que vous avez senti à cette occasion. . . .*

Gregg is to go to Neasdon tomorrow from Mitcham ; he has dined here once ; when his business will permit it I shall see him again. I have already hinted to him what you have desired as to his account. He desires it as a satisfaction to himself as well as to you. Delmé does not please him by his conduct in any manner, and I think that he will, if he undertakes anything for him, do it more to oblige you than for any other reason.

I am very sorry to hear such an account of the affairs of that family, and of so little disposition to do what is necessary to set them to rights. If the estate and the resources were forty times what they are, such dissipation and want of management must undo them.

I am very glad that Storer is coming, and when he does I hope that he will come and attend with better grace that that has been done, which has been done (*sic*) for him. But the point of the cause to which he is to advert, and the only one, is the part which you have acted by him, and the benefit which will accrue to him from it. He has, when he reflects, a great deal of sense, and his heart is very good ; therefore I look upon his present humour to be rather *un effervescence* than the result of much reflection.

The time [town?] is at this moment, as much as I can judge of it, as great a solitude as it has been at any time these two months past. But we are at the even of *beaucoup de tintamarre, comme de nouvelles.* Lord Cornwallis's situation is as critical, both for himself and for this country, as any can possibly be ; and if George, in his History of Greece, and of Nicæas in the expedition to Syracuse, can find a parallel for it, I cannot ; no more than a remedy, or a reparation for all the losses which we have and must sustain, if we are not successful. Till I see the issue of this cast, I will not conclude, what the Duc de Châtelet told me to be true, that it is *une cause perduë.*

I will take the first opportunity of speaking to Gregg about your not writing to him, for he has been waiting for a letter from you, with unusual impatience, and I will write to Boothby if he does not in a few days return to town. I was with Ekins last night, and I stayed with him till ten. He is more crippled than I ever knew him to be. He is going to change his house, from which change, as of posture, he derives some comfort. It matters little from what hope[s] we derive comfort while we hope them.

Lady Mary H[oward] is very angry with me, as Lady Townshend assures me, for not having been near her. The truth is, that when I carried George to wait on her the day that he was in town, before his going to school, her room was quite insupportable, and for that reason I could not allow him safely to stay there.

Mr. Walpole, more *défait*, more *perclus de ses membres*, than I ever yet saw any poor wretch, is gone tonight to the play-house, to see the Tragedy of Narbonne. The gout may put what shackles it pleases on some people; *on les rompt, et la vanité l'emporte.* He seems as able to act a part in the drama as to assist at the performance of it.

Poor Barker has lost all the hopes which he ever had of resource. His uncle, from whom he had great and reasonable expectations formerly, is dead at Constantinople, and without a groat. He has now, poor man, *pour tout potage*, Lady Harrington's dinner and compassion, and the one is as late and uncertain as the other. If his own relation, with his enormous wealth, and after such unexpected and unmerited good fortune, does not assist him, he will for ever pass with me for a man *destitué de sentimens comme de principes.* But, perhaps, not knowing more than I do of the connection and of the persons, my judgment may be severe and unjust.

My dear Lord, to what an unreasonable length have I spun out this letter. But from my disposition of mind today, and being alone, or *en famille* only, I did not think that I should be very concise. To my own *tristes reflections* you have added more, and the account[s] which I have of your health, and of what it may be, and of the Castle air, &c. do by no means aid me on this occasion. I will fairly own to you, that, *à quelque prise que ce soit*, I wish this administration of yours in Ireland was at an end; and if no other ever began, I should be as well contented, unless, what is impossible, it could be exempt from those solicitudes which do not seem in any degree to be suitable to your constitution. However, it will be not what I think or feel which must determine that question. I am only sorry that whatever be the burthen, I can take no part of it, for you, on my own shoulders. You have given me one occupation, and for that I am much obliged, because, while no adverse accident happens, it will be one of the pleasures of my life, and not an inconsiderable one neither, and will, I hope, be one of those indisputable marks of affection with which I am, ever have been, and shall remain your[s]. My best and most cordial respects to Lady C[arlisle] and my love to the children, and my compliments besides to whom you please. I hope that Crowle is happy in his situation.

Lord Carlisle to George [Selwyn].

1781, Nov. 20, Dublin Castle.—Your two members, Richards and Kingsman, for whose arrival you made us so impatient, both voted in opposition. Richards has behaved better since, but the squeaking man is a violent patriot. He took offence at my not appointing him my private secretary upon the death of poor Fraser, and in every sense of the word has resented the refusal in a very *high tone.* I should have as soon have (*sic*) thought of making Paccieroti my Secretary, and have had all my despatches set in recitative. What do people think and say o fmy friend Lord Cornwallis? The fate of England seems to me to be set upon one cast. If we should have crabs——.

We go on here, increasing I believe in reputation, but decreasing in size and constitution. Eden looks like the Devil, and his principal not much better. 'Tis not either vexation of mind, or intemperance of body, that I have to charge as the cause of my uneasy feels, but the alteration of my former way of life. 'Tis the transplanting an aquatic into a hothouse.

Lady Carlisle gave an exceeding pretty ball to all the young dancing people the other night, and a supper for about 60 or 70 persons, who

just filled without any crowd a circular room that is made out of one of the old towers of the Castle. This was reckoned a very bold thing to do, and could only have been attempted in a very strong Administration, but I don't hear that it has given any offence, as the invitations only went to dancers, and those who attended them. . . . . .

I see by the papers poor Crofts is dead, and am sorry to see also that he died at Milton, as it will shock Fitzwilliam and his wife very much. Old Polonius, Lord Talbot, holds out longer than some of our acquaintance expected. Mr. Flood is turned out, and Lord Shannon is turned in. Three thousand five hundred a year one would have thought [would] have made a man think twice before he parted with it. . . . . .

Autograph copy, signed.

W. Fawkener to Lord Carlisle.

1781, Nov. 20, South Street.—I met my brother two or three days ago, for the first time since my return from Ireland, and I find his objections to taking orders are so strong, that I must renounce all hopes of seeing him provided for in that way. If, during your Administration, you would have the goodness to give him any little thing of two or three hundred pounds a year, you would make him very happy. . . . .

I came to town yesterday from Blenheim: Lord Loughborough had stopped there in his way from Ireland, and I had the pleasure to hear a great deal of you, and Lady Carlisle. I sincerely wish you joy of your very auspicious beginnings, and from the numbers in your late Divisions, I should hope your Opposition will not have it in their power to give you a great deal of trouble.

Here, we are all very anxiously waiting for accounts from the Chesapeak: they will probably be the most interesting since the commencement of the war, and go a great way towards the decision of the question; *quod felix faustumque sit.* The Kennedy died last week, and John St. John is gone out of town, I hear, in great affliction: it is one of the luckiest events that could have happened for him, as she was a great expense to him, which he could but ill afford: there never was anything like his good nature and attention to her. . . . .

Lord Carlisle to Lord [Gower].

1781, Nov. 23, Dublin Castle.—*Private.*—I have not lately written to you, in the confidence that as so many of the family are now inhabitants of the Castle, everything of consequence would be communicated to you; though it is possible Lord Trentham may have reasoned in the same way, particularly as I believe he is not a very active correspondent. I have the pleasure to acquaint you that he succeeds amongst us beyond my most sanguine expectation: his reserve is amazingly worn off, he is perfectly well bred, and has as much the manners of a gentleman as any young person I ever met with. He is very well informed, and has no affectation about his understanding, which is much improved by some large quantities of claret, which have been administered to him with very little reluctance on his part. Lady Gower need not be afraid that I shall pass by Lady Anne, who is exceedingly improved, has great sweetness of disposition and temper, has more vivacity, though not less modesty and discretion, than when she first made her appearance in the world. So much for your family.

We are going on here with vigour and despatch. I sent off the first money bills last night, by many days sooner than was ever known.

They will all follow in the course of a few days. The debates being over upon the finance of the country, the Mutiny and Sugar Bills, our troops as steady as possible, and our last division 144 to 63 upon the popular business of the sugar trade, I think you may congratulate me upon having turned one corner if not more of this session of Parliament. Your Lordship knows mankind and the nature of Governments too well to suppose that these successes were attained without difficulty and without management, particularly when you consider I have effected what, I may say without vanity, my predecessors never did effect—the uniting together all the great interests and factions in the support of Government; the Duke of Leinster, the Lords Shannon, Ely, Donegall, Tyrone, the Ponsonbies, the Daly's, and almost every independent individual (excepting some from the North) respectable or worth having, either for possessions, consequence, or abilities. Messrs. Daly, Fitzgibbon, Foster, Bush, [and] Ponsonby are equal to the combat with Messrs. Flood, Grattan, Yelverton, and Ogle; most of the former number till a very short time before the meeting I had no reason to think would come out so decidedly in my favour, nor indeed deny their assistance to Opposition. Nothing I now dread so much as a new friend, and it was but yesterday I was endeavouring to persuade one of Mr. Flood's nearest relations to follow the line of his wild kinsman, lest he should deprive himself of the succession; but in vain.

All this I know you will think very triumphant language; but after the feast, then comes the reckoning, and how am I to discharge it? Why, rather easier than you would imagine. Many of these gentlemen look forward undoubtedly to different objects; I am under no promise (and have not made a single one since I have been in the country) to place them in the situations they aspire to. Deaths and a thousand accidents must occur to make it practicable for me to meet all their wishes. By Mr. Flood's dismission Lord Shannon and Mr. Daly are satisfied. The others fling themselves upon me in the confidence that I shall not deal unfairly by them, if they act honourably by me. In calculating what would be the sum that would defray the expense of this whole arrangement, and which is not to arise by the construction of new employments, it appeared upon paper that the whole would be under 8,000*l.* per annum, to satisfy all the demands alluded to, and I am bold to say restore the public tranquillity, and the dignity of the King's Government. When I reflect upon the very guarded and cautious language that I have repeatedly used in conversing with every individual in question, I have little apprehension but that I shall work this business in proper time to the satisfaction of all concerned, to the real advantage of the country, and to the ease of him whose lot it shall be to succeed me. If I am successful, destroy, if *you* can, that common idea of the ease and facility by which that success is obtained; and when a reverse of fortune, which I am well prepared for, should happen, check, if *you* can, those reproaches that ignorance and malice will heap upon me.

But in a moment like this, when the fate of the empire seems to be hanging upon one event, how can I expect your Lordship's attention to be drawn to so small a part of it. Perhaps before this reaches you, that event may have occurred. If it should be fortunate, I shall not be conscious of any impertinence in bringing these transactions before your eyes. But if the contrary, I believe you will hardly have spirits to wish to look behind the curtain either of this or a larger theatre. I own I don't despond, but I don't [know?] why I am not in despair.

Lady Carlisle retains her health in spite of all her fatigues and ceremonies, and the children their complexions by giving them a great

mixture of country air. Lady G[owe]r will scold me if I wish you a smart fit of the gout, but she ought not, if you can procure one like the last I had, which was only painful for 3 days, and left no weakness in the limbs. I hope to put Lord Strathaven* in an old Regiment soon, which will be a great step for him, considering his age. He behaves perfectly well, and is a very promising young man.

[P.S.] I conceive it possible to hear from America by the 26th or 27th. What a tremendous and awful moment!

Pray remember me kindly to Lady Gower.

Autograph copy, signed.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Nov. 24, Saturday night.—I went this morning to Neasdon, to see my dear little George; but such a figure his new wig had given him, it was *à faire mourir de rire*. There was no strength in the buckle, and it looked as if he had put on a wig made for a man six foot high. . . I should have gone tonight to Ekins, but the day has been so wet, and my horses had done enough in carrying me to Neasdon, and when I came from thence to Lincoln's Inn. At Lord Ashburn[ham's] yesterday I heard of the death of Mr. Sedgwick, who was secretary to Lord Halifax. He had a place in Ireland, which I understand to be at your disposal; I hope it will be of use to you. But the death of the poor man, although I did not know him, gave me great concern, I will not say horror. Lord North had given him a place, which was to be a *dédommagement* for his losses at the Grenadas and elsewhere; his anxiety was so great while this was in suspense, and such was the Minister's dilatory, unfeeling, procrastinating manner of what he calls obliging, that this poor man had no enjoyment of his re-establishment, and the wound being so deep in his mind by the delay, it put suddenly an end to his life. This I have collected from those who have mentioned this man's death. I shall now look for Storer every day. In the House of Lords the movers are Lord Walsingham and Lord Southampton, and in our House, Lord Feilding, and Mr. Ord. Several speeches, as I am told, are prepared for the King according to what news may arrive between this and Tuesday next. It is most probable that there will be none. . . .

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, Nov. 26, Monday.—I arrived in town this morning, time enough to do all in my power to send to Gregg, to try if I can get a qualification to take my seat tomorrow. My qualifications have been always embarrassing to me. I have too attended the Cockpit tonight, where there were a great many long faces. What we are to do after Lord Cornwallis' catastrophe, God knows, or how anybody can think there is the least glimmering of hope for this nation surpasses my comprehension. What a stroke it is! but it still seems determined to pursue the game, though we throw nothing but crabs.

It is the general opinion amongst those with whom I conversed with (*sic*) at the Cockpit, that you have carried on your affairs in Ireland perfectly well. This was very strongly the opinion of Rigby. I mention him because I think his suffrage is a very flattering one. I dined today with George in order to empty as much of my Irish budget

* *Note.*—"Is this the present Lord Huntly? 1852."

as I possibly could before we emptied our bottle of claret, which I took to very cordially, not having as yet forgot my Irish custom. I had too a great deal of conversation with Mr. Robinson about my patent; he seemed drunk, or at least as stupid as if he was so; and gave me such nonsensical reasons for having postponed the patent, that I cannot possibly think of troubling you with them, and I would rather wish to forget them myself. I find that Eden's question has some foundation, and if the *original* patent does not stand which was made out *before* my election, but, owing, as it is stated, to Lord Walsingham's arbitrary decision, is to be cancelled, it may become a moot point whether I must not be re-elected. Thus stands this affair.

Selwyn meant to treat you tomorrow with a Georgic. Everybody that I meet seem[s] to think that you did right in dispatching Mr. Flood. I am so loaded with questions about Ireland, that I have no time as yet to make any myself about England. Indeed, the attention of everyone is confined to our situation in America. The Speech from the Throne contains the same resolution which appeared in times when we seemed to have a more favourable prospect of success, of continuing the war, and of claiming the aid of Parliament to support the rights of Great Britain. Charles has a Cockpit tonight, as well as Lord North. The blue and buff Junto meet in St. James' Street to fix upon their plan of operations for tomorrow.

With regard to private news, I find Lady Worsley is run away from Sir Richard, and taken refuge with some gentleman whose name I do not know in the army. I must go and pay my respects to my father.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, Nov. ?] 27 [26 ?], Monday night.—Storer came to town this morning, as he proposes to tell you tonight; he dined with me. I met him first in the street, as I was returning from Lincoln's Inn. He had been, as he was engaged to do, to Lord Loughborough, to whom he had made a promise of going on his arrival. Neither the air [n]or the *bonne chère* of the Castle have [has] done him any harm; *il a bonne mine*. He has left me to go to Brooks's, and perhaps to the Cockpit; but as that is a compliment to the Minister rather than as a support of Government, he shewed no great *empressement*; nor could I inspire him with a zeal which I have not myself. I am not a solicitor of any future benefit from those who are in power, and when I require no more than common civility, they must not be surprised, if I [do] not pay what I do not receive.

We have had a blow, for the cause is a common [one]. This surrender of Lord Cornwallis seems to have put *le comble à nos disgraces*. What has been said about it, either at White's or *parmi les Grenouilles* at Brooks's, I know not. I have not been out but for an hour before dinner to Mr. Woodcock. I received the first news of this yesterday from Williams, who dined with me, but you may be sure it was a subject he did not like to dwell upon, and I chose to talk with him rather of old than of modern times, because of them we may be agreed; of the present, whatever we think, we should talk and differ in discourse widely.

This evening I have had your letter of the 20th. I am diverted with your account of my two Irish friends. They are so completely of that cast, that I cannot but imagine that they meant to be of your side. Richards was sent away quickly for that purpose by my Lord

Chamberlain, as my Lord told me. The other I have but a slight acquaintance with. I only guessed, as he desired a letter of introduction to you, that he meant to profess, by that, attachment. I had no doubt that in neither the one [n]or the other it was disinterested, but I own that I was so far their dupe that I imagined that they would not begin with opposition. Kingsman['s] proposal of being your private Secretary, without a previous acquaintance, seems to be an idea quite new; what crotchet the Beau Richard[s] has got in his head the Lord knows.

Storer has drawn to me a very pleasing picture of your present situation, satisfaction, and domestic felicity. All that gives me pleasure enough, as you may imagine; but when he talks to me of the length of time that you may stay, and the probability of it, I am *au desespoir*. I see myself deprived of my best resource for the passing of my life agreeably, when the greatest part of it is already gone. If I dwelt on this long I should be *désolé*. I will there[fore] endeavour to think only of what is a consolation to me, that you are all well—*en bonne odeur*—that it is the beginning perhaps of a very* career—that I may see some part of it—that I have little George here from time to time, and the pleasure of looking after him, and as I hope to your and to Lady Carlisle's satisfaction. You think, I am afraid, that I nurse him too much. . . .

I hope Storer will have picked up some account tonight of . . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, Nov.] 28, Wednesday.—It is you see with me, that I address you, *veniente die comme decedente*. I sent you some account of the H[ouse] of Commons last night before the division; we were about 89 majority. I got home between two and three. I can no more go to Brooks's to hear a *réchauffé* of these things, or assist at the incense offered to Charles, or his benediction and *salut* to those he protects. The reserve at White's tempts me as little, and so I think my own pillow the best resource after these long days.

Young Mr. York brought me home, who commended your Speech, and the manner in which you spoke it. He was present.

The terms of the Capitulation are now come, and everything known which has happened, and in a few days more everybody will be as indifferent as ever, except in their political language, about [what] will happen.

I spoke to Keene about Richards's conduct; he laughed, and well he might; he said, Poor Beau! he does not mean to oppose; it was only in that instance where the Sugar Islands were concerned, that he dissented, and there he was by his property personally interested; well then, for this time *passe*, as private motives must and will ever supersede public considerations; so on that ground, *et pour le coup*, he is excusable. But when Lord Hertford would not admit of his staying one day at Rayley with his son, to shoot, lest he should not be in time to give you the fullest assistance and concurrence possible in all your measures; this deviation could not but make me smile, as well as his friend Mr. Keene.

As to the other, he is a puppy *du premier chef*. I could not refuse to his solicitation a letter of introduction, he himself being a Member, and having a brother-in-law also in the House. But I could not doubt

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* A word omitted here.

neither from his discourse but he meant to support you; and although I must have known that it was an interested motive which actuated him, that matter I left for your consideration. His father I knew well, God knows, and every step which I take in this House reminds me of him, *malheureusement pour moi*, and why I do not choose to say or to think of, now that he is dead, and is better judged than by me. However, none of my resentment to him descended to his son, and when he made himself known to me I was as willing to receive him as if his father had behaved better towards me.

Gregg and Storer will dine here today. Storer says that he wrote to you last night. What should or could I add to the account which the papers now give of the debates? Charles is for my part the only one I can bear to hear, but although it be impossible for him to do anything but go over and over again the old ground, make the same philippics, it is entertaining to me, and I can hear him (which is a singular thing) with the same pleasure and attention as if I gave ample credit to what he said, with such talents, and with such good humour, as is at the bottom of all that pretended acrimony. It is as impossible not to love him, as it is to love his adversary. That unfeelingness which he applied yesterday to our Master, characterises much more the Minister. Charles aims sometimes at humour; he has not an atom of it, or rather it is wit, which is better, but that is not his talent neither, and they are indeed but despicable ones in my mind, *et de tous les dons de la nature celui qui est le plus dangereux et le moins utile;* but Charles's poignancy and misapplication of truth, making the most known falsehoods serve his person [purpose?] better, in all that he is admirable. His quotations are natural and pleasing and *à propos*, and if he had any judgment or conduct, or character, [he] would, and ought to be, the first man of this country. But that place, I am assured now, is destined for another. I said in *this* country, not in Ireland. Whenever that happens, I do assure you neither Barbados nor any of the Sugar Colonies shall interfere in my political conduct; but Barbados [is?] *à d'autres*, and in a very short time I believe. Now my next sheet shall be for the evening.

No, I must go on, for here is just come into my room a man in black; I did not ask him his name. I suppose by his mourning he belongs to Mr. Fraser. He has brought m[e] your letter to George, which I longed for. . . .

Wednesday night.—I did not go today [to] the House, but there has been there a *réchauffé* of yesterday's debate. I hear there has been a political event. My Lord Advocate's speech has given great jealousy to Administration. There are now three parties on the Court side of the House, the King's, Lord North's, and [the] Lord Advocate's, on which is Rigby and the Chancellor.

The Fish did not vote last night, which he was much impatient to discover to Charles, with one of his fulsome compliments. Mr. Pitt's speech today has made a great noise.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1781, November 30.—It has been a wonderful consolation to me in the last three melancholy days that the prospect of Ireland sometimes presented itself to my mind, and if it were in the course of things for Statesmen to feel any gratitude for dangers averted, you ought to stand at this moment in the highest consideration with our Government. I have no reason to suppose that you do not, but I am much afraid they

will not repose so much confidence in you as to enable you to make those exertions which can alone relieve the immediate distress. A loss of seven thousand men can nowhere be supplied but from Ireland, and I am persuaded that if you had proper powers to animate and to direct the zeal of the Irish, a much greater army might soon be raised in a country that produces so many stout men, to whom sixpence per day would be a fortune, and which would feel itself relieved by the drain. I have reason to know that all modes of recruiting that have been tried have failed, and the pressure of the time may probably direct the view of Administration towards Ireland; whether with sufficient liberality I doubt. But perhaps it may appear right to you to invite in some manner the attempt.

I am able to give you but a very imperfect account of the dispositions with which men have received our disaster. Lord North, I understand, has shown firmness, in which I have seldom known him fail. L. G. and L. S.* were not thought to possess themselves so well. The Opposition was, as usual, too extravagant to create much effect. It is strange they should never have learnt that to show exultation in a public calamity makes them odious, and aids those they are attacking. I have been confined for four days with a pretty severe fit of the gout, which has been the more violent that I did not submit to its first approaches, and upon that account I have had a stronger sensation of all the bad occurrences than others who had either debate or conversation for their relief. All seem[s] to me to be referable to the want of authority in two important situations, which was very visible at the time of your return from America, and which it was then attempted in vain to remedy. Since that time my hopes have at no time risen very high, and I have been always disposed to bad forebodings.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Nov. 30, Friday m[orning].—I have sent my coachman this morning to Neasdon, with your letter to George, and two or three ripe pears, which he desired, so that before I seal up this letter, I shall be able to let you know how he does. I wrote to him to excuse my not answering his letter, which came to me on Monday, but I have made him amends by sending him yours. I hear that Lord and Lady Gower will be in town this evening, so I suppose that they will go and make him a visit. When any of these are to be paid, I shall be a candidate for a place in the coach.

The reason why I did not send your letter before was that I have had no leisure to think of anything but what I would have avoided thinking of, if I possibly could, but the truth is that I cannot divert† myself of thinking upon what must occupy everybody's mind, which is, our public calamity and disgrace. They are become too serious and irretri[ev]able, in my opinion. I have had superadded to these my own private mortifications, and I will be so frank as to own I feel them too amids[t] what is of more consequence.

I have also had a great deal of conversation with Storer, have heard his grievances, and I think that he has had very just cause to complain, and if I wish or desire him to be pacified, it is not that I do not think he has had great provocation. But he has taken the only just and true line of reasoning and acting for him, which is to do whatever is the most consonant to your plan and idea, acknowledging as he ought,

* Lord Gower and Lord Sandwich.
† Or divest.

avowing, and giving me authority also to say, that he thinks himself obliged to *you* and to *you* only for the situation he has.

To the obligation which you have laid him under, and of which no one can be more sensible, Lord North might have added one of his own, which was, to have done what you required, and had a right to require, *de bon cœur*, with a good grace. Instead of that, he has permitted a little attorney,* upon whose good judgment and liberality he reposes for all the great conduct of his Administration, to job away from Storer and Sir Adam Ferguson half a year's salary, in order to put one quarter more into the pocket of Lord Walsingham, who had the pride, acquired by his title, of disdaining to be in a new patent, and so pressing that the old might not expire till he had received 200*l.* more salary.

Mr. Robinson intended to have come to me on Sunday to speak upon this subject, as if it concerned me, before I had seen Storer, or knew what he authorised me to say, forgetting all his own impertinent behaviour towards myself. It is the true picture of an indolent, selfish Minister, and of a low Secretary.

March dined at my house with Greg and Warner; he had them all to dispute with, so I had few words to say. But without knowing one syllable of the story, and from mere contradiction, he supported the Secretary in his conduct, that is, he took that line as his advocate. He will in some instance or other receive the same treatment, sooner or later, from the same persons, and then what I would have said the other day will have its force.

I have told you this, that you may know how you stand in the H[ouse] of Commons, and that *there* no one can pretend to divide with you any obligation. I have dwelt the more upon it from knowing what language has been held by Lord N[orth's] toadeaters about Storer. You will always hear of his acting agreeable to you, and that is what he ought to do, and what will give to you the weight which is due to you.

I supped last night at Brooks's with Lord Ossory, and chiefly on his account. There was a large company besides: the D[ukes] of Q[ueensberry] and of Devonshire, Percy Windham, Charles Fox, Hare, Lord Derby, Mr. Gardiner, Richard, Belgiosioso, &c., &c. I stayed very late with Charles and Ossory, and I liked my evening very much. A great deal of the political system from Charles, which he expatiated upon in such a manner as gave me great entertainment, although, in all things which regard the K[ing] and his Government, I differed from him *toto cœlo*. Lord D[erby's ?] nonsense was the only drawback upon the rest. He is the most *méchant singe* I ever knew.

Hare opened the Pharo Bank in the great room, but had so few and such poor punters that Charles and Richard was [were] obliged to sit down from time to time as decoy ducks. The Bank won, as Hare said, about a hundred, out of which the cards were to be paid. I do not think that the people who frequent Brooks's will suffer this pillage another campaign. Trusty was there to go into the chair, when he should be called upon. I told him that I was extremely sorry that he had quitted the *Corps de Noblesse pour se jetter dans le Commerce*, but it is at present his only resource. I cannot help thinking that, notwithstanding our late disasters, Bob's† political tenants will be very

* John Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury.

† Lord Robert Spencer?

tardy in remitting him their rents. But between Foley House, and the run of Mr. Boverie's kitchen, with his own credit at Brooks's, and his share in and affinity to an opulent Bank, and flourishing trade, he may find a subsistence.

The D[uche]ss of Marlborough, I hear, is already laying a scheme for marrying Lord Blandford to a great fortune, so by that any hopes which I might have had of my dear little Caroline being Duchess of Marlborough are blasted. I am told, that Miss Child's alliance is in her Grace's contemplation. I saw Ekins yesterday; he mends very slowly. Lady Althrop is breeding, Lord Harrington has another son. Lord Sandwich looks near to death with fatigue and mortification.

Burk[e] said in the House the other day that he had so little credit that his evidence was not good even against himself. All this may be, but he is the last of all his Majesty's Ministers which I shall give up. He has experience, assiduity, *e[t] du zèle.* Whether he has blundered or not I cannot tell, or been obliged to adopt the blunders of others. He has judged right in one thing, if he ever had it in his head to make a friend of me. For he has been always extremely civil, and indeed that is not only a *sine quâ non* with me, but all that I have to ask of any of his Majesty's Ministers, and that I am intituled to at least.

Now do I wish that my coachman was come back, that I may hear how my dear little friend is, and at night I will let you know.

[Anthony Storer] to Lord Carlisle.*

1781, Dec. 1.—I received your short note with an enclosed letter for Boothby, which I sent into the country to him. You laugh at me when you talk about the tears at the Drawing Room. I confess *to you* that I left Ireland with a great deal of regret. If you had not packed me off to Parliament, I suppose that by Christmas I should almost have thought myself happy to have established myself in Dublin. There is a great misfortune in your being Lord Lieutenant, not only to yourself, but to your friends—for *en fait des femmes*, you can neither do anything for yourself, nor can you for me; so that [I] having no confidant but yourself, all my tender messages are perfectly put a stop to. I hope Trentham has made greater advances amongst them since I left Ireland than he did whilst I was there. He takes time to consider and moves but slowly on to the siege.

During the few days I have been in town, I have had as much of Parliament, Levee, and Drawing Room as if I had been in Dublin. I have been nothing but proper things. Lord Loug[h]borough, whom I called upon, has got the gout; but that is what I need not tell you, for he said that he should write. We had no Irish conversation, for the Duke of Queensberry was with me, and we made but a short visit. I understand from Delmé, who came up the first day of the meeting of Parliament, that Lady Betty is coming up to town next week to lay in.

Town is very full, and the Opera is really infinitely better in every respect than ever I yet saw it or ever expected it to be. Perhaps coming from what is very bad in Dublin makes me find what was only moderate before exceedingly good now. The roof of the theatre has been raised, and the loftiness at present of the house makes it look really well.

For the same reason it is perhaps that I was so much struck the first day of Parliament. Charles Fox, who did not speak as well as he usually does according to the opinion of many, yet in mine was astonishingly

* Found among Selwyn's letters.

great. I never attended to any speech half so much, nor ever did I discover such classical passages in any modern performance. Besides [th]at, I own, he convinced me.

I wished not to talk to you of political events, but nothing else is thought of. The events that are passed are not half so melancholy as the prospect which is looked to. The Supply was opposed by Tho[mas] Pitt, for the first time since the Revolution, yesterday. I did not hear Mr. W. Pitt, which I regret very much, as it is said that he even has surpassed Charles, and greater expectations are formed from him even than from the other.

There surely must be some change or alteration in Administration. Lord George Germain seemed to lay a very heavy charge the first day of the Sessions against Lord Sandwich, but what will come of it, it is difficult to say. Speculation upon political events, however justified by seeing what ought to be, is not always to be depended upon. You can judge better than I can, because you have probably sure information, and I can only form conclusions by what everyone sees and knows. From what Lord Germain said, C[harles] Fox told him that when he impeached Lord Sandwich, he should consider him as a principal witness.

The most melancholy events are predicted with regard to the W[est] Indies. Indeed it is true that everything is now at the mercy of the Enemy, and it is their fault if any possessions whatever, either in N[orth] America or in the W[est] Indies, remain under the British Empire. Our affairs in Ireland go on pretty well, and that is the only place where they do. [The] Lord Advocate made a downright, open speech, but Lord Geo[rge] did not understand it; though parts of it, by what the Advocate has said in *private*, were most probably levelled at *him*.

Signed, A.

Lord Gower to [Lord Carlisle].

1781, Dec. 3, London.—I am much obliged to you for your letter, and must heartily congratulate you on the present state of your administration in Ireland, and on the prospect of future ease and dignity attending it during your continuance there; but you judged right when you thought that I should not read even that account with full satisfaction if the event which was hanging over our heads turned out unpropitious, which it has done to the utmost extent, and with more disagreeable circumstances I think attending it than ever concurred to aggravate a misfortune.*

On my arrival, which was on Saturday last, I found this metropolis in mourning, every face clouded with sorrow, and the wisest and most intelligent asking each other what was next to be done, to which the wisest and most intelligent could give no answer. The inhabitants however of Westminster and the Livery of London are to be convened to give their advice what is to be done in this disastrous situation of things; in fact, it is an effort to work up the present sorrow and dismay into a political phrenzy, I hope not so strong as the religious one, which exhibited such a horrid and disgraceful scene in this place two years ago. Had the heads of Opposition called upon the real mercantile and real thinking people of this country, I rather think they were in a humour to listen to them, but this clamorous mode of application will rather serve to deafen the more sober sort.

* Lord Cornwallis's surrender, 16 Sept. 1781.

I hope soon to remove from this disagreeable scene to one in many respects as unpleasant, except that there I expect to have my bilious affections removed, whereas I am certain they would here be strengthened and confirmed. I mean to go soon to Bath, and stay there till after the Xmas holidays. I am much solicited by an unfortunate woman and five children (for they have all signed a letter to me) to make more particularly known to your Lordship their dismal situation. They have already applied to you for redress, to which application I have seen your answer, and think there is weight in what you say of the difficulty that would attend your making yourself a judge in a family dispute; but as I was the person who obtained the pension from the Crown for the *family*, for it was not personally for Lord Chetwynd, it would in my opinion be unjust, that family being now separated from him, not to give a proportion of that bounty to the wife and children, against whose conduct there is not, I believe, a shadow of blame. I shall therefore, unless your Lordship forbids me to do it, make it known here that when I applied to the Crown for this bounty, it was not the individual that was in my contemplation, but the family. This poor unfortunate woman, who I know to be an amiable and good creature, has received, I understand, but 25*l.* from her husband these last eighteen months. You will not be sorry to come to the conclusion of this dismal letter, but I feel some consolation in desiring you to convey my sincere love and affection to Lady Carlisle, and the rest of my family with you.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Dec. 3, Monday morning.—The courier brought to me yesterday your letter from the Council B[oard]. I hope that what I mentioned about Warner was not importunate; it was a suggestion of Gregg's; he has himself no idea about it. He has too much of an *insouciable* in his composition, and where he has any confidence that another will take care of his affairs, he will not let them interrupt the amusement of the present moment.

Poor Barnard is dead. I am sorry for him on two accounts. He was first a very old acquaintance of about 40 years. I never had any reason in any of my family broils to think he had done me an ill office. He was a warm friend, and to people in distress particularly. My second inducement to feel for him was from the cause of his death, and the similitude of his feelings with my own. He had an only son, whom I can easily comprehend that he loved as much as I do Mie Mie. But if he loved him as well as I do any of your children, *il ne seroit pas dans le cas de s'en plaindre ce garçon.* He was obliged *par principe et pour l'honneur de la raison* to part with him, and send him from his own house, where he had always lived with him. From that day nothing could keep up his spirits. I sent to propose his coming up to town, and I made him an offer of my house in Chesterfield Street for a time, that he might live with the Townshends, who would be attentive to him. But I had not his decision about it, and on Saturday he died suddenly. *Il avoit le cœur trop serré; il ne pouvoit pas dévorer ce chagrin; il en fut suffoqué.* I have persuaded myself that it was the most immediate cause of his death, which might otherwise have been postponed, for in other respects he was better than he had been for a great while.

The Provostship of Eton is in the King's gift. I wish that Ekins had it. Could it not be in lieu of the preferment which you intend

him? What a satisfaction to have him there, while George should be at Eton, and where I suppose you mean sooner or later that he should go. It was too late for me when I heard this last night to go to Ekins, and talk to him about it. I shall this morning, and I should be glad to know Lord Gower's thoughts upon it. It is a scheme *dont je suis fort entêté* for my dear little George's sake.

I went on Saturday to Lord Gower's. They came that day to town. I played a rubber of Whist there, but did not stay to sup. I think that Lord Gower looks much better than when he came to town this time twelvemonth. I have had no opportunity yet of conversing with him.

I dined yesterday at Sir Charles Bunbury's with Fawkner and a Mr. Jekyll, a barrister, *un homme d'esprit*, and Sir Charles['s] sister *la Bâtarde, et Madame*. Today I dine at Lord Ashburnham's. If I hear anything more I shall add it. I expect Lord and Lady G[ower] to send to me to go to Neasdon, but they have not fixed the day. I want Lady Gower to know how much reason there is for lowering George's diet. . . . I shall walk with him regularly in the Park at noon, and he may go there before breakfast with Mie Mie if he likes it. I have a scheme of reading over the State of Europe with him, by Dr. Campbell, with the maps. . . .

Fawkner proposes to send his little *élève* to make him a visit—young Crawfurd, who is a smart, promising boy. I was a good while yesterday —Mie Mie, Mrs. Webb, and I—with Lady Mary. She sent me word that she had business with me, and that it was urgent. I could not collect anything from her discourse, but that she had changed her diet from birds to cheese, but had decided in favour of no cheese in particular. *L'état de son esprit est comme il étoit.* She complains that she is not paid; I offered her money.

I went from her to Lady Cornwallis, whom I found cheerfuller than I had seen her a great while. It is miraculous to what a degree she preserves her understanding, and how like that is to her father's, with a much better temper.

I will not bore you about gaming and Pharo banks. Let it suffice to tell you, that that at Brooks's declines excessively; no steady punter but that idiot the Duke of R[utland]. A very few come to the table. The General and Pigot dash away at Old Almack's, of which Club I am not, I thank God; I have now indeed fewer opportunities and less temptation than ever to play the fool in that manner. The Club, or Tripot, at Old White's, is fitted up *pour en imposer*; but there, I think, *que la police s'en mêlera. Le Palais de notre auguste Monarque n'est environné que de bordels, de gorgotte*[*s*], *et de ces tripots.* I was told that Lord Deerhurst was last night at this new Pharo Table, punting ten guineas a card. With his friend at his elbow he ought to be a very sagacious one [punter] as well as an assiduous one; his name I know not. That simpleton Lord D. talks at Brooks's of scaffolds for the K[ing], for his Ministers, &c., as if he had nothing to do but to order them. Now (?) Vernon,* L[ieutenan]t of the Tower, is to be examined at the Bar of our House.

[Lord Carlisle] to George [Selwyn].

[1781], Dec. 4, Tuesday.—Everything that can be said upon this cursed event in America has been said by this time a thousand times,

* Lieut.-Gen. Charles Vernon?

by those who lament and by those who rejoice at our misfortunes. I shall therefore spare you my melancholy reflexions. As for speculations, I have long since left off making any, seeing that when I indulged any I very seldom was right. . . .

You will by this time have pumped Storer very dry; you must import something new, to be filled with fresh materials. Last night I slept out of town at Abbeville. . . .

I write by scraps, as I can seize a moment during the Audience. The two great dinners coming together (for almost before I have lost sight of the knives and forks of one, the soup of the other makes its appearance) fatigue me very much. Thank God, I am next Sunday in the letter L, which, according to all dictionaries, is the second volume, and consequently I have made great progress. . . .

I feel, such is the force of habit, that I have this day nothing upon my hands, only the Audience, a dinner at the Archbishop of Cashel's, and the Ball at night. My Levee on Sundays is a consumptive business; the insulting myself and every gentleman in Dublin with some nonsensical question for two hours together makes me feel very thin and bilious indeed.

Autograph copy.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Dec. 4, Tuesday morning.—I found, when I came home last night, this letter from your son, which I enclose. Dr. Ekins shewed me a letter from him yesterday, which was with less mistakes in the writing, and was verily (*sic*) prettily expressed, but it was shorter. I find my idea of the Provostship will never do. There are other arrangements for him, and the Provostship, as I hear, will be given to Dampier, Mr. North's tutor.

Burke's Motion is withdrawn. The Opposition thought this was exactly the proper moment to increase and inflame the quarrel between us and the Americans. Unluckily for them, Government is in possession of a letter from Mr. Laurens, in which he expresses himself perfectly satisfied with the treatment of him, in all respects; so this was communicated to Burke. I heard of no other business yesterday, or of any news, but Lord Cornwallis, it is said, goes to Paris. I do not envy him the civilities which he will receive there.

Monsieur de Maurepas heard of our defeat just before he died, and expired with a line of Mitridate in his mouth, which sounded as well I suppose as a *Nunc-dimittis*, and was as sincere:

Mes derniers regards ont vu fuir les Romains.

An old coxcomb! I wish that I could live to see our hands *trempés dans le sang odieux de cette nation infernale*, rather than our *petits maîtres* here, in *Caca du Dauphin, Bouë de Paris, Bile repanduë du Comte d'Artois, ou vomis* (*sic*) *de la Reine. Ce sont les couleurs les plus à la mode, et pour le Carnaval qui vient.*

Lord Loughborough has the gout, and is confined to his bed. Today I have all the Townshends and Brodericks to dine here, and Mie Mie goes after dinner to the Opera with Lady Payne, so I must be dressed to be her beau, which, if it was not for the pleasure of being assistant to her, would be *souffrir le martyre.*

We shall adjourn next week, I believe, till after the Queen's birthday. There was a talk yesterday of changes in the Admiralty, but without foundation. Lord Lisbourne, who dined with us yesterday at Lord Ashburnham's, did not seem to think that there would be a change of

any sort. I hope he means as to *men then* only; for if measures and conduct are not to be changed we are completely undone, supposing anything of that *now* left to do.

The Duke of Newc[astle's] youngest son is at Lisbon for his health, and not likely to live. What is become, or will become, of his eldest God knows. His Grace's pride has settled everything upon Sir H[enry] Clinton, for the sake of the name, and Oatlands is to be sold and no vestiges left, or to be left, of his infinite obligations either to Lord Torrington or to the Pelhams. He is 200,000*l.* in debt, and will, if Lord Lincoln marries, of which nobody doubts, have probably 6,000*l.* a year to pay in jointures to Lady Harrington, and Lady Hertford's daughters, and when this and the usual charge upon the maintenance of great houses is defrayed, he will leave nothing to Sir Henry but the expense of his own monument. He is a complete wretch, and no one ever deserved more to be so.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Dec. 8, Saturday night.—Lord and Lady Gower called upon me today to carry me to Neasdon; we found George extremely well. . . .

Sir R. Payne and Lady Payne dined here today; the Duke of Q[ueensberry], James,* Storer, and Fawkner. News is arrived of Lord John Clinton's death at Lisbon, and Lord Lincoln is expected. We shall now see what the Duke of Newcastle will determine as to his son's wedding. He is engaged to Lady A. Maria, and declares he will never marry anybody else. Lord Grantham has a son. Rodney has left London, and will sail directly for the West Indies, if that signifies anything. Lord Gower will go to the Bath for five weeks on Friday. He seems better than I ever expected him to be again.

Lord Rawdon is not yet arrived from Paris; he has been fêted there beyond measure. Their ill-humour would have flattered me more. There is an insolence which accompanies their civilities, while they have the superiority, which is quite insupportable.

Wednesday next is our Army day, and that on which all Members who can give their attendance will. Both sides are sending for their friends with the greatest importunity imaginable, and from that debate we are to judge of what is intended as to the war in America.

James and Storer have a tranquillity, seemingly, which I do not comprehend, knowing how much they have at stake, and in what a precarious situation their property is in (*sic*). But, after all, whose is safe, and how is all this to end?

I was in great hopes of a letter from you today. It seems long since I have had one, not reckoning as anything your note from the Council Board.

I told Lord Gower, speaking of your expenses, that I imagined, from what I had been told, that putting those of this winter and the ensuing summer together, the revenue in Ireland would be sufficient, without a remittance from hence; he seemed pleased with that. I hope that I am not misinformed. It seems absolutely necessary that all received here should be applied to the clearing the arrears, and upon my word it will be no more that [than] is sufficient, if so much. I dread to think of what will be the case if these arrears, or any part of them, remain at your return, and to what a plan of economy you must otherwise be reduced. For my own part, I dread as much for myself, for I can get

* Not James Hare—*see* p. 556; nor the Dr. James referred to on p. 479. *Qu.* Haughton James—*see* H. Walpole's Letters, vi. 79, vii. 490, 495.

no one person to pay me—tenants, or anybody else—everybody pleading poverty, and some branches of my income likely to be entirely gone.

I want some person in Ireland to superintend the lawsuit which I have instituted against Mr. Gore, that is, I have sent over powers to an attorney, one Luchie, in Dublin, to sue him, and cause an entry to be made upon his estate. But I am afraid of the delays for want of having some person on the spot to look into it for me. I wish the little Dean would give me his assistance. I should be much obliged to him.

Ekins is, I hope, getting better, but I cannot go this evening to see him, the weather is so intolerable. I hope that he will be well enough to come here when George is here. Lord Gower approved mightily of my idea about the Provostship, if it had been practicable.

Barnard has died worth near fifty 000 £. My nephews are his executors, and Charles is guardian, as I hear, to his son. I do [not] hear who will have the Canonry of Windsor, and to whom Tommy will give his living of Paul's Cray.

Storer's Patent is not yet passed, that I know of. I do not wonder that he is out of humour. The Minister and *commis* have a way of doing their business which no one in their station ever had before. The Duke of Newcastle, the most shuffling, procrastinating, trifling man that ever was in employment, had nevertheless the talent [of] making people often think themselves obliged when they were not; but these people offend, while they are doing the greatest services, and oblige nobody. Robinson *n'aime que des affaires;* everything with him is to be a job, and most of them dirty enough. This with Lord Walsingham is one of them; his behaviour to me has been unpardonable. Some very sour words passed between Storer and him. I have much ado to keep my temper with him. One should not imagine this to be a time when Ministers or their subalterns would be insolent. If they have blundered only, their country is very patient and merciful to them.

All discourse of changes is at an end. Our next entertainment at home will, I suppose, be the dispute between Lord Corn[wallis] and Sir H[enry] Clinton. I did not know till late that the difference between them had gone so far. But in this manner has the K[ing] and the Public been served the whole war. I wish Lord Corn[wallis] was returned, and safe, with all my heart. I do not find anyone as yet venturing to cast an aspersion on any part of his conduct.

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1781, Dec. 11, Portugal Street.—I was in hopes to have had a line either from you or Emily before this, but as the wind has been East for some days, I am laying the blame upon the weather, and not upon the forgetfulness and neglect of my friends. Since my return I have been at Mr. Woollett's, the engraver, about having your portrait engraved. His hands are so full that he cannot undertake my business till the summer, and if you happen to be but half as impatient as I am, you will think that a very long day to postpone it to. I have therefore thought of applying to Sherwin, or any other artist, rather than suffer my *monumentum ære* not to be begun. You will be so good as to let me know whether I shall wait till Woollett is at leisure, or whether I shall apply to someone else. I am quite delighted with Rumney's portrait of you. His drapery is not quite what I like; there is something that looks always cold and unfinished about it. The countenance of yours is very like and very well done.

We are in great expectation tonight about a new Burletta, and tomorrow about the plan that Administration are to follow with regard to

America. The supplies for the Army is the business, and Opposition have assembled all their troops. We on the side of Ministry have received our *privates*, exhorting us to attend.

I find by an article in the *Gazette de deux ponts*, that Lady Derby is at Vienna. The article is : "*Parmi les étrangers de distinction qui se* " *trouvent ici il y a miladi Darby, dont les noces ont coûté* 35 *mille* " *livres sterlings, et qui neuf mois après a été separée de son* " *époux.*"

The Westminster business yesterday went off very quietly ; considering how everyone has been disgusted of late with mobs, Charles does not shew his judgment in seeming to wish to derive any advantage from them. The bank has done nothing material. Mr. Pigot has set up another table at the house where Old White's used to be kept. There you have claret and supper gratis, provided I suppose that you punt. Mr. Martindale is very ambitious too of having a bank at his house, and applied to Selwyn to be a banker. George's associates were not altogether to his mind, and therefore he declined the partnership.

Selwyn tells me that I must take the department of House of Commons news upon myself, but I really think that with Mr. Woodfall's paper there is no occasion for further intelligence. Mrs. Bennett says that Mr. Fox put Mr. Burke's nose out of joint, and now Mr. Pitt is going to do so by Mr. Fox. Burke made a longer speech than ever he made before about the business of St. Eustatius.

There is a paragraph in our papers about an Irish affair, which alarms me very much ; I mean the decree of Lord Mansfield, which the Irish will not submit to. I hope to God that no storm will trouble those waters, which I left so quiet, at least as far as I could judge. Flood will do all he can to make mischief, I know, and Cracherode, who is well acquainted with him, and has an high opinion of his abilities, says that he is a formidable antagonist. He says this by way of plaguing me, I know; but when there is a whisper about any disturbance in Ireland, I catch the alarm immediately.

We are frightened, with much more reason I am afraid, about Jamaica. If it is taken, I hope I shall be a subject of France. There perhaps we may be treated tolerably well; at Madrid we shall find no mercy. Mr. Dalling has been recalled several times, but he is a spirit of the deep; he will not come, though called.

I have heard nothing of my patent. It was very entertaining to see Mr. Robinson labouring with a great deal of awkward artifice to make a dupe of me, when I knew as much of the matter as he did, who was endeavouring to impose upon me. He wanted to make me believe that my seat in Parliament might become vacated a second time by the issuing of the patent, and if it had been issued during the prorogation of Parliament, the Borough* must have remained open during the whole summer, and therefore the patent had not been made out till the meeting of Parliament, in order that if Opposition should be inclined to force me a second time to vacate my seat, I might then be rechosen immediately, and consequently not leave the Borough open but for a few days. *He* does not believe that this ever can be the case, that the giving any one thing can be considered as two distinct things, nor do *I* believe it; yet it would be but fair to turn the tables upon him, and pretend that I do believe it, if I could possibly by my affected belief induce him to issue the original patent, which was dated before I kissed hands. If ever there was a Δωρον αδωρον, this is surely a gift of that kind. This is not, as Crawford calls it, doing an obliging thing in an obliging manner.

* Of Morpeth.

But I beg your pardon for saying so much about it. I mean, and I suppose you think it proper, that I should keep my temper, though I do not get my place. I should wish that you, who have a much cooler head than I can boast of, would direct me what to do. I should not be surprised if the patent was not made out while Parliament is sitting, and then it will not be made out during the recess for the reasons which hindered its being made out, according to Mr. Robinson, during the last vacation. I hope you have had no gouty symptoms. Poor Ekins is still a cripple with it. . . . *Je vous prie de me rendre des bons offices auprès de Mlle. Beresford.* . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Dec. 11, Tuesday night.—. . . I went this morning to see Ekins. I do not find that he is much better. He sits up in a chair, does not seem in pain, but says that *il n'en est pour cela plus avancé.* I have awakened in him a desire, not a hope, of the Provostship.* From his arrangements, and what I conceived those of Lord N[orth]'s to be, all seemed desperate, but I do not find or hear, at least, that it is determined upon whom it shall be bestowed. Roberts is a competitor, and I suppose that his support must come from Lord Walsingham, for Roberts, as I understand, has made [married] a relation of his. Robinson is ready, I daresay, to assist any intrigue of Lord Wals[ingham], and Robinson *fait tout, et tout de la même façon.* In short, if it was possible to negotiate this for Ekins, it would, I see, make him the happiest person in the world, and you comprehend already for what particular reasons I wish it. Lord Gower wishes it too, and for the same reasons, but he probably is so situated that he will take no step in it. I think, however, that by means of the Chancellor, or Rigby, he might.

I dined at home, but when my dinner was over I went up to March, who had left word that he dined at home. I found there John, Storer, Lord William, little Thomas, and an Italian fiddler, Piozzi, or some such name; they all went to the Opera, and so I am come home. Mie Mie and I dine on Saturday at Lady Hertford's, and she carries us to the Opera afterwards. I was at Lord Hertford's last night to drink tea. He assured me that Richards had not the least intention of opposing you. He averred that he himself had the strongest inclination that you should be supported, but he seemed to have adopted an idea that your behaviour towards the Beau had more reserve in it than was expected. I tell you everything which I hear, and you are to make what use you please of it. I am sure that you will judge with more propriety than I can suggest what behaviour is proper to everyone with whom you have to do.

Gregg came to me last night and told me that he had been confined with a cold. He said that it was expected that Storer should contribute to the expenses of the Election. I do not well see how he can, at present; I am afraid *que les fonds baissent avec lui*, and no patent is yet renewed, so that, to keep Lord Walsingham in possession, Storer is deprived of at least 400*l.* of his salary.† This is what we call an Affair, of which Robinson is so fond, and so is all that class of people.

I daresay, when the time comes round again, you will have had experience enough in election matters to manage these things better.

* Of Eton.

† *See* H. Walpole's Letters, viii. 125, 126.

I do not think it likely that I should live to help you, but if I do, I am confident that you will approve of my scheme in that respect. I have no obligation to any Minister, or ever shall have one, and therefore shall be more at liberty to concur with you, if you pursue the *carrière* in which you are at present. *En attendant*, you have at present two members who I am confident will act as you desire that they should; so far so good.

Lord Rawdon is, I believe, arrived, or expected every hour. I shall go again tonight to Lord Gower's, and when I hear what Lord R. says of the French, and of their reception of him, I will let you know.

There is great curiosity about the event of tomorrow's debate. Charles was but ill attended yesterday in Westminster Hall, and not better at the Pharo table afterwards M.* made me smile this afternoon, saying that it was a pity that Charles had taken the line of conduct that he had, because he was *such a good man*. I wish from the bottom of my heart that he had been a good man, for his sake as well as that of others; if he had, his line of conduct would have been very different from what it has. As it is, he will blaze for a time, do infinite mischief, *et il s'en ira en fumée, et il ne sera pas plutôt parti, qu'oublié; fiez-vous en à ma parole.*

I have spoke to Lord Gower about the public account, for the money is paid, but the account is nevertheless unsettled. When Lord Digby comes to London I shall renew that subject.

Sir H. Clinton to Lord Carlisle.

[1781,] Dec. 12, New York.—A safe opportunity offers (a very rare thing) in a man-of-war to Cork; I take that of paying my respects to your Lordship, and of writing a long letter to Mr. Eden. Your Lordship will have heard of our unfortunate close of the campaign, and the loss of I had almost said the best third of this Army, with its gallant chief. I had repeatedly represented the necessity of a covering Fleet in the present plan of the war. I was promised that covering Fleet under S[ir] G. Rodney; we had it not, and to the want of it are we (?) to impute our late great misfortune.

Your Lordship will have probably seen Lord Cornwallis's letter of the 20th of October. I hope for his Lordship's sake it will not be understood in Europe, as some do here, that his Lordship was compelled by my orders to take the port of York (*sic*), although it was not his own preference; that he had represented the defects of the ground, and was detained there contrary to his own judgment; that I had *promised* the exertions of the Navy before I was authorised by the resolution of Flag and General Officers on the 24th of September; and that I had spoken a little too positively of the time the Fleet would sail to his succour.

His Lordship does not mean to say any part of this; why imply any part of it? I will easily believe his Lordship to have been under great agitation of mind, and that the letter was written under the circumstances he mentioned. No man fleets [feels?] more for his Lordship and his gallant Army than I do; no man would have gone further to recover him than I should have done, although perhaps when I sailed, from the delays of the Fleet and its inferiority to that of the enemy, I had little more to expect in case of success than the saving part of his Lordship's t[r]oops with the loss of part of my own; and I need not say what must have been the consequence o failure; but we all agree it was the only thing that could be done, and had we been able to sail

* March?

about the time we first hoped we should, we should not only have succoured his Lordship, but from the position* we found the French fleet in we had every hope of brilliant success, and a fair set-to with their army, which, although numerous, was composed of few good troops, except those Washington took with him from hence, and found there under La Fayette, but (?) I hear the French from [the] West Indies were very sickly.

Major Armstrong, of the Light Infantry, will have the honour of presenting this to your Lordship; no man more capable of giving your Lordship information of our affairs here, as he has served with great credit throughout the who[le] war.

[P.S.] If we are not superior at sea next campaign, and considerably reinforced, I need not say what we are to expect.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Dec. 13, Thursday m.—I think that I *should* write to you today, and yet I *shall not*, if I do not begin my letter this morning when I have as yet seen nobody. For I dine today at Lady Townshend's with Williams, Lord Dudley, General, Vernon, and Jack. It is a kind of *anniversaire;* Williams furnishes half a doe. I go after dinner to see some young ladies act the *Tragédie d' Hester* in French at their school, where I am to meet Mie Mie; I am curious to see how they will perform it. The D[uke] of Q[ueensberry] was there the other day, with Lady Harrington and Lady C. Barry, and we had tickets, but preferred going to drink tea at Lady Hertford's.

I had such a violent headache yesterday that even the Committee Room was insupportable to me. But from report I lost no great matter. Charles, I take for granted, was well, violent, and repeating the same complaints, and in the same words; while we know that his only grievance is not being able to govern the King and his country in spite of their teeth, and because he cannot do more without a character than any other man ever did with one. We sate till near three. The particulars, as far as relates to the speeches and measures, you will know from the papers.

Lord Despencer is dead, and Lord Ailesford I heard mentioned to be his successor. Lord John Clinton has left a will, which the Duke of Newcastle knew nothing of, it seems; and he leaves 16,000*l.* to his niece, the late Lord Lincoln's daughter. This is no balm to his Grace's parental concern, but I do not hear that he even affects to have much about it. *Si verè dolet*, it is that he has not this sum at his disposal. I wish that it had been left to Fanny Pelham, for her life at least. His Grace had quarrelled with Lord John before he went to Lisbon; no one ever contrived to torment another so effectually, as his Grace has been his own tormentor, by suffering his pride and his avarice to supply the defect of every good quality whatever. Lord Lincoln is expected every day, and is successor at Retford to his E. Bro. [elder brother].

. . . .

Jack T[ownshend?] spoke yesterday a longer time than usual, but I have heard yet no violent encomiums on Jack's Parliamentary abilities. At Brooks's, to be sure, *l'on s'en vante*. C. Turner had prepared us to expect great absurdity, and the House, as I am told, was not disappointed.

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* "Should" is interlined here, but seems to be needless.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Christmas day, Tuesday m.—. . . I dined yesterday at Lady Lucan's. The dinner was at first designed for George and Mie Mie, but upon my explaining myself to Lady Lucan concerning that [his objection to their dining out late], this dinner took another turn, and was at their usual hour; so instead of them, I met Lady Clermont, Sir R. and Lady Payne, Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Gibbon. There were a few at Brooks's, and Hare in the chair to keep up the appearance of a pharo bank, but nobody to punt but the Duke of Rutland and Fish Craufurd. Charles, or Richard, if he is there, never fail[s]; and at their own bank they will lose a thousand in one deal, and win them back in the other; but Richard, as I was told, lost *tout de bon* 7,000, the other night, to this bank, in which Hare and Lord Robert have a twelfth. The whole manœuvre, added to their patriotism, their politics, &c., &c., are incredible.

*I am going to dine today at Delmé's; he has promised me some plumb porridge. His son is to dine here with George. Lady B[etty] brings him at half-hour after two. On Friday I dine at Keene's, and in the evening George and Mie Mie come, and George may renew his addresses to the young lady. Lady Lucan desires that we should choose King and Queen at her house. I have myself no objection to anything but the dinner abroad.

Tuesday night.—No letter come. At Delmé's, the D[uke] of Q[ueensberry], Storer, Hanger, and G. Fitzwilliams, Lady Ann, and the family. . . . . Hare holding the Bank. The punters are, Charles, *par intérêt*, Fish Craufurd, *par complaisance*, and the D. of R., *par bêtise*. Storer's patent is at last passed, as Gibbon tells me. I hear no more; it is likely, for this next week, to be a great dearth of news. For be the West India Islands taken, or secured, it will be no matter I suppose of concern till Charles has made a speech about them.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Dec. 27, Thursday.—I received yesterday yours of the 20th. I opened it with much expectation and hopes that it would have announced to me the birth of a son. . . . That which you have [Lord Morpeth] is perfectly well. . . I wish that I could safely propose more entertainment to him, and carry him to some plays, but I am afraid, and as he is contented it is very well. I got a party of young people, my relations, to make a pool of Commerce for him last night, and with that he was as well pleased as he could have been in Drury Lane Playhouse. I expect the Duchess of Bedford will invite him into her Box at the Opera; but if she does not, my intention is to take one myself, for him and Mie Mie to see the Buffa, and the Miss Selwyns will go with them. . . .

Storer was at White's last night, with Lord G. Germain, and seemed in high spirits. I shall not renew the subject of grievances with him, for the reasons you give; but it is certain that Mr. Robinson's behaviour has exceeded all measure in point of impertinence, and I suspect him of any dirty job that can come into the head of a low attorney.

I am sorry for what you tell me of the Beau. I was in hopes that his opposition was relative to the Sugar Trade only, in which he was

* Found apart.

personally interested, and in that he might have been excusable, and so his friends my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Surveyor* represented it to me. But it appears by your account to be more. If so, you are the best judge what should be done. If our R[oyal] master had firmly and uniformly acted in the same manner as you propose to do, from the beginning of his reign, he would not have seen so many of those vagaries which you speak of, nor would it have entered into the head of such *farceurs* as are in Opposition, or such a desperate rantipole vagabond, as our Charles, to suppose he could, if he was not satisfied, by his parts, whatever they may be, create a *bouleversement de l'état.*

Why the Bills are not come to you I do not know. Lord George† asked me if the [Irish] Parliament was adjourned, and when I told him why it was not, he was surprised, for he thought that the Bills must already have arrived. I perfectly agree with you that your activity deserves a reciprocity, and I am also of opinion that if your administration goes on as it has begun, the Government here will have more obligations to you than ever they will be inclined to repay.

The changes intended to be made in the Cabinet are a secret to me; I have heard so often of them that I give no more credit to them than to anything else intended by them. We are in a most unfortunate situation, to be obliged to keep in people who can do no good, lest we should be invaded by those who have done so much mischief. Was ever a country reduced to so much distress and disgrace, which was once so formidable, in so short a time? . . . .‡

The D[uke] of Q[ueensberry] is gone to a ball at Richmond; there are others at Windsor, at Hatfield, &c.; and a great party both at Cashiobury and at Althorp. Poor George Boden's gone to Newgate for debt, where in all probability he will end his days, and these, with such a corpulency as his, and under such confinement, cannot be long. An ounce of common sense would have kept him out of it, and a great deal of wit and humour will not prevent his dying there unrelieved and unpitied. I shall be sorry to hear that he is suffered to stay there long, and yet that will probably be the case, if he lives.

I dined yesterday at Lord Ashburnham's, and I heard there much talk of a pamphlet addressed to Jenkinson, but as they supposed it to come out of the Hartley mint, I take it for granted that it will not entertain me so much as I have been with the *Tableau de Paris.* I have enclosed a letter for you from Boothby, and am sorry to find that there is so little probability of your seeing him this winter.

The P[rince] has some thoughts of giving a dinner on her Majesty's birthday. His great favourite at present, as I hear, is young St. Leger; Lord Southampton, *point du tout.* Yesterday was fixed for the interview between his Grace of Newcastle and his son. . . .

Charles has owned to me that he thinks that there is no chance left of his accomplishing his ends, if at all, in less than seven years, but that, if the prophecy could be fulfilled *then for a certainty*, he should be better satisfied than if his schemes took place immediately. What am I to believe? what to think of this rhapsody? The Fish I suppose is persuaded of it, because I heard yesterday that he was riding in a

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* John St. John, Surveyor-General of the Land Revenues, 1775 to 1784, when he was succeeded in that office by Selwyn. (Haydn.)

† Germaine.

‡ In this letter, and in that of 25 December, there are some remarks on the story of Mrs. Stewart, Lord Cambden's daughter, being carried into a wood and robbed. It is also referred to in Hare's letter of 29 December 1781.

retired part of Hyde Park, and in a close conference with Mr. Bromhill, something lower in Administration than Mr. R[obinson]; in no other respect I will answer for it. My *Honest friend's* son, Mr. Poyntz, is not dead, which is reason enough for me not to have told you that he was. . . .

J[AMES] H[ARE] to LORD CARLISLE.

1781, Dec. 29.—I stayed at Foxley till the middle of October, and then came to Town, where, for want of any other amusement I chose to take the diversion of Hazard at the House in Pall Mall, and lost near 4,000*l.* in three nights to a set of fellows whom I never saw before, and have never seen since. Though it has generally happened to me to begin the winter without a guinea, I did not make up my mind to it this year so easily as I have done formerly, because I knew that I deserved to be poor for having been fool enough to lose my money at Hazard instead of saving it for Pharaoh.

Richard played at the same place, and lost 8,000 gs., which he paid immediately, though he had declared to me a few days before that he had not a quarter of that sum in the world; but you know how to estimate his veracity on these subjects as well as anybody.

Charles, in the October meetings, lost about 10,000*l.*, the greatest part of it on Races, and the rest to General Smith at picquet. The general opinion was, that Charles was extremely partial to horses of his own confederacy; this he denies, and of course is angry to hear suspected, but you and I shall not be very backward to believe it to have been the case.

Most of the joint annuitants agreed to a proposal made to them by Richard and Charles, viz., to receive 6,000*l.* immediately, and the remainder by instalments in three years. One of them refused to accept this proposal, and seized soon after the meeting four of Charles's horses, which were of trifling value, and therefore bought in again at a small expense by Derby, in whose name they now stand; whether some time or other his protection may not be insufficient, I shall not pretend to say, but it is not quite out of the reach of possibility.

Thus, you see, the Bankers did not meet at the beginning of the winter in the same opulent circumstances as they had parted in at the end of the last campaign. Lord Robert and I proposed to have our share increased from a twelfth to an eighth. Charles consented, but Richard refused, and we remain on our former footeign (*sic*). The Bank has already won considerably, and would probably have done still better if money was not very scarce, as most of the punters retain their passion without the means of gratifying it.

You will be surprised when I tell you that Richard is our most valuable punter, and has lost this year full as much as his share of the winnings of the Bank; and as he would not agree to my having a larger share, I have no great remorse in taking his money. Last night he lost 13,000*l.*, and Charles above 5,000*l.*; all the other players won something, but not a sum at all equal to our partner's losses. Pray do not mention this, unless you hear it from some other person, as probably you will.

The club at Brookes's is very ill attended, and Brookes enraged to the last degree that gentlemen should presume to think of anything but making his fortune. He complained to Charles that there was 17,000*l.* owing to the house, which is a most impudent lie; and even if it were true he would have no reason to complain of the balance, as he has

15,000*l.* belonging to the proprietors of the Bank in his hands, for which he pays no interest, though he receives at least 5 per cent. for all money owing to him.

There are two Clubs lately formed, both consisting of young men, and chiefly of different parties in politics. Goortree's is a small society of young men in Opposition, and they are very nice in their admissions; as they discourage gaming as much as possible, their Club will not do any harm to Brookes's, and probably not subsist a great while; it seems to be formed on the model of the celebrated Tuesday Night Club. The other is at Welche's, in St. James's Street, consisting of young men who belong to Government; and poor John St. John, whose age and zeal for Government particularly qualify him to be a member, has hitherto met with objections on the ballot, which I hope will be withdrawn on another trial of his interest, and that the Town will have the advantage of his management at the next Masquerade, which that Club is to give after Xmas.

Richard has been a long time an admirer of Mrs. Benwell, but she did not at first do justice to the Colonel's merit. The successes of the Pharaoh Bank contributed to open her eyes, and at the end of the summer she was established as his mistress *en titre*, which respectable situation she has held ever since, but on a very liberal footeign (*sic*); not to the absolute exclusion of other lovers, amongst whom is a young Prince, who makes her frequent visits, to prevail on her, as she tells Richard, to give up her present connection, and be kept by him. This she refuses, and is in all respects inexorably cruel; and though he stays with her sometimes three or four hours together, she has been able to persuade Richard that she always sends him away dissatisfied; and he relates these things to me without seeming to entertain a doubt of the whole being true. What an enviable disposition his is, and how desirable it is to be imposed upon, where knowing the truth would destroy one's happiness.

If he perseveres in his attacks on the Bank, I suspect he will find himself less firm in Mrs. Benwell's affection; indeed, he told me last night that he had had a violent quarrel with her, and had been forbidden the house; but this he considered only as proceeding from her resentment of some coolness on his side, and consequently as a symptom of her love.

Lady S——— is left entirely to the mercy of John St. John, and is grown so ugly and so like her mother, that if she loves Jack she will probably suffer very little importunity from men hereafter, except from her husband, who is violently in love with her, and is so enraged against Richard for having once been high in her esteem that he never speaks, nor even bows to him. You must remember how fond he used to be of him formerly.

Charles has been very free from that dreadful disorder in his bowels this winter: his chief complaint is, that he grows old, but the effects of age he laments most are not those which are commonly thought the worst. His complaint is that he cannot be as foolish as he was formerly about women, and that though he takes great pains to fall in love, he cannot bring it about; this I wonder at, as he has always begun by taking the thing into his head, which is not the usual process. Whenever he has a fancy for any woman it makes him so unhappy and so ridiculous that I most sincerely hope his complaint may continue.

Derby is still in pursuit of Miss Farren, though perhaps it is inaccurate to say that he is in pursuit, for I really believe he has attained his object, which is, being stared at by the whole Playhouse, and talked of by the

whole Town. . . . . The Caricatura has had the good effect of mending his seat on horseback, which is totally changed, and consequently improved.

Boothby has just told me that James finds himself in such bad circumstances that he is obliged to sell all his horses, and give up hunting entirely; but as James is in Town, and has not said one word to me about it, I am in hopes that it is not exactly so: the Prince* is rather a dark painter, and fond of placing the principal figure in the shade. The Prince himself, I am afraid, is rather distressed, as he never games, and it is observed invidiously enough by people who do not love him, that he must be poor, as he has grown so much more agreeable than he used to be.

Crawford was giving himself great airs the other day on having taken Longchamp, the man who keeps the Rooms at Newmarket, into his service as cook, but on enquiry it appeared that he had taken one of his brothers: the Fish was unspeakably mortified to find that his cook was not a man of so great celebrity as he had imagined, and gave his first dinner yesterday with a determination to condemn the cook's performance, whether good or bad. I am very ill qualified to tell you the scandalous history of fine ladies, not having been at one assembly this winter. . . . .

Lord Salisbury sacrifices his whole time and fortune to Hertfordshire popularity, and six years hence may perhaps reap the reward of his labours by bringing in a Member for the county, after an expensive contest. . . . .

Lord Morpeth looks remarkably well: I hope George [Selwyn]'s fondness will not spoil him, for he is the prettiest boy I ever saw. . .

[Note by Lord Carlisle on Irish Bills.]

[c. 1781?]—The Bill proposed by Mr. F. comprehended but one object, viz., the security of I^{h} property supposed to be held under B. statutes. It was selfish in its purport, coarse in its intent, and unqualified with any civil expression whatever towards the other country. It embraced neither its commercial interests, [n]or shewed a disposition by any collateral emollients to render less affronting the surly denial [by implication (?), *written over*] of the asserted right of the B. Legislature. It was neither hoped nor expected that a B. so framed should be returned. To admit the necessity of an I^{h} Act for giving permanent security to the landed property of the country, is to confess that some additional aid is required to disperse doubt and uncertainty upon this important subject: therefore it was the hope of many, by the loss of the B. in England, men would be undesignedly led to other measures, violent in their nature, tending to destroy all amity and confidence between the two kingdoms, but which they w[ould] be obliged to have recourse to as remedies to still those waters they had so intemperately moved. These remedies were to be looked for in Parliamentary declarations, volunteer resolution, and solemn compacts not to avail themselves in any suits touching their property of any provisions of an Eng. Act of Parliament. What part could Government in this case prudently adopt? A certain defeat would have attended the attempt of negativing the proposition, for there were not 10 members in the House of C^{s} that had not on different occasions explicitly acknowledged the competency

* *i.e.*, Sir William Boothby, Bart.; *see* before, and H. Walpole's Letters, viii. 51.

of the I. Parliament in point of legislation, and the usurpation of the B. to make laws for them; and could it be expected that when by continuance the ambiguous tenure of their estates became more exposed, they would not catch at anything like a quieting (?) remedy, though distasteful to many? In this dilemma a Bill of a very different complexion and tendency was brought forward by Mr. G. It took a middle course, was respectful in its regards towards the M. country, re-enacted almost every law of G. B. that reached the sister kingdom, as well as those that touched the landed property, and in short gave validity and force to a variety of legal regulations of reciprocal advantage, which before had no operation whatever, and were regularly resisted in [e]very part of the Island without averting (?) to their properties or uses, merely because they did originate in the I. Parliament. Moderate men of principle and sense, who saw plainly by the adoption of the former how they were in necessity [to] play in the game of those ill inclined to peaceable government and the public tranquillity, accepted greedily the other propositions in the hope that G. B., seeing the impractibility of enforcing the Declaratory Act of Geo. 1st, might take a dignified moment of repaying I[d] for her moderation and loyalty, which this B. breathed in every part by the removal of that Statute, which was likely by its continuance to create infinite disorder, and from which no possible advantage was ever likely to arise.

Draft in Lord Carlisle's hand. Endorsed; Note upon Mr. G. and Mr. F. Bill (*sic*).

[William Eden to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] Friday morning, 20 m. before 11 o'clock, Dublin Castle.—No accounts yet of mails! I have therefore determined to despatch this messenger. He will at least give your Excellency the satisfaction of knowing that Lady Carlisle continues as well as possible; I saw her dine yesterday, and she appears perfectly well. Lord Trentham and Lady Anne go on Monday.

I do not know what advice to give about the state journey; unless the apology is well made, B. Cuninghame will be heavily mortified, for I hear from all quarters that he is expecting your Excellency. The only apology that occurs to me would be a message or note, or a visit from Corbet to say that business from England forces you to Dublin more suddenly than you expected. I did not know that it was out of the way. I understood that you would find it as convenient an Inn as Kells; in which case it w[d] not be necessary to do more than dine and proceed the next morning; and your Excellency can promise a longer visit in the summer.

Sir Frederick Flood could not make any report before the 23rd, having left his papers at Dublin, and being in the country. I therefore signified your Excellency's commands that the two respited convicts should be further respited to Saturday, 26th inst.

I make no remarks on the inclosed letters. I fear that the St. Eustatius business will prove true, because it is bad; if so, it may postpone the expected peace with the Dutch. It will arrive a little before the meeting of the English Parliament.

Your Excellency will see in the papers that one of the lists of successions is arrived, but no letter from Lord Hillsb[orough]h.

I had answered that of Gambier (?) before I received your Excellency's. I do not know how he will construe mine, but I could not help giving him the cut at the close. He has not a right to above

four or five unmeaningly civil lines from you. We certainly found him quite practicable and personally civil.

Did you answer the Duke of Buccleugh? I gave you a dra[t] (draught?) to Lord Ilchester, prepared by Mr. Coote.

Miss Bishop has married a groom, and Mrs. Dummer a painter (Dance).

The separate packet will explain itself.

Lady Carlisle is not awake, and I will not suffer them to wake her, as she will probably have an opportunity of writing today.

Endorsed: 1781, Eden.

[William Eden to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781?] Monday, p[as]t 4 p.m.—This mail having arrived a few minutes after the first messenger was despatched this morning, I judged proper to detain it till I could study the purport of Lord Hiilsborough's dispatches. I find that Col. Abercrombie's being postponed will make a short delay in the recommendation of Captain Corbet, whose name closed that succession: it stood as follows:—

Dundas to succeed Abercrombie.
Mangin to succeed Dundas.
Blakeney to succeed Mangin.
Corbet to succeed Blakeney.

Corbet, however, has one consolation; for the expressions used imply that the succession is approved as soon as the opening to it can be cleared.

The delay is contrary to stipulation with Abercrombie, who was promised his commission immediately. I will write to remind them of this.

If your Excellency approves my proposed letter to Flood, I will send it tomorrow night.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781?] Thursday, 3 o'clock p.m.—There was a quarrel between my jobman and the coachman, so there is to be a change in that department as well as in the Admiralty, upon which Charles pretends to count as the consequence of his Motion of next week. March is gone this morning to his house at Richmond, and then comes here to dinner. Lady Ann has sent me this morning a packet for Ireland, to go as she desires by the messenger. I have sent to the Secretary's Office, and they have told Pierre that a messenger may go tonight or a month hence. Upon this uncertainty I shall send her a note to know her pleasure, and if she will give me leave to send it by the post of tonight with mine.

It is Lord Peterborough, as I hear, who has, as well as the Duke of Rutland, been one of the greatest contributors to Charles's bank. Sir G. Metham has taken a small house in the little court near mine, called Russell Court. The Duke of Bridgwater is in town, and is supposed to blackball everyone whose face he does not know at White's. He has never once made me a visit, or, when he has met me, ever asked me one question concerning you or Lady Carlisle. There is a *maussaderie* in him, and a caprice, which prevents me from wishing to see more of him than I do; *c'est un charactère qui n'a rien d'aimable, à mon avis.* . . .

J[ames] Hare to [Lord Carlisle].

[1781 ?] Saturday morning, Holyhead.—We got to this place at 12 o'clock, after a fine passage of ten hours, during the latter part of which I was very sick. I remained in my chaise from the time I went on board till I got into a small boat to land. I need not assure you that I passed my time agreeably in Ireland, and that I am happy in having shewn you an attention arising entirely from regard for you, and a desire of your company. . . .

Dr. Ekins.

1781–1782.—Many letters from Dr. Ekins to Lord Carlisle relative to the Bishop of Bangor, Dr. Berkeley, Dr. Percy, church preferment, the deanery of Carlisle, the bishopric of Dromore, other Irish bishoprics, &c.; with letters from Lord Carlisle, the Bishop of Bangor, Dr. Percy, and Dr. Berkeley.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782 ?]—(*Beginning wanting.*) They are to have 2,000*l.* a year subsistence; the old Countess, the young couple, and the General to govern his Grace by turns. . . . .

Thursday is the enquiry about Lord Sandwich, the town now as full as it can be. Pharo at every house almost in St. James's Street. But the great bank *va toujours son train*, and is at the top of all; the Duke of Rutland chief pigeon. Jack Par[s]ons employed by Martindale at White's, *pour* punting! A report today that Rodney was dead, without foundation. Lord Chewton come over; Lord Cornwallis lay last night at Salisbury. Arnold safe in England. Lord George [Germaine] not declared out as yet. Storer's patent costs 116*l.*; he will have nothing to receive these nine months. Lord Lincoln will be married in a few days.* The Duke protests he pay[s] 20,000*l.* a year interest for money, and fancies himself with that to be a great *seigneur* with a debt at 400,000.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782 ?]† Tuesday m[orning].—I received last night Dr. Ekins's letter, which he was desired to write *pour entretenir Monseigneur dans sa paresse.* I am very glad that in a week or ten days more I shall at least see some of you; I expect to see Charlotte fluttering out of the coach window, and flying like a bird out of its cage, into her new house; I shall be there to receive them. I suppose that Thursday the 21st will be the latest, because I make Saturday next the *latter end of the week*, according to the Dean's expression, and he says that they will be six days on the road.

I went to Lady Harrington's last night, and she let me in. Lord Southampton had been there. . . .

I set Harry Stanhope down at Brooks['s] as I went home, who tells me that the Fish is there in a constant wrangle about his bill and his forfeitures; and that it is not quite settled as yet who shall govern the house besides himself.

This week will be one of great domestic business with me, for I am to have at my house Harris, who is my steward, and my gardener, and I am to have a *conciliabule* with Woodcock and others concerning my lawsuit with the parish.

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* 25 Jan. 1782. (Annual Register.)

† If this letter and the following one belong to the year 1782, they were probably written after the Earl's return to England.

My butcher, Hudson, who used to serve the King, has been with me to try a recommendation to you. I told him that, if he pleased, I would say that I thought the meat which he sent me was very good, and everybody who dined with me was of that opinion; but I should not urge his request further, because I never meddled with anybody's *ménage*. But to be sure, he is a very reputable man in his business, and he says that he has now the best and smallest Welch mutton that can be had. I said that you had *that* sent from C[astle] H[oward], which you preferred to any other. So much for that, and more it is not *meat* for me to say. I have known you make a worse pun than that, and therefore do not find fault with this.

Now Dr. Ekins is gone, who will you get to write to me? As you please. *Je n'exige rien, je suis content de tout; que demandez vous davantage?* In the evening I may make some addition to this performance.

Tuesday night.—Storer dined with me, but I have heard nothing but what Lord Carmarthaen told me in the morning, that the D[uc] of Bourbon has really killed in a duel the Duc of Medina Sidonia. The Don was rather flippant in his discourse, and intimated that Princes of the blood were only troublesome in a siege, &c. His S[erene] Highness resented it, and called him out; he wounded the D[uc] de Sidonia in the hand, which made him drop his sword; upon which the Duke of Bourbon, fancying the dispute honourably decided, was saying civil things to him about his wound, &c.; but the Don, feeling the effects of his wound, and that operating upon his passions, declared that the blood which was spilt should be accounted for, [and] pursued the quarrel, in which he received three mortal wounds. This is all I have learned today.

I told Lady Middleton what I heard of her brother's peerage, but she either was instructed not to own it, or declared truly that it had no foundation, by seeming to scout the idea. It is indeed one to be laughed at, but not to be surprised at neither; for what has not happened, and what may not happen?

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782 ?]—. . . My compliments to Emily; pray make him read a sermon or two of Atterbury's, and if he shoots a pheasant I hope that he will send it me, and I will treat him in return with a Suffolk turkey the first time he will come and dine with me. Pray tell Shepardson that I enquired after her health. I forget your squires and parsons, but if any of them remembers me, pray say that I particularly desired to be remembered to him who asks. *Encore une fois, adieu.* Write, if you please; *ne vous gênez pas.* I shall conclude that you are all well if I do not hear the contrary.

I dine at home today *avec mes deux cousines.* It is most bitter cold, and in the evening I shall go and sit an hour with the Earl of Bristol, where I suppose I shall be treated with more lies and treason, &c., than in any place, except in Almon's shop. He sent me word today that he should have been glad of my company to dinner. I have no foreign news but a bulletin from Versailles. *Le voulez-vous?*

J[ames] H[are] to Lord Carlisle.

1782, Jan. 1, Gloster.—There was no foreign news when I left London. Changes in the Ministry are much talked of, and partial ones

generally believed. It is very clear that Rigby and some of his friends are endeavouring to drive out Lord Sandwich and Lord George Germaine; and when I have told you what he said in the House of Commons, you will think he must have had this intention.

After a conversation with Lord North in the passage behind the Speaker's chair, Rigby got up and said—"If there was any difference "of opinion amongst Ministers, and it did appear that there was some "difference, they ought to speak out; the House had a right to expect "it; those who supported Ministers had a right to expect it," &c., &c. Afterwards, in speaking of the necessity of keeping New York, he said —"What can be expected in the present state of the Navy, God knows."

This was a direct attack on Lord Sandwich, as the former part was understood to be on Lord George, who was suspected of still intending to go on with the American War—a notion that would be extremely prejudicial to Administration, as no measure of Government would be more unpopular or odious than the prosecution of the War in America. Lord North, I am convinced, has abandoned the idea, and wishes to force Lord George to do so too.

Lord Howe is talked of as Lord Sandwich's successor; and as Mr. Rigby lives in the closest intimacy with Mrs. Howe, I conclude he is not trying to force Lord Sandwich out, without having secured a person to fill his place, who would be more acceptable to the public.

The Lord Advocate,* who held the same sort of conversation in Scotch as Rigby did in English, is suspected of aiming at Lord George's place for himself. He plainly shows that he is connected with the Chancellor and Rigby, and if Lord North has joined them, as people seem to think, probably they will be able to get rid of some of their confederates whom they dislike.

It is reported that General Conway was with the King two hours yesterday se'ennight, but I do not know that this is true, though it seems very likely that they should wish to put him at the head of [the] Army instead of Lord Amherst.

Whether all or any of these changes will happen I can't pretend to say; I believe none of them will happen, but there can be no doubt but that they would give very great credit and strength to Government. Lord Shelburne, though at variance with the body of Opposition, is not thought of as a likely person to take a share in Administration; and indeed both Barré's and Dunning's declarations in the House have been strong against such a step.

Lord Sandwich seems to be abandoned by all persons, and many members who constantly support the Government declare that they are ready to join in a Vote for his removal; amongst others, Sir Wm. Dolben, the staunchest Tory in the House.

I do not pretend to judge impartially, for I never do so about anything, but I am sure I do not give way to prejudice very far, when I say that it is almost impossible to conceive how bad a figure Government makes in the House of Commons in a debate. Lord George has lost the only good part of his speaking, his arrogance and presumption, and is now all humility. Lord North is grown very heavy. The Lord Advocate, whenever he speaks, commits some gross indiscretion that does them more harm than good; perhaps this may be his intention.

You have without doubt heard of the progress Pitt has made. He is wonderful in all respects, but in nothing so much as in the regular and

* Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville. (Haydn).

rapid improvement he makes: I have heard him speak three times only, and each speech was much better than the former. His language is extremely good, and always correct, and he has a fluency that never fails him; but it is really doing him an injustice to attempt to describe his excellence in such inadequate terms. He seems to hold prudence in much higher estimation than Charles does, and in this respect, therefore, has an advantage over him; in all others is nearer to an equality with him than anyone I ever saw.

As Mons. de Vaudreuil is gone to the West Indies, and will be much too strong for our force there, people are very uneasy for those islands; even George Selwyn, who has not hitherto been much alarmed by any events of the War, begins to think that Barbadoes has been neglected, and finds fault with Ministers.

Sir Henry Clinton is very much abused by all those who are supposed to speak the language of the Court; and when Lord Lincoln went to the Levée on his return from America the King did not ask him one question about Sir Henry Clinton, nor out a-hunting afterwards, though he talked to him about everything else. The D. of Newcastle I hear, is very angry, and desires Lord Lincoln to vote as he chooses, for that he has no wish that he should support Government unless he likes it. Lord Cornwallis and Clinton have been some time at variance.

Poor Draper is said to be out of his senses at Minorca. Vaughan is talked of for the command at New York, though I cannot believe they will appoint so very improper a man as he is generally thought.

I rejoice most heartily that your Administration is so prosperous, and console myself for your absence by reflecting that if you were here you must disapprove of many things that you would not like to condemn in public, and that you would be in situations which, however splendid, are by no means enviable now. I hope everything will go on smoothly in Ireland, and that you will return here to better and happier times than the present, when it is not consistent with real friendship to wish any man in a public employment. I sent you a pot of Burgundy mustard, and wrote to Corbett to tell him how to make the sauce, which I believe you will like. I am sorry to hear you have had another attack of the gout. Pray present my respects to Lady Carlisle. Lady Betty is as big as a house. . . . .

[George Selwyn] to Lord Carlisle.

[1782,] Jan. 3, Thursday.—You have certainly dated your last letters, and the more a man of business you are the more accurate you will be. I received yesterday two letters from you, the first by the courier, of the 29th ult., and the second dated the day before. By both I have the satisfaction to know that Lady C. and the little boy continue well. . . . Dr. Ekins came to the town the night before last, and yesterday had the letter which I received for him, enclosed from you. I did not forward [it] into the country, as he was expected every day. He was here this morning, but George was gone with Borey to Lady C. Egerton's. He and all his family dine here on Monday. Tomorrow is the day we are to pass at Gregg's. Mr. Brotherton having the gout is a great disappointment to us, but George has drawings which he copies in my room, and does them admirably well, but yet I wish him to be instructed. I am persuaded that perspective will be of infinite use to him. He has not a complaint in the world; *c'est ce qui s'appelle un être bien heureux.* Lady Betty [Delmé], I find, has been brought to bed of a son, that day week after our little Paddy arrived.

I hear no news since this interposition of the winds. I am very glad that of their own accord they have meddled in our affairs. I like them for ministers very well; they are uncertain, it is true, but they are active, and if they do mischief at one time may do good at another. I told Lord Mansfield your conceit about St. Patrick and his head, which diverted him very much. You get great credit here from the docility of your schoolboys. I wish to God that you could be called home to a less precarious situation.

You must prepare yourself for receiving soon from me a letter which will merit some consideration, and as precise an answer as you can give. It is a project in which I mean you should find your account, if it be practicable, but I rely for that more upon your own judgment than either mine or upon anybody's else. When you have considered it and approved of my opening it to Lord Gower, I will—but say no more of it now. If it succeeds, I think you will not be sorry to have adopted it, for it may be the means of preventing some mortification to you hereafter.

I fancy Lady M. Baynton ran away with the boy, who they tell is very handsome, and not he with her. His consent does certainly seem odd. But youth, health, temperament, and opportunity can account for a great deal of this phænomenon.

I see now why you despise S[oame] Jennins' book; I must read it again, and Dr. M'Clean's answer, which they tell me is an excessive good one. Nothing struck me in my cursory view of it, but his judgment in not proposing the mediatorial scheme as one to be proved by demonstration, but submitting the reasonableness of the proposition to the candour of the world. The endeavour to prove too much has made more Atheists than any book wrote on purpose to establish Infidelity; and I am sure many have given a serious consideration to this, who would have laughed either at Dr. Clark or St. Chrysostom. I wish a man to satisfy me about his morals, without which his talking of his honour is a jest. When his morals are unimpeached, I will take his Religion as I find it. If he will only, after that, read what is proposed to his conviction, with no more prejudice than he would read a pamphlet of Dr. Tucker's, he will believe as much as a human being can be expected to believe; and he may, if he believes nothing, *obtenir son salut sur la foi de ses ancêtres.* This will not pass for orthodox at the Sorbonne, but here you have, without disguise, my opinion. How much or how little it has squared with my conduct is another thing. I neither like to look forward or backwards, but to have my present time pass with as little disquiet as possible, and in this I fancy that I am not particular*; so shall end this chapter, of all others the most injudicious and irksome, upon myself. . . . .

†Lord Shannon is arrived; I will get presented to him if I can; he is at a hôtel near this house, over against St. James's Gate, as the papers say. I dine on the Birthday at my Lord Chamberlain's, and not at Pavonarius's. I may be wished a merry Xmas with great safety. But Harry still *y entend finesse.*

Addressed: Castle, Dublin. *Seal: a head.*

J[AMES] HARE to LORD CARLISLE.

1782, Jan. 5, Foxley.—I am very happy to hear that Lady Carlisle has a son, and that they are both well, and I think myself very much

* *I.e.*, peculiar.

† On an outside leaf, which is with the foregoing letter, but may not belong to it. George III.'s "birthday" was 4th June. Probably the Queen's birthday is referred to; *see* p. 553 and p. 576.

obliged to you for writing to me. You have I hope received two letters from me, one from London, and another from Glôster in my way to this place, where I find everything exactly as I could wish. It is very pleasant to have such a retreat from the fatigue of dealing at Pharaoh, and the late hours that it occasions.

When you first mentioned to me that you were to go to Ireland, I took the liberty of desiring you to do something for my brother, who has a living in the county of Clare.

Your neighbour Lord Fauconberg has been of all the Royal parties this summer at Windsor; and Tommy Dundass was so distinguished by the civility of both the King and Queen, that when Sir Lawrence* died, the Opposition had very little hopes of his continuing to vote against the Court, which however he has hitherto done.

Lord Bulkeley is made Lord Lieutenant of Carnarvonshire, and, though he has given a vote or too in Opposition, is considered as a lost sheep. He used always to sup at Brooks's after a long debate, to hear what hopes people entertained of a change, but now he never appears there.

I shall stay here till about the 18th, and as we shall probably have a long day on the 21st I shall write to you, if anything happens worth telling you. Pray make my best compliments to Lady Carlisle. Crowle tells me you were going to shoot woodcocks. I hope you had as good sport as you expected.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[17]82, Jan. 7, Monday night.—I have this evening received yours dated New Year's day. *Primò*, George is, I may say perfectly well. . . . He has been in high spirits this evening. The two little Delmés came to choose King and Queen at my house. George was King, Purpur Hazard, Mie Mie Miss Hoyden, and I Sir Tunbelly Clumsy. Miss Townshend dined with us, and cut the cake, and they have been playing at whist, [so] that they are all as happy as possible. But now the fast(?) of the holidays is over, and we have but a fortnight remaining; so, to prepare him for a return to business, I told him to-day that I hoped he would for the next fortnight read with me every morning a little, and that will be in Mr. Cam[p]bell's View of the History of Europe. Storer dined with me yesterday, and taught him to scan the hexameter verses. . . .

We must have one opera, and, if Dr. Ekins encourages it, one play; and if we go there, the whole front box will be taken to see Harlequin in perfection, and Storer and Gregg, and God knows who are to go, but that is not yet decided. He has made of his wig such a caxin(?), *à faire mourir de rire.* So much *pour l'aîné.* I hope to God that the other will live, and go on as well. I have no news but that John St. John has beat Simoni, behind the scenes, till he is black and blue, for which he is to be prosecuted; and this is the whole talk of London, some admiring John's *prouesse*, some inveighing against his tyranny. . . .

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1782, Jan. 7, Portugal Street.—I received yours on Saturday night last, consequently your foreign letter is not as yet sent to the post. To-

* Sir Lawrence Dundas, Bart., M.P. for Edinburgh.

morrow is foreign post day, and I will not fail to forward your dispatches. I am glad to find that Lady Carlisle and the little Paddy are so well. Lord Morpeth *se porte aussi bien que lui.* I dined at Selwyn's yesterday, and I read a great deal of Medea Jasoni. I talked to little George a great deal about hexameters and pentameters. . . . We all dined on Friday at Gregg's, at Skinners' Hall. I shall begin soon to be old enough to like nothing but children, and shall live enough with Selwyn to resemble him in that, if I do not in anything else.

We have had at the two last Operas something like a boxing match. Mr. Trale and another gentleman interchange[d] a few blows last Tuesday, and the great John last Saturday fell foul of Monsr. Simonet, and would have beat [him] much more severely than he did (and I believe he did not spare him) had it not been for the Duke of Dorset's interposition. The affair is differently told, and I suppose it will be difficult to know the exact truth, but it arose from Mr. (*sic*) Simonet's demanding of St. John the money due on account of his attendance upon Miss Harvey, John's *protégée*, to teach her to dance. John said that his demand was extravagant, for that he had not always attended himself, his *prevôt* having oftener been at Miss Harvey's than himself. Some dispute arose upon this, and John at last told him he was a *coquin*. A reply being made, which seem[ed] to consider John as not acting or talking *comme un gentilhomme*, he took fire, and in a great passion fell upon the poor *Maître de Ballet* with all his might and main. I have not heard what satisfaction Mr. Simonet proposes to himself. It will be pleasant enough if he goes to law with the counsellor.* You may be sure that this event has given occasion for a great deal of conversation and pleasantry at John's expense. It has made us forget his Honour's† accident at the Queen's House. His being taken short was a charming event for the few members of old White's that are in town. Williams was delighted with it.

You see by the Gazette that you may wish me joy on my patent being made out. Lord Grantham has the gout and is confined. General Cuningham writes word that he has sent his defence by some ship, which ought to have arrived by this time, but is not. He said that he had not sent a duplicate, because his defence was too voluminous to copy. There has been no Board‡ held yet. Charles Fox tells me he thinks now that the West Indies, at least Jamaica, is safe for this year. That is a comfort. I hope you have had good sport at the Bishop of Kilmore's. There have been various balls this Christmas at different country houses, where the world has been. I have not seen any of them. I am satisfied with the *coin de mon feu.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Jan. 8, Tuesday.—I did not go to bed this morning till seven, and got neither drunk, [n]or gamed. The Duke of Rutland, Charles Fox, Belgiosio [Belgiojoso], Gen. Smith, and I supped at Brooks's, but it was pure conversation between Charles, the Duke, and I [me] which lasted so long. Our chief and almost only topic was that of Government, abstractedly considered, and speculations about what would be the best for this country; Charles's account of his own principles

* *Qu.* whether St. John was "the counsellor" mentioned in several preceding letters.

† Lord Brudenell. This story is referred to more fully in the following letter.

‡ The Board of Trade.

in that respect; his persuasion about mine; his Grace's lessons from Lord Chatham, and commonplace panegyric upon that unparallelled statesman, and the utility to the public derived from paying his debts and maintaining his posterity. The principal* is, that hereafter people in employment will be indifferent about the emoluments of office, persuaded that a grateful country like this will not suffer the wife and children of great characters to go unprovided for, or their tradesmen unpaid, and a great deal of this sublime nonsense.

Charles was infinitely agreeable, or I could not have stayed so long. A quarrel, he says, had like to have happened at Quinze between the General and the Fish. The General told the Ambassador† how rich he was, and how well the English (meaning, he said, people of distinction, such as his son) were received both at Brunswick and at Vienna; lied immoderately about the affairs of the India Company; and was ten times more at his ease than ever, to shew Belgiosio that he had the *ton de cour*. Charles shewed me two of Brooks's cards; on one he was Dr. 4,400*l*., on another Cr. 11,000*l*. This was the Rich Bank he belongs to.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Jan. 22, Tuesday night, C[leveland] C[ourt].—I am disappointed, having for several days expected a letter from you, but your excursion to the Bishop of Kilmore's, and contrary winds, may either of them have been the cause of my not having heard from you. As we have been very much at home, so we have read, although in a miscellaneous manner, a line (?) of *studium vagum*, which is not without its use. Since we saw Zore, we have had a rage for theatrical declamation, and he and Mie Mie have been Osinga and Zore the whole evening ever since. . . .‡

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Jan. 24, Thursday night, House of Commons.— . . . . Charles has been up near two hours, and what the words of his Motion will be I don't know, but it is to end in enquiry into the conduct of the Admiralty. His own conduct is, that he was not in bed last night, but lost 2,000*l*. on Quinze, as I have heard.

Capt. Lutterell has been two hours more in answering Charles. Everybody thought Charles languid, although few knew the cause of it. His motion was confined to the year 1781. Charles Turner concluded his speech with saying that the two greatest rascals he knew upon record were the King of Prussia, and his namesake Charles the 12th of Sweden.—10 o'clock.

On foolscap.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Jan. 28, Monday morning.—Sir J. Eden and his son, George and I, in my coach, went this morning to Neasdon, and we left the two boys safe and well in the hands of Mr. Raikes. Mrs. Raikes's state of health or condition did not admit of her coming so soon. . . .

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* Utility? † Belgiojoso.

‡ The third letter on p. 559 seems to belong to this date, but is not a continuation of this letter, unless a leaf be lost.

Yesterday my table was very full, or rather I had two, for not only Gregg and his family dined here, daughters and *gouvernante*, but March came, Storer, Dr. Ekins, and Warner. We had a haunch of Castle H[oward] venison, which George is very fond of. He breaks out sometimes into an extatic *éloge*, and says, "It is amazing good venison." What he will want the most at school, as Mrs. W[ebb] tells me, will be vegetables. If the garden does not supply them, the charge of them at a school is too great. But *à la guerre, comme à la guerre.* Mr. Rider arrived when we did, and Mr. Moore we met on the road, as we returned. There will be no vacancy for Lord Carmarthaen's son till it will be too late to send him. There is one boy of the name of Onslow, not a very auspicious name, whom Mr. Raikes thinks that he shall be obliged to dismiss. He is such a tyrant, and has besides a dissimulation that is not promising. . . .

I dine today at Lord Ashburnham's, and the House, it is said, will be late upon the Ordinance (*sic*) business. Arnold, as I am told, goes today to Court. Lord Cornwallis has not been yet; they have got into a sad hobble, by their management of that, and of Burgoyne's, which is similar to it. Burlton, the army surgeon, whom you have seen at Newmarket, opens his gaming house tonight, and it is said that the Duchess of R———d *en est la protectrice, même qu'elle y a sa part.* I hope it is not true; *le scandale en seroit affreux.* I hear of no news; if I shall at dinner, I will impart it before I seal up this letter.

The Duke* and Storer were yesterday in a perpetual dispute; Malden's accession of fortune was the chief topic of it; what he had, what he could spend, &c.; Tucker's book was another subject of discussion; that I was obliged to go upstairs and leave them. I asked Pierre if they were coming up to drink coffee; he told me, "*Je ne le crois pas, Monsieur; mais qu'est-ce qu'on y fait là bas? ils plaident encore,*" *me dit il.* . . .

The Duke of Queensberry is just gone, and has told me that Charles Fox is very ill. I shall hear more of it before night. Nothing which can happen to him will surprise me; he seems a kind of meteor, *fait pour passer bien vite, et avec éclat, et sa fin, quelque tragique qu'elle puisse être, causera toujours beaucoup moins d'étonnement que de pitié.*

The gaming at Brooks['s], that is, Quinze, *est poussé au plus grand excès; Pharaon s'empare de tous les quartiers de la ville.* It may approach me under any disguise it pleases, but it will never succeed with me for any time, and there must be an *ense recidendum.* I have formed a plan, which will admit of no composition in regard to it. It is time in my sixty-third year to know what I am worth and can count upon, and upon what others may count too who come after me. I have been all my life on a precipice, *et me voici encore.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Jan. 29, Tuesday morning.—I am quite of your opinion that you will, before this farce of state is finished, have had a complete surfeit of power, representation, luxury, flattery, and of all the concomitants of your elevated post, and I believe that you are prepared also for finding, that your great patronage will not have produced you one friend which you had not before, and therefore the less to be regretted. Do but come back, having expended in Ireland no more than Ireland produces, and I think all will be set to rights; but when

* Of Queensberry.

I reflect upon what your *fonds* will be, without an employment, that you can have but 4,000*l.* a year, and that you must pay to annuitants 2,000*l.* of them, I cannot but be miserable on your account, and this will be the case even if we suppose nothing to be drawn from hence. But you *may* and certainly *will* have an employment, and this will be with more or less satisfaction, according to the arrangements which may be previously taken. . . .

And now I shall abuse you for talking of what you know nothing of, which is my claret. It is allowed to be the best that can be drunk, and there are those who are reckoned very good judges of such excellencies, who have given me such undoubted proofs of their liking it,* that I could not refuse them credit if I would. I have paid for more claret drank in this house since I came into it, than I did in my last for the 20 years which I inhabited it, or which had been drank in this for the 50 years that it has been built. My father, and grandfather, were served, and eat upon plate, but it was not godronnéd; and they drank port, and burned tallow candles, except when company dined with them, which made the old Duke of Newcastle say one night to my father, "Dear John," as he called him, "if you will burn tallow, pray snuff your candles." Times are more changed than I thought that they would be in fifty years after my decease. Into what a *bavardise* do I get when I am writing to you, as if it made me amends for not seeing and conversing with you.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, Jan ?]† Monday morning.—I am sorry to begin my letter of today with confirming a piece of news of which you will see an account in the papers, that is, of the death of poor Lady Hertford. I was at her door on Friday, and although I believed her to be at home and indisposed, the servant gave me not the least reason to think that they had any apprehensions concerning her, nor had they till that night, when Dr. Warren was sent for. On the Tuesday before she was at Ditton, where, by nursing Lord Beauchamp's son, she caught a violent cold, and on Wednesday she came to town on his account and not her own. Her life has been sacrificed to her affection for that child. On Saturday she was in extreme danger, and yesterday in the evening, between 5 and 6, she expired.

Lord Beauchamp is in Warwickshire, and Lord Hertford has of his family no one with him but the two daughters, unmarried, Lady Lincoln, and the sea captain. I was thunderstruck with the news, which was brought to me yesterday morning by Keene, who came to me from Lord Hertford's, and told me that probably Lady H[ertford] might then be dead, for when he came away she had no pulse. Halifax treated this too slightly, and ignorantly, for it is probable that Dr. Warren would, had he been there sooner, have known the mischief which was done.

Keene wished me to dine with him at his own house, which I did, and where word was brought us of her death. I was alone with him, and did not leave him till eleven at night; for he was in an affliction that cannot be described. He acknowledged his obligations and his esteem for her in terms which do him great credit. I am really myself very much concerned at the event. I knew her from her being of Caroline's age, and for these last twenty years had lived in a kind of friendship

* The rest was found apart.

† Date supplied on the letter, in ink.

with her, which gave me occasion to know that I have a real loss in her. There was no one more ready to do a kind office, and no one ever shewed me more civility than she did. I have had no particulars of the manner in which Lord Hertford supports this misfortune, but I should imagine with great difficulty, for to him it must be irreparable. Lord Dartmouth has indeed been assisted so much by his religion (as I hear), that under the loss of a favourite son, he has been perfectly resigned. I do not doubt of the cause, nor of the effect. I am only afraid that, in a similar case, I should want that, and much more, to make it tolerable to me. (*Incomplete?*)

On 8vo paper.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Feb. 2, Saturday night.—I dined yesterday at the Duke of Argyle's; there were Sir Joseph York, Sir J. Dick, Sir J. Irwin, General Johnson and Lady Cæcilia, the Duke of Q[ueensberry], and I. It was a very agreeable dinner. I hear of no news. The gaming world would afford I believe a great deal, but I hope it will never any more be interesting to either of us. I will in another letter inform you how impossible it is that it should be so to me for the two next years, and you will see the effect of the measures which I have taken.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Feb. 4, Monday morning.—You will not expect me to give you so soon any more account of George than I shall have from Sir John Eden, who intends to go either today or tomorrow to Neasdon, and who will bring me word how he does.

I was at Lord Gower's last night; and I saw there the Duke of B[edfor]d, who, I must own, surprised me by his figure, beyond measure; his long, lank, black hair, covering his face, shoulders, back, neck, and everything, disguised him so that I have yet to know his figure; I can but guess at his person. Why this singularity at 17 years of age? *cela n'indique pas un esprit solide.*

They saw the astonishment which this exhibition created in me, and Lord Gower laughed, and said, "You perhaps do not know who it is?" Indeed I did not. *Je devine seulement que sa figure n'est pas laide.* His *chevelure* was like that which I see in a picture of the grand Condé. If there is anything of that hid under this disguise *je lui passerai cette singularité*, and yet, if your sons or either of them should have all which Monsieur le Prince possessed, and Colbert too, I had rather that they would not be singular. It may divert, but can never add to the respect which they might otherwise have.

I went with Lord Trentham to the Speaker's, and returned to Lord G[ower], but had no conversation either with him or the Countess. When they go to Neasdon, I hope that they will carry me with them. When George meets me, he accosts me with these words, "*Quomodo vale* (*sic*) my *petite sodale;*" *où il a pêché cette plaisanterie* I do not know. His namesake, Lord G. Germain, is to kiss hands this morning for the title and peerage of Sackville. Drayton, it seems, goes to the Beauclerks, if he becomes Duke of Dorset and has that estate.

My dinner yesterday with Fawkener and Warner at Mr. Crespigni's was a very agreeable one indeed; *la chère plutôt bonne qu'exquise; excellent vin.* You will not forget Warner, I hope, when the opportunity offers, *afin qu'il soit dans le cas d'en tirer de sa propre cave.* We

generally close the evening around the fire in the card room at White's, *à fort peu de fraix;* Williams, Lord Ashburnham, Vary, Fawkener, &c.; that is, those who neither sup, game, or sit up. The season of all that is over with me, and I have little inclination left for either of them. I am quite well, *vu mon âge*, and as likely to see you again as any other who is a *sexagénaire, et même davantage.* It is the chief part of my *Litanie.*

I talked of Caroline last night with Lady Ann, till I could ask no more questions about her. I am glad that her dancing is admired. We have here Mademoiselle Théodore, who takes Mr. Willis' (?) place till the season is over. She has half a guinea a lesson, but it is to stay an hour. There is a good account of Johnson's prices, but he himself is gone to Lisbon to be married; whether that will be a prize, is *à sçavoir.* That of the Duke of Newcastle's (*sic*) is already condemned, at least by his Grace, but *hæ nuptiæ sunt veræ* nevertheless. Lord Cornwallis is, I believe, going to inhabit my house till midsummer. That has been a heavy charge upon my hands, instead of a profit.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, Feb. 5,] Tuesday.—I received yours of the 29th instant yesterday. I hope when the winter is over, letters will not be so long delayed. They came very opportunely last spring, when there was most need of them. There seems no likelihood any more of such an occasion. Sir J. Eden saw George yesterday, and found him very well. . . .

We had a long day in the House yesterday, that is, till past ten, about a rogue of a contractor, and Charles, they told me, had been very witty upon Salt Petre. Witty upon Salt Petre! My God, what an object of his sprightliness! For my own part, I think it was a subject *où je n'aurois pas mis un grain de sel, quand j'en aurois possèdé cent minots.*

I met with more of it, to my fancy, in the Committee rooms, as you will see in the paper annexed to this letter, but which you are not at liberty to shew but to your bench of Bishops.

Lord George was not yesterday in the House, and will be there I believe no more, but he did not kiss hands yesterday. The Lords sat late also, and sour language and illbred retort passed between the Duke of Richmond and Lord Huntingdon.

I am exceedingly glad at what you tell me of the address which you are to receive about the Phœnix Park. Saving is good, air is good, and exercise best of all, as most conducive to your health, but I do not like your account of Charlotte, and of her growing so very lean. Mr. Howard,* I am told, is like his sister Susan. Tell him, if [he] mentions my name, that I long to see him, but that when he quits Ireland, that he must not leave it with regret because it is the place of his nativity. He shall never, if I can help it, be called Paddy nor the Irish boy. But, as he is to make his way in the world, if he chooses to be Irish, or to be thought so, as Lord Hertford chose that his son should be thought, very well.

The verses on Kitty Fisher I had from Sir C. Farnaby in the Committee rooms, and those upon Mr. Gibbons Lord Fr[ederick] Cavendish gave me at White's. I thought that they had been Richard's,† but Charles tells me that they are either H. Walpole's or Mr. Mason's. Perhaps neither of the performances are new to you; if they are, they

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* The infant son of Lord Carlisle.

† Fitzpatrick.

may divert you, although there is in the composition of each of them *infiniment plus d'ordure que de sel.* If they are not new, you will burn them directly, as you will afterwards, if they are. Ekins is to return from Berkemstead today. I am going to write a letter to recommend very strongly poor Bory to Lord G. Cavendish's place. They are to live in Burlington House. The Duke of P[ortland] gives it up.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Feb. 7, Thursday night, Committee Rooms, House of Commons.—Dr. Ekins came to see me this morning and told me that he had received from you an answer to his last letter, but that he [had] nothing particular to say by this post, and that in about a month's time, that is, it may be the 7th or 8th of next month, he will set out.

The House of Lords sat till about seven this evening, upon a motion of Lord Carmarthaen concerning Lord G. Germain. It was, as I am told, unconcerted, and of his own head. The Opposition Lords were very acrimonious, as you may suppose. The Question and the numbers you will see in the public papers, and the arguments against such a motion I think will strike you very forcibly. The majority was 65 against 73 (*sic*). Lord G[eorge], I hear, was brought into the Privy Council, from whence he had been struck out during Lord Rockingham's administration, and by a motion of the Duke of Grafton's.

Lord Falmouth is dead; he has left his widow 1,600 a year jointure; his three bastards have 30,000*l.*, that is ten each, and the eldest, in the House of Commons, all the purchases which he made as an addition to the family estate; and this he has left to the heir-at-law and inheritor of his title. Old Mrs. Howard, Sir George's* mother, is dead also, and Lord Seaforth, and as is supposed without a Will; if so, Lady C. M'Kensie will have for her portion 30,000*l*

Charles has made a motion in this House, concerning the misconduct of the Admiralty during Lord Sandwich's administration. He was not long, and I suppose is far from being well; he had another attack yesterday of his old complaint. Lord G[eorge's] Patent is already passed, as I am told; so whatever their Lordships may think, their animadversion is too late.

I told you of my application to Lord G. Cavendish in favour of Borey. I am afraid that he will not have the place, because the Lady has already engaged it, as Lord Frederick tells me; nor will Lord Cornwallis have my house, so that is a disappointment to me. Lady Julia, it seems, set out yesterday. I did not intend that she should have gone without my seeing her.

Wellbore Ellis, it is said, will take Lord G. Germaine's place, and the Duke of Dorset may or may not have Lord Falmouth's; he seems sure of it, but Lord Willoughby de B[roke] and Lord Buckingham are said to be competitors for it. General Fraser is very dangerously ill, and General Keppell's senses, such as they were, irrecoverably lost. The report in the City and elsewhere is, that we are to pursue the American war, and by the suggestions of Arnold.

Tarlton is upon the chimney at White's; he looks as black as if he had been up it. I hope to go in some few days with Lord and Lady Gower to Neasdon; if I do, I shall give some account of George. We miss him in Cleveland Court not a little. We shall sit tonight probably till about eleven.

Lord Ravensworth is in racking pain from the stone. Lady Althrop is far advanced in her pregnancy. I am to be tomorrow night at Lady

* Gen. Sir George Howard, K.B., Governor of Chelsea Hospital.

Lucan's, where I am to meet a character, young Beckford. I have never yet seen him.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Selwyn, Feby. 7.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Feb. 8, Friday, the Fast Day.—We were not up last night till near three this morning; our numbers were 205 and 183. Our majority was but *mince*, but it was a popular Question, because Lord Sandwich is not a popular man; but I have lived long enough to have remembered other ministers less popular, if possible, and who have been since reverenced, and by the most respectable among those who had traduced them. Charles made two speeches; the last was much animated. Admiral Keppell spoke, and so did Sir E. Dering, drunk, *sicut suus mos est;* but he says in that *ivresse des vérites vertes, et piquantes.* He is a tiresome noisy fool, and I wish that he never spoke anywhere but in the House of Commons.

Saturday.—I was prevented from continuing this letter yesterday, by a visit from Lord Digby, who assured me that to the best of his judgment you had nothing to fear from that quarter which has now and then alarmed me not a little. I dined at Lord Ash[burnham's]: Lord Frederick, Williams, Sir J. Peachy(?) and old(?) Elison. I do not perceive that Lord Carm[arthen] has got any repu[ta]tion from his violence against Lord George. The attack surprised, [and] had not been concerted with anybody; he had revealed his design but to one, as he said, and that I am told was Lord Pembroke, *une tête digne de cette confidence.*

It was a Motion cruel an[d] illmannered, and not becoming one man of quality to another; at the same time an unpardonable insult to the Crown. Lord de Ferrars, I hear, has found out a precedent for it, as he thinks, in King James 1st['s] time, but a precedent of what? of ins[o]lence to the Crown; it was in that reign begun, with impunity. If there could be any hesitation in this peerage,* this motion must have confirmed it.

Lord Abingdon spoke like a perfect blackguard, and Lord Shellbourne, in a speech which Lord Cov[entry] calls such a model of perfect oratory, to exemplify the contempt which the late King had of Lord George, quoted not only his own words, but imitated his manner—two of his grand-children, the Princes, in the House. This part of his speech was a pantomime fitter for the *tréteaux des boulevards* than for a chamber of Parliament. However, Lord George will take his seat next week, and what he will do, or be, afterwards, Gods knows. Ellis† has his place.

Poor General Fraser died of an emetic, which occasioned the bursting of a vessel. Lord Talbot has had another warning, and so has Lord R. Bertie, and neither can live long. I was last night at Lady Lucan's, to see young Beckford, who seems to possess very extraordinary talents; he is a perfect master of music, but has a voice, either natural or feigned, of an eunuch. He speaks several languages with uncommon facility, and well, but has such a mercurial turn, that I think he may finish his days *aux petites maisons;* his person and figure are agreeable. I did not come till late, and till he had tired himself with all kind of mimicry

* The creation of Lord George Germaine as Viscount Sackville.

† Welbore Ellis was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies 8th March 1782. (Haydn.)

and performances. The Duchess of Bedford were [was] there, and Lady Clermont.

There is a picture engraving at the man's house in St. James's Street where your picture is to be engraved. His design is ingenious; it is the story of Pharaoh's daughter finding Moses in the bullrushes. The Princess Royal is introduced as Pharaoh's daughter, and all the other ladies, celebrated for their beauty—the Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Jersey, &c. &c.; *on briguera les places.* The portraits will be originals, and the whole, if well executed, will be a very pretty print. I would have a pendant to it; and that should be of Pharo's* sons, where might be introduced a great many of our friends, and acquaintance, from the other side of the Street. I am so taken up with business this morning, that I did not endeavour to make a party with Lord Gower to go and see George. Gregg has wrote me word that he shall ride that way tomorrow.

[Dr.] Samuel Johnson to Mrs. Chapone.

1782, Feb. 9.—Madam,—Since I had the honour of receiving this manuscript I know not that I have been otherwise than very ill for a single day. I intended to have written to you, but even that I delayed with the natural expectation of another day. My purpose was to have read the piece as soon as I grew better. You may assure yourself and the authour that since I learned to overlook(?) it, I have never opened it, and that if he does me the honour to send it again when I am better it shall not be again returned unread. I am,

Madam,
Your most humble Servant,
Sam: Johnson.

I entreat to see it again.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Feb. 11, Monday night.—I have this evening received yours of the 4th. I have not seen George since last Saturday sevennight, and it seems long to me, and that I shall not hold out till Saturday next. Lord and Lady G[ower] have promised to carry me when they go. I shall hear of him tonight, for Sir J. Eden was to go there this morning to take leave of his son; he is going into Yorkshire for some little time. The Lords sit today, but our call is put off. It is the Duke of Chandos's motion in your House.

I do not believe that Lord Carmarthen, and those who egg him on, have done with Lord George [Germaine], but the attack now must be *post facto*, for this week I believe he will take his seat; the patent has been hurried through the offices very fast.† He did not come last night to White's, but Lord Carm[arthen] was there, and sat with us old fellows around the fire. We had no discourse on his motion, as you may imagine. The Pharo table had cards on it, and 400 guineas, but not a punter to be found; such old birds are not caught with chaff. I cannot, for my part, have two meals, so I don't sup, and I have not a shilling for gaming. I have put my affairs *en régie*, for some time, and I have allowed myself a (*sic*) sufficient for my usual expenses, *à la raison de* 200 *G. par mois; et voilà tout.* If this machine goes on

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* *I.e.*, faro's. *See* H. Walpole's Letters, vii. 157, 163, 169, 170.

† The patent was dated 11th February. (Index to the Patent Rolls.)

sans être démontée, as I hope it will, I shall be *remis sur pied*, but *il me faudra un tems de pénitence, une espèce de Carême.*

Young Greenvill is returned from Italy. I have not been at Brooks's I do not know when; that and Kenny's have the whole system of deep gaming to themselves, and that *maudite Banque* of Charles's *aspirera avec le tems tout l'argent de Londres, au moins de notre quartier.* At Kenny's the Hazard is very deep, as I am told, but I do not go there; neither of the houses suits me at present; they are to me *un pais infecte.* I seldom go out at all till near nine in the evening, unless I dine abroad.

Yesterday I dined at Keene's: the Duke of Q[ueensberry], Lord Ash[burnham], Lord Digby, Williams, and Lord Brundenell. The dining parlour was lighted by a *Pouffe;* if you knew that word, *vous seriez un Œdipe.* It is a new kind of lantern, which I am sure will be adopted; it would take three pages at least to describe it exactly, but *bref*, we had no light but this, which was suspended over our heads; it was of eight *lampions* en cercle*, a small light, of the shape of the blade of a phleme [fleam?] to bleed horses, very bright and clear, and issuing out of as many tin long boxes, thin, like thread papers, no smell, no smoke; it was of a bright tin, or *fer blanc*, covered with a gauze; it costs 8 guineas, and lights a room eight hours, at the expense of ten pennyworth of oil. It was an agreeable light, which you might have read by, and seems to have been invented *à ma considération.* It will be useful, agreeable, and saving, on a hundred occasions. It belongs to Lord North, and it was borrowed of him. It is on the same principle as that which our two (?) French *Lanterniers* pretended discovery (*sic*).

Gregg told me yesterday that he had seen George; he went there on horseback to make him a morning visit, being Sunday; he says that he never saw such a look of health and strength. God be thanked. . . . My comfort is, that he has a *bel avenir*, as the Maréchal Biron said to you. Why not? . . .

Monday night.—The Duke of Dorset kissed hands this morning for Lord Falmouth's place; Lord George has not, as yet. The Lords rose about seven; what they have done you will know from the public papers. I will not forget your compliments to the Duke of Queensberry, nor should Lord Carm[arthen]'s to you. . . .

J[ames] Hare to Lord Carlisle.

1782, Feb. 11.—If I had wrote to you at any time since my return to Town, I could only have sent you a thousand contradictory reports, all equally well supported and believed. At length the confusion that has prevailed amongst Ministers seems to be subsiding. Lord George [Germaine] has resigned, and is made a Viscount; the universal belief is that the King approved entirely of his future plans respecting America, and was unwilling to dismiss him, but that the other Ministers were unanimous in desiring his removal. I am told that Lord George, hearing that his colleagues were plotting against him, wrote a letter to Lord North, desiring to know on what footeign (*sic*) he was to consider himself, and that Lord North returned him no answer of any sort.

Mr. Ellis, commonly called the Duke of Alva, is Secretary of State, with a promise of a peerage, and remainder to his nephew Lord Clifden.

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* *Sic: qu.* lamperons.

The Lord Advocate* is supposed to be Ellis's successor, as Treasurer of the Navy. It is said that he was proposed to the King to succeed Lord George, but peremptorily rejected, and it is certain that at Court he was scarcely spoken to. He had declared without reserve in many places, that he would not defend Lord Sandwich, nor even attend the enquiry in the House of Commons; however, he altered his resolution, and came down on Thursday last, but would not speak, though Charles attacked him and called upon him repeatedly. I dare say Lorth North will make him Treasurer of the Navy, if he can, because he has used him ill, and refused to assist him, when he wanted his assistance most; but I have a notion his appointment to that office meets with obstructions at St. James's.

There has been a negociation going on between the Court and Lord Shelburne; it has however produced nothing except unusual eagerness in Lord Shelburne against Administration, and a greater degree of cordiality towards the other parts of Opposition. Lord Carmarthen intends bringing on his Motion again very soon; I shall say nothing about it, because it is generally praised by one side and condemned by the other.

I have not seen General Arnold or his wife, but I find he still thinks it practicable to reduce America by force. There is no talk of Lord Sandwich's resigning, though before and during Xmas it was generally expected after the enquiry. Was not you surprised at our Division against Lord Sandwich? The Dundasses, who on all other occasions vote with us, voted against us on that day, and I believe are veering about very fast.

The Prince of Wales has been to the Duchess of Cumberland's public nights, and sups there every Saturday with about twenty people. He shews a great fancy for Lady Melbourne and Lady Jersey, but is supposed to like the first best. He wishes to be invited to private suppers, and without any form, but as Mrs. Broadhead and Mrs. Thornhill are the only ladies who have hitherto received that honour, the others do not like the precedent. He asks four or five men to dine at the Queen's House very frequently, and they go in their frocks, and are received without the least ceremony.

The Duke of Cumberland holds a Pharaoh Bank, deals standing the whole night; and last week, when the Duke of Devonshire sat down to play, he told him there were two rules; one was, "not to let you punt more than ten gs.;" and the other, "no tick." Did you ever hear a more princely declaration?

Derby lost the gold in his pocket, and the Prince of Wales lent him 50 gs.; on which the Duke of Cumberland expressed some surprise, and said he had never lent 50*l.* in his whole life. "Then," says the Prince of Wales, "it is high time for you to begin." I am sure you will like this reprimand.

I have always by some accident been prevented from going to the Duke's Levée, which I am sorry for, as I am told his dealing at Pharaoh is the most ludicrous thing that can be conceived.

Tom Grenville is just returned from Italy. The Duke of Rutland was the principal support of our Bank at Brookes's, but he is grown sick of it, and it is almost expiring, as indeed the Club seems to be, unless more young people are chosen. A young Club at Weltje's begins to alarm us, as they increase in numbers, live well, and are difficult in their choice of members; it is almost as entirely a Ministerial

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* Henry Dundas.

Club as Brookes's is a Minority. I fancy we shall choose an additional number at Brookes's by list, which is the only effectual method of recruiting. There is very little play at Brookes's; a deep Quinze Table has taken away from Richard and Charles almost the whole profits of the Bank; Crawford has won a great deal; he has been confined by a fit of the gout for some days, supposed to be *in his head*, id est, imaginary.

He has declaimed against Government lately with more than usual vehemence, and some days ago got into a violent dispute with the Duke of Queensberry, in which the Fish said, "If for once you would speak your genuine sentiments—." The Duke suffered him to proceed no farther, jumped up, put his fist in his face as if he was going to knock him down, and then damned him very heartily, and told him he did not understand his presuming to question him about his genuine sentiments; which phrase he repeated forty times, and ended with saying, "Sir, if you ever speak to me again, remember that I will suffer no such exordium as 'genuine sentiments.'"

I was not present, but received an accurate account from Egremont, who was in hopes the Fish would have been beat. I do not wonder that any man should be angry at having his sincerity in political opinions questioned by Crawford.

It is scarcely civil to say that I am glad you are not here, but I say so from a kind motive. Your friends really make too bad a figure at present. Their keeping Lord Sandwich is madness, but I believe his dismission does not depend on them; if it did, he would soon be removed. I am very glad to hear that Lady Carlisle is so well. I never saw anything so emaciated as Lord Trentham. . . .

The Duchess of Devonshire looks very handsome, and seems easier and happier than she used to do. I know no scandal, and begin to suspect that I get too old to be in the way of hearing it as constantly as one did formerly.—Old George has lost his money this winter.—The joke here is, that Eden is at the head of the Irish Opposition. This witticism takes it rise, I suppose, from his moving an enquiry into your trade with Portugal. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Feb. 13, Wednesday m[orning].—I was at White's last night, and till late, for I sat myself down near Lord Weymouth at supper, and after that I need not have said any more. The Duke of Q[ueensberry] would have me go into the supper room with him. Lord N[orth] played his whist, and went home. The Duke of Dorset was there with his gold stick. Lord George took his seat yesterday; Lord Dudley and Lord Edgecumbe introduced him.

Lord Derby intends to move an Address to know who advised his Majesty to grant this peerage. If his Majesty would allow me to furnish him with an answer, I should wish the motion for an Address to pass in the affirmative. I should say nobody, because, when I took advice in these matters, I was advised to call up to that House my Lord Osborn, and repenting of that measure, I have since advised myself. Those who wish Lord Carm[arthen] the best, are the most sorry for this step of his; some have thought that a duel would and must be the consequence of it. Lord W[eymouth] hinted to me last night that it was in agitation, but I do not believe it. It is not *un cas combattable*. It is more offensive than if it was, but that cannot be helped. I do very much regret not having seen Lord Shannon, *et par plusieurs raisons*. But it is

enough that he would have talked to me of you and yours, and of your situation being what I hope that it will continue to be. Storer has had a violent headache for some days. He and Lord N[orth] are better friends, as I presume, for Lord N[orth] proposed his going home with him the other evening to sup from the House of Commons. *Adieu pour aujourd'hui, mon très cher et très respectable ami:* who besides myself ever treated a Lord Lieutenant with so much freedom?

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, Feb. 14,] Thursday morning.—No news for today; public affairs, or the conversation upon them, all at a stand till people are tired of arguing about Lord Sackville. He came and played his whist last night at White's; Lord Carm[arthen] was not there. His Lordship, I mean Lord S[ackville], preserves a steady countenance, and *va son chemin.* Manners lends no money now, as Boothby told us yesterday, but at the usual exorbitant interest of 15 per cent., and he will have land security for the payment of it besides.

The Bishop of St. Asaph cannot come up to town this winter, because he can get no money from his Bishopric or his living. Distress for money is universal, and extravagance of no kind diminished; and every *suesang*, from the dancing master to the baker, asking for their talents and their commodities three times what they did before the *disette universelle.* It is *un pais de necessiteux, d'indolens, de dissipateurs, et de factieux*, and we are the whole day complaining of what we have brought upon ourselves, and to which* we will not give the little assistance left in our power. Robberies of all kinds increase, and more [are] convicted, as my Lord Cambden told me the other day, than in the time of profound peace and *oisiveté.* Parties of young men at the Queen's House—Lord Lewisham, North, &c., &c.

Dod of Reading is dead; he was born on the same day with Horry Walpole; he was in his 65th year, had had more wine of all sorts in his head, and less of any other furniture, than any man I knew, and one of the most wrong-headed fellows that ever existed. But he continued in favour with the Duke of Newcastle to the last. At the Duke's yesterday, we had at dinner, Boothby, Storer, J. St. John, and Thomas, and a Scotch lawyer, before whom John had an inclination to show his erudition and knowledge of the law. Storer and he were so noisy in their altercations, that having a little of the headache, I was obliged to retire from dinner into the next room, and to lie down on the couch.

I brought Boothby away with me, and we agreed that there† would in the next generation be none of your own rank to govern this country but yourself, that is, *ce qui en resteroit.* I believe *il ne tient qu'à vous.* But for God's sake, in the meantime, let the *res domi* be as they should be. You will lose no respect of any kind from the greatest economy, nor even any *mesquinerie*‡ be attributed to your disposition; if there is enonomy, *tout ira bien.* I intend one day to write out on a sheet of paper a state of your circumstances as I apprehend them to be, and on the opposite side my own. Because one will not be agreeable to me, without the other. I will seal them up and docket them, that you need not break the seal and peruse them, but at a moment when you desire to apply your thoughts to such a subject.

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* A word here has been written over another, but is illegible.

† "They" in MS.

‡ Or "*nesquinerie*"; both forms were probably in use—*see* Cotgrave.

I have told you that my affairs are *en régie*, that is, I have borrowed money of Coutts to pay all my debts of every kind, but a mortgage of 2,000*l.*, but that comes at the rear of the rest, and I am to take from him for my own provision 200 guineas a month, that is 2,520*l.* a year. *Moyennant cet arrangement*, all my incumbrances will end with the next year, taking in the month of January of the year following, and then, excepting age and infirmities, I shall be *rectus in curia*. But even this sum will oblige me to *bear* and *forbear*, in which philosophy or stoicism was said to consist. I rem[em]ber when one half satisfied all my occasions, even *mes fantasies*, play excluded, and now the double of the sum seems a restraint, and I feel stinted, as the old Bishop of Worcester said that he should be, by a lease granted him of 99 years only. And I am now for an hour in the morning talking with my housekeeper upon butcher's meat, and other details *de ménage*.

My Lord Chesterfield's *tuteurs* allow him 4,000*l.* The whole town seems to me to be *en tutélage*, and that rascal Jack M[anners] is sneaking out of the back parlours of all the gaming houses in St. James's Street, where he has employed the morning in enquiring after and searching into people's distresses, that he may profit of them. Charles's bank has won about 30,000, as Boothby says. Poor Patrons [Parsons] *ne va que doucement* at White's.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Feb. 16, Saturday afternoon.—I have this morning been to see George at Neasdon, and found him perfectly well. I was with Mr. and Mrs. Raikes, and him, a good part of an hour. . . . I borrowed Storer's light carriage to go, and much snow had I to pass, and a most bitter cold day it is, but I was well cloaked up, and it will do me no harm. By the way, and *à propos* to Storer, I must not omit to tell you one thing concerning him, and which it is but justice to repeat. He dined with me yesterday, and we were alone after dinner a considerable time. In the course of much conversation, on his situation, and my own, he said that he became every day more sensible of the great benefit which he had derived from your friendship, and how sensibly he felt the obligation; I then took the liberty to tell him it was true, both as to the substance and the mode; and I was very glad of it on both your accounts, for, if it was a benefit to one, it was a credit to the other. I am afraid that the place is more than merely convenient to him.

When I returned to town today, Mie Mie met me in our coach between the Tyburn Turnpike and Paddington, and then I quitted Storer's nutshell and got into my own equipage, and drove to Ekins's to let him know that I found George so well. But the time of our meeting in this house is *fort reculé*. They do not break up at Easter; Mrs. Raikes' lying in makes it convenient to postpone the holidays till the last week of April, but then we count, George and I, upon three entire weeks from Thursday to Thursday. The season will be then a pleasant one, and the amusements more salutary. No letter is come from you to him yet, as you promised.

Yesterday disagreeable reports were spread about Ireland, which would have disturbed me, if I had found that any unprejudiced or rational man had given credit to them. Williams assured me that at Lord North's nothing was said or believed of them. Monday the House of Lords is summoned by Lord Carmarthaen; nobody doubts but that it is to return, in some shape or other, to his charge against Lord George;

so I suppose my Lord Sackville, as he is now, will be present to meet his attack. I dine tomorrow at Lord Bulkley's, where I shall meet both Lord Carm[arthen] and the Duke of Dorset; they have been for some time in a round of dinners; I do not know the rest, except Sir C. Thompson. The Bishop of Bristol died yesterday, and because St. Paul's bell tolled, the Bishop of London was said to be dead also. That is not so. Your friend Graham is dead, and since his son, and the old Lady Brown, who has left Fribble Morris her fortune for his life, and then to God knows who. I believe that the Cecils expected it.

A new bank is opened at Weltie's; Dick Thompson has lodged 2,000 as is pretended for the purpose. The Prince of Wales admires excessively Mrs. Arnold. I have not seen either her or her husband. Charles Turner is confined at home; I called upon [him] yesterday; he was surrounded with country squires and parsons, &c., and pretended to be very much pleased that you was likely to be sent out of Ireland, with a whipped breech, as he expressed it, and said he had given you to to understand as much, and then run on in his old way, but without a grain of ill humour.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Feb. 19, Tuesday morning.—I wish that I could repeat and describe, as well as I can hear and attend to what is said to me, when people speak sense and to the purpose, and are not trying to mislead you. When I went to Brooks's it was in search of the Duke;* there I found him at dinner, altercating Lord Sackville's cause, and Stirling, with Charles, Lord Derby, &c., &c. You may imagine with what candour and fairness his arguments were received. I am it is certain a friend to him, and not to Charles, but all partiality or prejudice laid aside, I think my friend as good a reasoner as the other; but one employs his faculties in the search of truth, and the other in disguising it and substituting falsehood in its room, to serve the purpose of Party.

I soon left them and went to White's; I like the society there better. There was a dinner also for the Lords, and there was Lord Loughborough, Lord Buckingham, Duke of Dorset, Lord Cov[entry], Lord Ash[burnham], &c., &c., &c. I stayed with Lord Loughborough, Lord Ash[burnham], and Lord Cov[entry] till past two this morning. The Duke changed his court and came to us, to plead in the common pleas, but with us there was no dispute. There was one who would have disputed if he could, which was Cov[entry], but Lord Loughborough has such a variety of incontestable facts concerning the affair of Minden, the opinions of foreign officers relative to P[rince] Ferd[inand's] whole conduct in respect of Lord George, the faction and partiality and injustice in the proceedings of the court martial, with so many arguments and precedents against the Question of yesterday, that poor Cov[entry] had not a word to say but that he had been soliciting privately—which I do not credit—the Lords in Opposition not to bring on this Question, which at the same time he rejoiced at. Lord Ash[burnham] is among many others one whom Cov[entry] is practising constantly his astucity upon, and whom he thinks that he deceives. I was extremely entertained.

I have no liking and esteem for Lord Sack[ville], or ever had, any more than acquaintance with him, but from the first to the last I have

* Of Queensberry?

believed that he has been sacrificed to the implacable resentment of P[rince] Ferd[inand], the late Duke of Cumb[erlan]d, and the late King, helped on by all the private malice and flattery in the world; and all which I heard last night, of which I cannot have the least doubt, confirms me in that opinion. I am clear in nothing concerning his personal merit, or defects, excepting of his abilities, and when these could be of any use to Party, they were extolled, and his imperfections forgot. He was invited to take a share in Government by the people who think, or have pretended to think, him a disgrace to the peerage.

I am sorry for it, but Lord Carm[arthen] has in all this made but a miserable figure. I am sorry, from wishing well towards him, that I had not been apprised of this. I could have assured him of what even the best of his own party would think of his Motion, after it was made. I know that Lord Cambden was strongly in his private opinion against it. [The] Lord Chancellor* spoke out I hear; his speech was admirable, *en tous points*; and upon the whole, I believe Lord Sack[ville] to have been infinitely more served than hurt by this proceeding.

I saw on Brooks['s] table a letter directed to you from Hare, so I hope that it was to give you an account of these things, partial or impartial. I have no doubt but his account will be an amusing one. I left him in his semicircular nitch at the Pharo table, improving his fortune every deal. I wish Monsieur Mercier would come here and write a Tableau de Londres as he has that of Paris, and that he would take for his work some anecdotes with which I could furnish him.

It is thought that we shall be run hard in the House tomorrow. And so we shall, but we shall not be beat, as Charles gives out, and does not believe. I suppose our majority will be about twenty. Absentees in the last Question on both sides will now appear. I hope that Government will send two Yeomen of the Guard to carry the Fish down in his blankets, for he pretends to have the gout. He should be deposited *sur son maniveau*, and be fairly asked his opinion, and forced to give it, one way or the other, *en pleine assemblée*, for at present it is only we who can tell *s'il est chair ou poisson*. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, Feb. 19?] Tuesday night, 8 o'clock.—I saw Lord R. Spencer and Lord Ossory today, who tell me that they suppose that we shall carry the Question by ten, if the Question is put; but it is imagined rather by them that the Ministers will give it up. Ellis has added another footman to his chariot, and is a Minister in form, and fact, and pomp, and everything. Lady Ossory is just come to town. Lord Clarendon has wrote a copy of verses upon Lord Salisbury's Ball, which the Essex's are so kind as to hand about for him. The verses are not numerous. There are not above two stanzas, and not good enough to suppose that they had been composed even in his sleep; so much nonsense and obscurity and want of measure and harmony I never saw in any composition before. But as they love to laugh at his Lordship in that family, so, as he had the absurdity to communicate them, they are determined that they shall not be suppressed. . . .

Weltie's Club is going to give a masquerade like that given by the Tuesday Night's Club. I hear that all the different parties in Opposition are determined to draw together in this Question, how much soever they

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* Lord Thurlow.

may differ afterwards, in hopes, I suppose, by their united force, to destroy this Administration. Young Pitt has formed a society of young Ministers, who are to fight under his banner, and these are the Duke of Rutland, Mr. Banks, Lord Chatham, &c., &c., and they assemble at Goostree's.

Tomorrow no post goes, as I am told, and on Thursday Storer shall give you an account of what will have passed in the House; he will do that better than I can. He attends at his Board very exactly. You have done a great thing for him, and no one seems more sensible of it. Lord Cov[entry] would have persuaded me today that things were going very ill in Ireland, but till I hear it from you I shall not believe it. All my accounts hitherto have had a different tendency.

I hear from one quarter that a change of some sort in Administration is determined upon, and that the Chancellor has the task of composing those jarring atoms to prevent the King's Cabinet from being stormed. That Lord Sheilbourne will be taken in, *de quelque manière ou d'autre*. Storming a Cabinet is a phrase coined in my time, to express what I cannot pretend to say that I do not understand, but how the fact is practicable, *invito rege*, will be for ever a mystery to me, and if it happens with his consent I am yet to learn how the Cabinet is storm[ed]. I will never believe but if a prince very early in his reign had a mind to set a mark upon those who distinguish themselves in Opposition with that view, he would never have the thin[g] attempted. It may be necessary to change measures and men, but why it is necessary that particular men must be fixed upon you, whether you will [or] not, I do not conceive, nor will ever admit as [a] possibility, while the Laws and Constitution remain as they are; so with this I wish you a good night.

Notes upon the Portugal Business.

1782, Feb. 20.—Some of the manufacturers of Ireland having met with obstruction in the Kingdom of Portugal in 1780, and a fruitless negociation having been spun out to the end of the year 1781, it became necessary in the month of ——— 1782 to state the business fully to Parliament. . . .

The statement follows. Portugal refused to admit Irish goods under the treaty with England of 1703, on the ground that Ireland was a separate kingdom, &c. An account is given of Irish exports and imports.

In Lord Carlisle's hand. 2½ *pages.*

Anthony Storer to Lord Carlisle.

1782, Feb. 24, Portugal Street.—I give you joy of your fair prospect of a safe harbour, if you have made the land on your side; we are very far out at sea here. You are not only lucky in having made a prosperous voyage yourself, but in having avoided the rocks and tempests that your brother politicians and Ministers are now splitting upon. What a night we had on Friday! Government dividing only one more than Opposition. Minorities, indeed, now are converted into majorities. The men or the measures must be changed; if we wish for peace, and no doubt everybody does, we are not the more likely to get a good one from the vote of last week.

I can't learn that there is any truth in General Conway's assertion that he knew of persons not very far distant, who were empowered by the Congress to treat with us. Lord George Germaine said he knew of

no such thing—not in the House, but talking with him *tête-à-tête* at White's last night. (Take notice that there were many people in the room.) Burke said that he had known these six weeks of such a deputation, and had informed Ministers of it. Gonzales, *i.e.*, Crawford, did not vote last Friday; he retired before the Division, saying that he did not like the Question; and on Wednesday before, though he assured Lord Ossory in the morning that he would not vote at all, he came down, pretending to be sick, and divided with Government. His own party, for so I call the Opposition, despise his conduct as much as we do; they laugh at him and abuse him for the most pitiful fellow that ever existed.

Yesterday I dined at the Speaker's, where the whole company were as much strangers to me as if I had dined with a Committee upon the Portuguese business in Ireland. Our Lordships of Trade have put off General Cuningham's trial for a fortnight at the request of Mr. Estwick, the agent for the prosecution. Let no one say that he would not wish to be an Irish peer, for I confess "your Lordships" sounds very pleasantly to my ear. I am only afraid that I shall not hear so delightful an appellation long. The Board will be like Philomel herself —*amissos queritur fatus;* and instead of receiving our salaries we shall be reduced, if this new Ministry, this *durus arator*, takes us from our nest, to the sad situation of singing our *miserabile Carmen* with the voice of Opposition—*mœstis questibus* indeed.

I have not said a word to you about Lord Morpeth, because I know Selwyn will take care to inform you daily about him. He seemed yesterday quite well almost, nothing but a very slight cough—no fever —very good spirits. We are always more alarmed than his nearest relations would be, and I believe, when Selwyn's mind is at rest, that yours would be so too. I hope he will be soon well enough to go to Raikes'. As all your business is now over, and Dublin very full, the cares of Government being over, perhaps you may think of some relaxation soon, and may begin to justify the Prince of Wales' inquiries about you. If you do, as we have often been of the same mind on those subjects, I expect to hear of the particular attention that was shown at the Castle to Mlle. Be——.

Without any compliment to you, I wish I were in Dublin now. London is but a *triste séjour*, everything disjointed and falling to pieces; eternal politics and squabbling; nothing to enliven us but the Duke of Cumberland's Pharaoh Bank. There are now so many banks that the market is overstocked. We had a new grand ballet last Saturday at the Opera, which really, excepting one or two things, was excessively fine. Lord North gave notice of his Budget's coming on today. On Wednesday Opposition bring on another Question relative to America. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] Feb. 25, Monday morning, 10 o'clock.—*We shall have *rocking work*, as Sir W. G[ordon ?]† says, in the House of Commons this week, about America and the continuance of the war. The Budget is designed to be opened today, but a motion will be made to have it postponed. I hear the Opposition forms great hopes at present. I would soon damp them if I could advise his Majesty. But he must be like each of his subjects in a great measure, *artifex suæ fortunæ*, and if

* This begins by referring to Lord Morpeth's illness, in which he was attended by Sir N. T[homas].

† Sir William Gordon was M.P. for Portsmouth.

he will take into his councils, indiscriminately, those who serve him from principle and those who have insulted him, he must take the consequences of it. If he had not begun his reign with this, Charles would not be now at Brooks['s] with a mob of boys about him, talking treason and cutting out for themselves the best employments of trust and profit.

Delmé was not to blame the other day in not coming down, for no messages had been sent. The Fish availed himself of this, I suppose, to the Treasury, and at Brooks's he gave it as a reason that he did *not like the question.* I believe that it is not *questions* but *answers* to which he generally objects. But Lord N[orth] may thank himself for the Fish's system of acting. A place given for like [life] to the scaly brood is sure to produce scruples at particular crisis's.

George's spirits are so great that I am obliged to suppress them by keeping him still that he may not cough, but he tells me that they are feats of activity that he is performing. He has really today one of his best looks, so that I think that we shall have lost but one week, and then school goes on till the end of April, which will be an *époque*, and by that time you will give your orders how he shall pass his holidays.

The Duke of Q[ueensberry] is laying out immense sums upon his house at Richmond. It will be an expensive villa to him, with all its circumstances. But if that is what will amuse him most, he is in the right of it. He came and dined here yesterday with his friend Sir A. C.;* he is now in waiting.

Today the King hunts at Windsor. I am told that he is in very good spirits. The P[rince] stayed at Lady Lucan's last Tuesday till five in the m[orning]. Some of the company broached a subject which he desired no more to be said of, which was politics. *Voilà plus de discrétion que je ne lui avois pas donné.* I do not know if the Duke of C[umberland] was there. He calls his nephew Taffy; *toute sa conversation est du même ton, élevé, et poli.* He deals himself at Pharo, at his own house, and calls out to the *croupier*, "Look sharp, look sharp! *car il n'est pas de lieu.*"

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, Feb. 25.]—I have ordered my coach to go and enquire what is doing, but I believe there will be no long debate till Wednesday. At the House I may pick up something, and so will not make up my packet here. Lord G. Cavendish is to be married tomorrow, and at St. George's Church, as I am told, and they go to Chiswick to perpetuate the race of W[h]igs and Cavendishes. This dinner of Lord Buck[ingham], to which I am invited, is of those few remaining who were of his parties at the Bedford Head in 1742, and so on.

The Emperor is going into Italy, and one of his objects seems quite as new as any modern event whatever. It is to prevent a visit of the Pope's to Vienna; and why did the Pope meditate a visit there?—to solicit his Majesty not to make such strides towards destroying the power of the Church. The monastic state seems in great decadence. This Lord St. Asaph writes to his father.

The Earl of Bristol was the other day in the H[ouse] of C[ommons], and the Speaker sent a civil hint to him to go out, but he said that his protection there was that of being an Irish Bishop.† The *défaite* was singular, but he continued to stay.

Charles was locked up yesterday morning a long while with Lord Sheilbourn. *L'ardeur qu'il témoigne de s'emparer du timon de l'état,*

* Crawford?

† Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry.

me divertit, croyant qu'il ne luiseroit pas plus entreprenant, s'il vouloit prendre la lune avec ses dents. Je ne puis me préparer à de telles vicissitudes. From a Pharo table to the headship of the Exchequer is a transition which appears to me *de tenir trop au Roman*, and those who will oppose it the most are those whom he has been voting with and assisting to ruin this country for the last ten years at least.

Sir R. Worseley you know is to have his shilling and his wife; and she swears, if she cannot be divorced notwithstanding that cloud of evidence which she obtained to prove her infidelity, she will commence a suit against him for impotency. It is not of her side, that is clear.

The Deanery of St. Paul's is given to the Chancellor's brother, the Bishop of Lincoln. The Bishop of Oxford was to have had it, but the Chancellor will now be refused nothing. *Il a raison.* Ekins is just gone; he came part of the way on foot. He will be on the sea about this day fortnight. He will then talk to you of George's cough, if any of it should remain, but I hope that it will not. There is to me no appearance of its lasting. He has paid his tax of the winter, and it has not been too heavy a one.

Lord Digby shrinks from his clothes, and does not look quite well. I could not dine with him on Saturday, but Lord Ash[burnham] observed this to me, which puts me in mind of the French proverb, *La graisse fonduë*, &c. Whether that be *physiquement vrai, ou non*, I cannot tell. He is a worthy man, and [with] a little more sprightliness in his mind, and with less *éclat* in his laugh, would be very agreeable. The Viscount and the Marquis meet at White's, one at the Whist table and one at the Pharaon.

I am not sure, from what Ekins says, if I informed you rightly about Lord Trentham and Sir J. Wrottesley, in regard to the vote of last Friday. I saw them not in the division, and Storer said that they had been there but were gone. Say a word in your next for Mr. Radclife, who made me an offer of a horse for George; this for Lady Frances's sake; and if Lady Julia writes to Lady Frances it will be better in *her* letter. Lord Buck[ingham] recollected himself, and came here yesterday to make me a visit, and was in a most gracious mood.

Monday night.—. . . The Budget has, I believe, been opened, and a great many who were promised some of the Loan disappointed; and there has been a manœuvre, of which at this moment I can give you no account, concerning the money to be raised, which is extraordinary.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, Feb. ?] 26, Tuesday m[orning], 11 o'clock.—. . . I went last night, after the children were in their beds, to White's, and stayed there till 12. The Pharo party was amusing. Five such beggars could not have met; four lean crows feeding on a dead horse. Poor Parsons held the bank. The punters were Lord Carm[arthen], Lord Essex, and one of the Fauquiers; and Denbigh sat at the table, with what hopes I know not, for he did not punt. Essex's supply is from his son, which is more than he deserves, but Malden, I suppose, gives him a little of his milk, like the Roman lady to her father.

A very large company yesterday at Lord Rocking[ham's]. The whole Party pretends to be confident of their carrying the Question tomorrow, if people are properly managed and collected. I do not believe it, but they do. The main point will not be more advanced in my opinion.

Dr. Ekins has been here, and is very well satisfied about George, as he has reason to be, and would write to you, but he sees how exact I am, and he wrote on Saturday. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 1, Friday.—George seems so well today that there does not seem wanting the *coup de peigne*. I have not heard a cough today. We have been walking. It is the finest day that ever was, and we are going in the coach to meet one part of his Majesty's faithful Commons, who go to Court at two o'clock with their Address. People are either so close, cautious, or ignorant, that among those I converse with I can be informed of nothing which is to happen in consequence of the last majority. It may be nothing at present, but the Opposition is in great glee, to judge from their countenance. I shall know before I sit down to dinner not only the K[ing's] answer, but the manner of the answer also.

Lord Ossory is this morning gone to the Levee,* and others of his sort, I suppose, with a design to countenance and spread the credit of their coming in. Fish, as I hear, doubles and trebles all his flattery to Charles, and now and then throws in a compliment to Lord N[orth], not being quite sure of what may happen, and then adds, "In that respect I will do him justice; I do not think better even of Charles, as to that;" and goes on in this style till the whole room is in a laugh.

But now I have a story to tell you of his Grace the Duke of R[ichmond]. Lord Rawdon, I hear, came over from Ireland for no earthly reason but to oblige his Grace to a recantation of what he had said in the H[ouse] of L[ords] about Haines. He wrote to him here a very civil but a very peremptory letter, and at last Lord Ligonier went to him, at Lord Rawdon's request, with the words wrote down which his Grace was to use, on his subject. At first the Duke hesitated, but Lord L[igonier] said that he recommended it to him to read it over carefully, and then decide; that he was limited as to time, and hinted that, upon a refusal, he should be obliged to come with another message. The Duke complied very judiciously, and a speech was made accordingly; and Lord Huntingdon was present, and heard justice done to his relation. The Duke was conscious of the part which he was forced to take by what he said to Lord Lothian and to Lord Amhurst; and this, as I am told, is the third time that his Grace has been compelled to make these *amendes honorables*. I am glad to have heard this, because so much *méchanceté* deserves this humiliation. It may be that in telling me the story, it was aggravated, but I believe the *fond* of it to be true, and that his Grace deserves this and ten times more, and so probably Mr. Bates will directly or indirectly let him know.

Saturday morning.—Mr. Walpole came to me last night, as George and I were playing together at whist with two dummies (for Mie Mie and Mrs. W[ebb] were gone to her dancing academy), and he stayed with me till near eleven; so I was obliged, finding it so late, only to scrawl out three words to let you know that the little boy was quite well. . . .

I do not find upon discourse anything exaggerated in the least in regard to his Grace. Lord L[igonier], to those to whom he choses to talk upon this subject, is very explicit, and from these I had it. It was the same with Mr. Clavering and Colonel Cunning[ham]. Now for the Address. I saw all these *brouillons* and their adherents go by; that starved weasel, Charles Turner, in his coach, grinning and squinting: Wilkes in his; Charles F[ox] and Ossory, laughing in Charles's chariot, *à gorge deployée*. They were not detained long. The King beheld them come up the room with a very steady countenance, and one

* Selwyn always spells it "Lever."

which expressed a good deal of firmness. I have been told by several that he is shrunk, and does not look well. I have heard that the Chan[cellor] sat up with him the other night, and till five in the morning. Of this I know nothing.

He made them the only answer which he could, in my opinion, have made with any propriety, had he been less displeased than he has reason to be with these people. But he laid such an emphasis upon the words, "By the means which shall seem to *me* the most conducive," &c., &c., that the answer was by no means acceptable, or the reception; and what will follow from it and what [be] voted upon it, the Lord knows.

Next week will be one of bustle, and I will beg Storer to be circumstantial in all he relates to you of the House of Commons, as I shall myself, as far as it shall come to my knowledge.

At the Levee Charles presented an Address from Westminster. The King took it out of his hand without deigning to give him a look even, or a word; he took it as you would take a pocket handkerchief from your *valet de chambre*, without any mark of displeasure or attention, or expression of countenance whatever, and passed it to his lord-in-waiting, who was the Duke of Queensberry. It was the same with Sir Jos[eph] Mawbey. He spoke to none but one word, and it was inevitable, to Admiral Kepple, who had *bouché son passage*. When he was upon the throne the Chanc[ello]r was at his right hand, and looking with such a countenance as affords to the people of Brooks's much occasion of abuse. Arnold was behind the throne. The King looked much displeased with Mr. Conway, the mover, at the right hand of the Speaker.

I do not find that they expect any immediate changes to follow from this, but so various is the discourse at White's and at Brooks's among themselves, that it is difficult to collect anything which is worth recording.

I went last night to Brooks's, and stayed with them all after supper, on purpose to hear their discourse, which is with as little reserve before me as if I was one of their friends. Charles says that it was some comfort to him to have frightened them, at least; but he was so candid to me as to own that from the beginning of this *émeute* he could not perceive in me the least expression of fear or disquietude whatever, and that, to be sure, he did not like.

The truth is, I have made up my mind to whatever shall happen. I wish the King to be master, and he may be so, if he pleases, I am confident, and all whom I saw at Brooks's last night *annéantis* as politicians, if he will stand but firm upon the ground on which he now is.

Sir G. Cooper tells me that two only were lost by the disappointment of the Loan. Several Scotch members went off, for reasons but too apparent, and which justified but too much the character given of them. Mr. W. lays this upon Rigby's agitated, restless humour and intrigue, but how much he has contributed to this bustle I am sure I cannot tell. If I was in his circumstances, I should not be disposed to hazard any change.

The Taxes, which were to come on on Monday, are put off till Wednesday. Questions will be followed by questions, but all will not be carried by a majority against Government, if the King expresses an inclination to yield as to measures and to be resolute as to men.

I own that to see Charles closeted every instant at Brooks's by one or the other, that he can neither punt or deal for a quarter of an hour but he is obliged to give an audience, while Hare is whispering and standing behind him, like Jack Robinson, with a pencil and paper for mems., is

to me a scene *la plus parfaitement comique que l'on puisse imaginer*, and to nobody it seems most [more] risible than to Charles himself.

What he and his friends would really do with me, if they had me in their power, I cannot say, but they express in their looks and words nothing which I can fairly interpret to proceed from ill-will. I have been lately not so contentious or abusive as formerly, no more than I have flattered them, and my appearance among them is from mere curiosity, and to amuse you by my recitals more than from any other motive.

Lord Carlisle to [George Selwyn].

1782, March 6, D.C. [Dublin Castle].—As I conceive the last defeat in the House of Commons to have arisen from some deep-laid scheme of J. St. John's to make Administration in the end infinitely stronger, I only wait for the next mail to comprehend the dexterity of this operation. In the meantime ignorant people here a[re] looking for a change in our masters; your masters as well as mine. Poor John, I fear his place is not secured to him, and he will go to the Devil. . . . .

Storer, I suppose, if there is to be a crash in the political world, will be un-my-Lorded with the rest of their Lordships. In regard to myself, I indulge myself in no speculations. If any sudden change is made here, they who make it will repent of it. I could explain this if it did not lead to an unnecessary detail, and clear myself from the imputation of vanity, with which I feel this assertion is apparently coloured. I have ascended by a variety of fortunate events and some good management as high as I can aspire to in the public view on this side the water; I shall be very soon in my wane, and a removal in this moment would snatch me from the disgrace of a sinking reputation; for he must be a very foolish man who does not know when he has touched his zenith, and very little of a philosopher if he does not frequently look towards the opposite point of declension, and is not prepared for the rapidity with which he will descend. . . . .

Autograph copy.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 6, Wednesday m[orning].—I told you, in my letter of Monday, that I should write to you yesterday, and so I should have done, if there had anything come to my knowledge more than what you see in all the public papers, and which must be of equal date with my letter.

What conversation I have with the people at Brooks's or White's upon these matters is really not worth putting down. Those who are out, and wanting the places of those who are in, either for themselves or for their friends, talk a language which has much more of phrensy in it than common sense, which, in the most rational and the best tempered, seems as much out of sight, as the spirit of the Constitution itself.

You will laugh at my mentioning that, because you will not conceive that I understand it; perhaps I do not, but I perfectly remember how [I] have heard and read it described to be, and it is as different from what our present Patriots or Whigs represent it, as the Government of the Grand Senior [Signor].

Poor Fitz[willia]m, whom I really love on many accounts, held me in conversation last night, his brother only being present. I do not know if he was in earnest, but I suppose that he was. He had worked

himself up to commiserate the state of this country, nay, that of the King himself, [so] that I expected every instant that his heart would have burst; but to speak more to my passions, he lamented, in the terms the most *attendrissants*, your situation, and how much your pride, and feelings of every kind, must be hurt, and that for no estate upon earth he would be in your perilous state.

I begged for a little light, and to know if there was a possibility of salvation in any position in which our affairs could be placed. He asked me then with the utmost impetuosity, what objection I had to Lord Rock[ingham] being sent for. You may be pretty sure that if I had any, I should not have made it. I contented myself with asking how he intended to begin his operations, to which I was answered in two Latin words, *de novo*.

If that should be, and the *in nova fert animus* should take place, we must as individuals be meta[mor]phosed indeed, and what will become of the public neither he, Burk[e], Charles, or any one of the Cavendishes I suppose knows or cares. But I think that Lord N[orth's] peremptory assurance of yesterday, together with the King's strong expressions of resentment for the manner in which he has been treated, may suspend all this nonsense for the present, and leave us at leisure to regret something of more essential consequence to the public than whether Charles and Hare live in St. James's Street, or at the Treasury.

Today we have the Taxes, which are heavy enough of themselves without all the speeches made to oppose them; tomorrow I know nothing of; and on Friday we shall have another trial of skill between the Privileges of the Crown and the Prerogative of the People. In the meantime there is in the larder the loss of Minorca and of St. Kit's, with good hopes of further surrenders, to feed our political discontent, and private satisfaction. I have a new relation, as you know, that is the most zealous Constitutionist, according to his own notions, that ever was, and he has honoured me lately with very long conferences; *ma porte ne lui est jamais refusée, cela s'entend.* But I can only ask questions for information, and even my doubts or ignorance are not acceptable, but we part always upon very good terms, because I always appear attentive, and so he presumes that of course I must be more instructed than when he came to me.

Charles has attempted more than once to feel my pulse, but finding them (*sic*) beat pretty much as usual, he augurs no good from it. I have only desired, if they are resolved to turn me out, to have three months' warning, that I may get into another place, which I shall certainly have if I go with the same character which I had in my last. I am sober, and honest, and have no followers, and although I used to be out at nights and play at the alehouse, I have now left it off.

I was asked last night at Lady Buckingham's, and am ashamed of my laziness in not going. I dine with his Lordship on Saturday, and today I am going with Mie Mie* and Mrs. W[ebb] to Mr. Gregg's, who has got a little ball for a dozen children of her age, because it is the birthday of one of his own.

Arnold's being behind the King's chair when the Address came up has given great offence. They will not suffer soon an enemy to the Americans to come into the guard room. I think that Arnold might as well have paired off with Laurens; it would have conciliated matters much more.

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* Called "La Mimie" in Walpole's Letters, viii. 262.

*. . . Poor Lady H[ertfor]d['s] civilities in inviting so many of the Opposition to her Ball, afford a great deal of mirth. Charles did not go; he has not leisure for those trifles. Hare and Lord Robert have the drudgery of dealing between them. Your kinsman Walker is a *cul de plomb* at the table, and has lost, I believe, both his eyes and fortune at it. He seems so blind as not to see the card which is before him. Keene seems to have surrendered in his mind this *forteresse*, so I take for granted that he knows how little a while it will last.

I wish I could know at this moment for a certainty what is to become of you and me. I talked long with Gregg about this when Storer had left us. It is my opinion, from all I hear of your circumstances and my own, that we shall be both reduced to 2,000*l.* a year each, and as great as the inequality is between us in all other respects, in that we shall be equal, and the alternative is to submit to the terms imposed by the new people, which may be very humiliating to us both. If you are not an object of their justice, of their esteem, and respect, you will, I am sure, not consent to be one of their mercy only. I shall feel the deprivation of two parts out of three of my income, but I hope that I shall have enough left for Mie Mie's education, and to supply possible losses to her in other respects. If I do that, and am lodged up two pair of stairs in a room at half a guinea a week, as I was when I lodged with Lord Townshend and Lord Buck[ingham] in 1744 or 5, I will never utter an impatient word about *le retour de mon sort*, whatever injustice may have been done me. If the storm falls upon you only, I am willing that you should avail yourself of anything in my situation, by which you can be assisted. But I shall never bear with patience the insults which I know would be offered to you, if these people had their terms, in their full extent.

The King, I hear, is in good spirits, and went yesterday to Windsor to hunt, so I hope he knows that he is in a better situation than I fancy him to be. If it is not so, and he can make up his mind to it, I must envy him his insensibility. But I think that if he had one atom of it,† and heard a hundredth part of what I hear from those who are forcing themselves into his councils, he would lose his Crown, and his life too, rather than submit to it. It is better certainly to be kicked out of the world than kicked as long as you live [in] it, whatever his Grace may think. But the Duke intended to insult, and not to be obliged to apologise.‡

§A peace, I find, of some sort is negotiating with Mr. Adams. Lord Cov[entry] dropped hints of a great deal which he knew of this matter, but could not reveal. No credit seemed to be given yesterday at dinner, either to his intelligence or credit with the new people, and he had a very dissatisfied look. Two of the Bedchamber are to be left, Lord Ailesford and the Duke of Queensberry, but the Duke's other place|| will be annihilated.

The Duke of R[ichmond] affects to say that he will take nothing, and when this is repeated there is a laugh, thinking how suddenly his Grace is changed, for lately he took anything, and what no man living would have taken but himself; he has met with more of this at Chichester. His pride must have suffered of late immensely. Lord Huntingdon dined with us yesterday, and we had the whole story *en détail*, from the beginning to the end. Mr. Bates pines in his

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* Found apart. Begins about an interview with Gregg concerning "the Baron."
† *I.e.*, sensibility.
‡ *See* before, p. 585.
§ Found apart.
|| *Qu.*, the office of Vice-Admiral of Scotland.

confinement for a sight of the papers; it will not be long, I daresay, before his resentment is gratified.

It is certainly a great consolation to me, in this trouble and public disgrace to the King, and private distress to myself and to you, that you stand, as you do, upon such high ground in point of reputation; not a mouth is open against you, not a person but is ready to say, that no one ever executed a great office so becomingly or so judiciously as you have done. But I am afraid not of your conduct, but of your decline, and therefore wish for a timely retreat if possible. That others may repent of it, is true, but a good man and one who meant the good of his country only would never wish to have Administration pass out of your hands into those of such a calf as they now talk of.* But things must have their course; they are grievous to me, but not unlooked for.

If I had had any conception that this storm would have come so soon, I could have supported it with less embarrassment; but I must now bear up against it, as well as I can, and so must you, for *si tout sera perdu, horsmis votre honneur*, there is no help for it. *Le Roi ne s'est pas encore rendu.*

As to Ireland, you have passed over that subject very slightly with me, but the approaching troubles or danger of them could not be a secret from me long. As accounts were exaggerated, so I was in hope no part of them were [was] true, but it is manifest to me now, from what I hear, that there are materials in that country for the greatest confusion, *tôt ou tard.* There is a spirit of independency, and impatience of Government, and an aversion to rule, which has infected every part of his Majesty's dominions. It is to me wonderful that with all this he preserves his health, for to public distress is added the utmost degree of domestic infelicity, and no prospect of a change for the better.

Charles did not go to Lady Hertford's ball last night, although invited, in so *distinguishing a manner.* The Duke of Devonshire told him that twenty ladies had kept themselves disengaged in hopes of having him for a partner. Mie Mie goes tonight to the Theodores' benefit, with Lady Craufurd and Lady something Aston. I shall stay at home with George and get Fawkner to be her beau, if I can. I could not parry this off, but am in pain about it.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March 6-7.]—Lord R[obert] Bertie died on Sunday; he made a new will on the Thursday before. He has died worth 12,000*l.* which he has left to his wife, except legacies amounting to four, among Lady Louisa's children, and something to Mrs. Hobart. He has expressed a wish that Lady R. his wife should have a lease of Chiselhurst, renewed from time to time by the proprietor of the estate, that she may have it for her life, and has annexed in his will a valuable consideration for it.

If my nephew Charles dies without children, which is most probable that he will, and, which is not probable, that I survived him, then one fourth of the estate comes to me, one fourth to the Townshends, and the other two fourths to Charles Stewart and Lord Westmoreland, &c.; which, so subdivided, will amount to nothing. I was in hopes that Charles and Mary would have had the immediate possession of the place, and have lived there. Lord Amhurst will have the Troop and

* The Duke of Portland succeeded the Earl of Carlisle as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Gold Stick; who will have the Bedchamber and Government I don't know, nor who is to succeed him at Boston.*

Yesterday the contest between the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Edwards at Chichester was a very hard run thing; some believe that the Duke will lose it, but I do not. For this, is our affair postponed till Friday; two votes depend upon it. If Lord R[awdon] communicates his letter and messages in Ireland, and that you have a sight of them, I shall be curious to know how it will affect you, that is, with what surprise and disdain. I believe that there never was such a humiliation, *ni si bien meritée*, since the creation of the world.

Thursday morning.—I carried Dr. Ekins yesterday morning to Mr. Woodcock, to take instructions from him how to assist me in my suit in the courts in Ireland with Mr. Gore. Woodcock assures me that I shall not lose the money, but the rascal will give me as much trouble as he can in recovering it. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 12, Tuesday.— . . . Dr. Ekins and I dined yesterday at Lord Gower's, when I received your letter of the 6th, and Lady G. one from Lady Carlisle. Lord G. and I had a good deal of discourse on the present state of things, but my curiosity led to know chiefly how any alterations would affect you in your present situation. He seemed to think not at all. What may become of Storer, of me, or of John St. J[ohn] is another thing. These people, by long opposition, hunger, and engagements, are become very ravenous; and Charles, as far as he should be concerned, I am persuaded, would have no consideration upon earth but for what was useful to his own ends. You have heard me say that I thought that he had no malice or rancour; I think so still, and am sure of it. But I think that he has no feeling, neither, for any one but himself; and if I could trace in any one action of his life anything that had not for its object his own gratification, I should with pleasure receive the intelligence, because then I had much rather (if it was possible) think well of him, than not. However, I am inclined to believe, that whenever there is anything like a settlement in Government, he will find himself disappointed and mortified, and he will then see that he has been doing other people's work, and not his own.

Brooks's is at present a place open to great speculation and amusement and curiosity, and I go there and talk there, but it is without heat, or anything which makes it in any respect disagreeable to myself or others. If that was not my temper I should not go among them. Boothby said last night to me, that he thought that they were not so *cock-a-hoop*, as he phrased it, and Lord G[ower] said that he believed, what may be true, that they become frightened at their own success. It is much easier to throw things into confusion than to settle them to one's own liking. Troubled waters are good to fish in, it is true, but sometimes in searching for a fish you draw up a serpent. I have much more admiration of Charles's talents than opinion of his judgment or conduct.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 13, Wednesday m[orning].—Two packets of mine were sent yesterday to the messenger who was, as Sir St. Portine

* Lord Bertie was M.P. for Bostor, where he was succeeded by Sir Peter Burrell 23 March 1782.

told me, to set out for Ireland last night at nine. I intended to have sent another by the post; but I had not materials enough, and I found myself indisposed with my cold, and could do nothing but drink tea by the fireside at White's.

The story of St. Christopher's tells well at the outset, and gives *me* at least, who am sanguine, great hopes, but the Opposition still is incredulous as to good news, and the same intelligence which they dispute the authenticity of today, would be, tomorrow, if they were in place, clear as proofs of Holy Writ, clearer indeed than those are to the greatest part among them.

I was assured last night, that the King is so determined, as to Charles, that he will not hear his name mentioned in any overtures for a negotiation, and declares that the proposal of introducing him into his councils is totally inadmissible. I should not be surprised, if this was true in its fullest extent. I can never conceive that a King, unless he and his Government differ from all others, can do otherwise.

Friday is our great day of struggle; some changes I should think must be, but Denbigh, who is a good calculator as to numbers, says that we shall have eight more than last time. That will make but a paltry majority; however, if it be so, we shall brush on, I suppose, live upon expedients, and hope for a more favourable crisis; and then we shall be soon prorogued, and so give time for an arrangement in which our poor master will have better terms.

I said to Sir S. Portine yesterday, by way of conversation, that I wished you was here to take the seals. He said that undoubtedly you might have them, when you came over, and so I suppose you may. But I am sure it is not the station I [in] which I the most wish to see you. As to Ireland, I have no doubt, as you say yourself, but that you have touched your zenith, and if circumstances permitted it, I wish to God that you was returned. No one can have done better than you have, in all respects, *et de l'aveu de tout le monde;* but you are, I see, *non nescius auræ fallacis*, and in Ireland the winds rise suddenly, and are violent and blast, *quand on y pense le moins.*

You have, I understand, made Mr. Cradock one of your Aid de camps, which has pleased the Duchess of Bedford much; *elle se louë continuellement de la lettre qu'elle a reçuë de votre part; elle se vante du credit qu'elle a aussi auprès de vous. C'est un beau garçon, et très digne de sa protection à tout égard.* I know him a little myself; he seems a very right-headed, well-bred young man, and when we played together, as we have done at Kenny's, he showed me particular civilities, so I was glad to hear of the kindness which you have had for him; but I had never heard that he had any such thing in contemplation. . . .

*Dr. Ekins has, fortunately for me, been witness of all my caution [in respect of George]. . . . The Duchess of Argyle, with whom March and I dined yesterday, questioned me about these things. . . .

I fancy that Wyndham† is returned for Chichester, but by a very slender majority. Betty's patriots spread it about yesterday that Lord N[orth] was out. What use that lie was to be, which must be contradicted an hour after, is difficult to say; perhaps to get a vote or two of ours to go out of town, or some such flimsy scheme. I hear that we shall be about twenty. Conway was at the Levee yesterday, and scarce noticed; the King talked and laughed a great deal with both Rigby and the Advocate, who were on each side of Conway.

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* On another sheet.

† Percy Charles Wyndham was returned for Chichester 11th March 1782.

I was at night at Brooks's for a little while; it was high change, all sorts of games, all kind of parties, factions, arrangements, whispers, jokes, &c., &c. John in better spirits; he had had a cordial from Brummell, Lord N[orth's] secretary. Storer plays his whist at White's. Nobody at supper there but Lord Fr. Cavendish, Lord Weymouth, and one or two more. My circle around the fire in the card room breaks up at about twelve, and the Duke of Q[ueensberry] generally joins us towards the conclusion, and when he has talked himself out of breath at Brooks's.

Charles dined yesterday, I believe, at Lord Rockingham's; I saw him about five in great hurry, and agitation. What is to be done, may not probably be concluded upon till the Easter holidays, and by that time I hope to hear that his Majesty has been better served in the W[est] Indias than in other parts of the world.

Negotiations for peace are much talked of. I hope that we shall first have a little success, and then go with our proposals to Versailles. Monsieur de Vergennes says, that *si l'Angleterre veut avoir la Paix, il faut frapper à ma porte*, and the sooner we are in his cabinet for that purpose the better. If we do not begin there, I am afraid, as Lord Bolingbroke says, we shall be suing for it elsewhere, and at the gates of every other palace in Europe.

I have received an anonymous letter from Ireland, dated Dublin the 6th inst. I call it anon[ymous], because I believe the name of R. Thomas to be feigned. The hand is a good one, and of a person of fashion. He makes a demand of 500*l.*, which he says that he must have by my means. The place I am to direct to is specified. Ekins will carry over the letter. I rather suppose it to be from a lunatic. He talks of not selling his voice, but I have no more light into his scheme, or who the man is.

There is to be a great Drawing Room today, because Lord G[eorge]* and his bride will be presented, and with them come La Noblesse, that is, the heads and tails of a hundred great families, to which these young people are allied. *Her* head runs upon nothing but dress, and expense; she is rather plain, as I hear, but not disagreeable. She has made great terms for herself; her pin money is 1,500. She will give up no part of her fortune to her husband. It is settled upon the children; a jointure in proportion.

I saw the Duke of Bedford coming out of Charles's yesterday, so there is another Duke for him to lead by the nose. For him he is, I suppose, obliged to Ossory. Young Pitt will not be subordinate; he is not so in his own society. He is at the head of a dozen young people, and it is a corps separate from that of Charles's; so there is another premier at the starting post, who, as yet, has never been shaved. I hope George will have a little more patience, but he is, as I hear, the first speaker in his school, and by much the most beloved, which pleases me more than if I saw the seals in his hands.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March] 15, Friday m[orning].—Dr. Ekins, Dr. Digby, Lord Digby, the Duke, Williams, Storer, and little Thomas dined here yesterday. The report of Lord North's resignation was industriously spread yesterday by sending word of it to twenty coffee-houses; I am still at a loss to know for what purpose. We reckon today upon a majority of from twenty to thirty; if it approaches the latter number

* Cavendish; he married Lady Betty Compton 26th February 1782. (Annual Register.)

the old Ministry and their friends will hold up their head; at least, all present arrangement with their adversaries will be suspended.

The bargains which are now making by venal people of both sides are innumerable. Charles will grow outrageous, if this negotiation is at an end, or he left out, which is very probable. Mr. Wyndham had only a majority of seven at Chichester; therefore there may be there a petition.

A great rout last night at Lady Sefton's, where I saw the bride; a ball at Cumberland House; so the streets were filled with chairs, flambeaus, vis-a-vis's, peach-coloured satin, blond lace, and diamonds. I took my chair as usual in the circle of old politicians at White's, where a place is left for me near the fire, as for Mr. Bickerstaf. Lord Robert, in a new blue and buff, not the Blenheim uniform.

The Duchess of Devonshire went sick yesterday from Court. Mrs. North and the Bishop are going to part with their house in town, and have no other but the Bishop's Palace at Winchester. I shall have a letter tomorrow from Mr. Raikes to know how George does, and send you word. I shall not be perfectly at my ease till this cold weather is over. My own cough is very oppressive. I wish that the end of next month was arrived, that I could have a few days' airing at Salt Hill; and then George might be of the party, for that is the time of his holidays, and he might commence an acquaintance with Eton. I shall write tonight.

This is on small 8vo paper.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 16, Saturday morning, 10 o'clock.—We divided this morning between one and two; our majority was nine, the numbers 236 and 227. I came home; my cough is so bad that I shall put off all my engagements to dinner, and stay at home, I believe, till I have got rid of it. But there is to be another trial of skill on Wednesday. Charles's arrogance both in the House, and out of it, is insupportable. I can neither think or speak of him with patience. Gilbert voted with us, Sir J. Wrottesley against us, Lord Trentham went away, McDonald with us. This is Denbigh's way of calculation; he was positive that we should have 30, or at least 22.

But good God! what a Government is this! if the King has not the power of choosing his own Ministers. It is enough, when he has chosen them, that they are amenable to Parl[iamen]t for their conduct. But if it is in the power of any man, on account of his Parl[iamen]t[ary] talents, to force himself upon the King and into Government, when his private character would exclude him from ever[y] other station, or society, I wish for my own part not to belong to that Government in any shape whatever; and it would satisfy my mind infinitely more, that, while things remained upon that foot, that neither of us were in any kind of employment whatsoever. But I do not presume to dictate to you. You can see and feel for yourself, with as much discernment and sensibility as another.

Lord North was thought to speak better, and with more spirit than before. I could not go down into the H[ouse] to hear the Advocate, I was so oppressed with my cold. You will see the substance of the speeches in the Chronicle; I suppose that you have all our papers. Storer will write to you, and tell you of his conversation with Charles, but do not say that I anticipated the account. I must talk with Gregg upon the subject of your return here, for neither the

removal, or the mode or the time, will be weighed by any other scales than those of their own convenience. . . .

The Fish voted with us, and upon the merit of this assistance, and at this important crisis, I suppose something was founded, for when the H[ouse] was up, he was never from Lord North's elbow. Notwithstanding Charles's impatience, it will not be settled all this [month ?] till the Easter holidays, and how it will be settled then, I do not conceive. They talk now of Barré for Rigby's place. I have never once heard my nephew's name in any part of the arrangement, but he has, I presume, a situation fixed in his own mind, as adequate to his consequence.* Young Pitt expects to be sent for from the circuit to the Cabinet, but not in a subordinate capacity. George has not sent from Neasdon any proposals to the K[ing], so I suppose [he is] waiting till he can negotiate a Peace. I wish that I could overhear him in his rhetorical mood.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March 16,] Saturday noon.—†Lord G[ower] assured me that he knew that at this juncture there was no arrangement; that there certainly would be, and soon; that it was impossible to guess at the disposal of the parts. That Charles would be, and has been, a thorn in the side of his party; that the Ministers would not suffer him to rule, nor would the country gentlemen endure him. But you might be recalled; that it was not now an object of ambition to be the Governor of Ireland; that he thought it would have been a lucky event for you, and that it would have afforded you an occasion of resigning, the best that you could have had; for things would grow worse, and that hitherto all had been well, and that you might now come away without reproach; but that your circumstances opposed this option. He was, on account of the great expense and your love of show, afraid how these would be hurt; that he could not help being alarmed, notwithstanding the prospect Mr. Gregg held out of saving, at one time, to provide against the extra charges of another.

I own that these reflections have often struck me, and very forcibly, and makes us in a sad dilemma and perplexity about what can be done. He assured me that as soon as he knew anything, I should be informed of it. I told him that I wish[ed] we had our four members, which could not be, unless Lord Meilbourn could be made by some consideration to vacate his seat; but if we had, I would risk my fortune in Government with yours, and take my chance, and be served in the second place, when those had the administration with whom we could draw.

What these will do, and in what manner they will treat the King's friends, the Lord only knows. Charles made it an objection, your attachment to the King; that was beginning well. He has none, God knows. His countenance to Hare or Fitzpatrick are [is] no proof of it to me. People can like and protect those who are subservient to them, and persecute them when they are not. Had he been capable of a good sentiment, he would have had one for you. Instead of that, he puts your fortune into immediate danger, by a sacrifice of his honour and engagement, and when he has done that, you and those attached to

* Thomas Townshend became Secretary at War in this month.

† The fifth page of a letter, of which the first four pages relate to George, Lord Morpeth.

you are treated as mercenary, and illiberal, because you desire to be rescued from the impending ruin. Not a hundredth part of what has been said on this subject comes to my knowledge, but enough to fill me with horror and indignation.

While I was writing, and just before my dinner came up, I saw Mr. Cook, who brought me your letter. You needed not to have cautioned me against asking after matters of state. Those nearer to me are no objects of curiosity, further than you are concerned in them. It is a pleasure to have such a recent account of your being well. I wish *my* letters could go as speedily to *you*, to prevent the *radotage* incident to letters of an old date. Your correspondence with Lord Hilsborough will soon cease; who[m] you will have to write to afterwards I have not heard. It may be Charles.

Hare and Richard came into White's just before dinner. I stopped there to hear what was going on. They can talk of nothing but the demolition of the last Ministry, and *abbai[s]sement* of his Majesty, but of this they speak without reserve. Lord Cov[entry] was there, as malignant and insulting as possible. It requires some degree of temper to refrain from a reply to these things, but I shall. I have made up my mind to these *revers;* no future minister can hurt me, for none will I ever trust.

Lord North and his Secretary, Robinson, have acted such a part by me that I should never have believed anything but a couple of attorneys of the lowest class to have done; but my conduct has been uniform, and not changed towards the King, whom I have meant, though unsuccessfully, to support. Had I been a bargain-maker, I could have made as good a one with the Opposition as another, and could have justified it better.

I hope that in about a week more, I shall be able to send you such intelligence as will put us both out of doubt of what is or ought to be done. Lord G[ower], I believe, six months ago, wanted to be at the head of affairs; he might now, but will not. Nothing but the worse management on earth in our leaders could have brought things to such an issue.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 18, Monday m[orning].—I am sorry to begin my letter with telling you that George is again in my house, but so it is. Mr. Raikes brought him to me, and little Eden to the surgeon's, on account of his chilblains, yesterday morning in a post chaise. Sir N. T[homas] came, and he ordered George to be blooded, which he was directly, and wrote other prescriptions. I believe there was some James's powder taken last night, and he is to help his cough with something in a certain degree emetic. His pulse were [was] above a hundred, and his cough very troublesome, but there is nothing that forebodes any mischief. I do not hear of the least apprehensions of that. Dr. Ekins was here, and Mr. Nevison. Lady G[ower] could not come on account of her cold. Lord G[ower] will be here this morning. . . .

I have no objection to declaring my own [opinion], but I beg you and Lady Carlisle to know that what is done now, if it is with my opinion, it was not in consequence of it, for I have been perfectly passive. Dr. Ekins went down to Whitehall to acquaint Lord and Lady G[ower] with this, who approved of what was done, and last night I was there myself; and Lord G[ower] and I had more conversation with him upon this horrid situation of affairs. That I should be much

disturbed about them, on your account, and my own, is not extraordinary. I have, in certain circumstances, fixed and determined in my own mind what would be most becoming for us both to do, and what in the end would be most advantageous, but I shall not obtrude my advice upon you, whose judgment I hold in higher esteem, infinitely, than my own, and whose temper is more equal. But I will say what I believe to be the state of things now, and what they probably will be, and you will judge the best, it may be both for yourself and me.

I called in at Brooks's last night, but avoided all conversation, and will for the future with any one belonging to the party. Their insolence, their vanity and folly, and the satisfaction expressed in their countenances, upon fancying themselves Ministers, and going into the place of them, as they think, and to drive the K[ing] from every shadow of power and dignity, is no object to me now of mirth; so, as I cannot help it, or approve it, and shall get nothing by a dispute with such people, I am determined to act for my own part—what I think is becoming me to do—to resign all ideas of pecuniary advantage, if I cannot have them upon the terms I like, and wait for better times.

The P[rince] of W[ales] supped the night before last at Lord Derby's; there were as I am told no less than six courses; the women were Lady Payne, Lady Jersey, perhaps Lady Meilbourne; I have not as yet been informed of particulars. He stayed there till six, and then, I hear, carried Charles home in his coach. He canvassed in the last Question against his father. Lord Meilbourne stayed away at his instigation. In this he has acted contrary to his engagements. He says that he purchased his seat at Luggershall.* It is a falsehood. If he did, he has not paid the money he ought for it; but both Lord N[orth] and Robinson have acted in this, towards me, in the most scandalous manner in the world, and I will inform the K[ing] of it myself by an audience, if I can find no other means of doing it.

I warned Lord North over and over again of this *supercherie*. I knew his intention, and he was so weak as to neglect the means of pinning this fitz scrivener, [this] fitz coachman, this fitz cook to his word, and putting it in his power to use me in this manner, as if he had bought of me a seat in Parliament, which no man living ever yet did, but the King himself.

Lord Gower told me last night, that it might be a week before it was possible to guess in the least how things would [be] settled; he believed that the King would not send for you from Ireland, unless you chose it. I think, and so I told him, that *that* was more than the King himself could answer for.

I am now confident they would give it to the Duke of Dev[onshire] if he would accept it; he will not, and the Duke of Portland, that jolter-headed calf, certainly will. I wish to have nothing but Buckinghams and Portlands for their subalternate ministers as long as they are at Court, and then their damned Administration will be over in six months, and they sunk into the herd of the people, and the contempt which they deserve from any man of sobriety and character.

Rigby and Lord G[ower] were in another room in close conference a great while. The negotiation has been carried on, but at present broke off, between the Chancellor and Lord Rock[ingham]. Burke's Bill, they say, is insisted on, that is, a Bill which, while they promise the public to carry into execution, they are determine[d] shall be rendered [as] ineffectual as this they broke off. The Chancellor went yesterday out of town.

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* Peniston Lord Melbourne was returned with George Augustus Selwyn as M.P. for the borough of Ludgershall on 12th Sept. 1780.

The thought of a new Administration is so prevalent with Charles that he would not go to Newmarket. I heard him last night tell his people that he saw no reason, when he was Minister, that he or his assistants in Administration should sit upon the Treasury bench. The merry and the sad, as my Lord Clarendon says, have employment enough, while these actors are dressing themselves up for the play, and rehearsing their parts.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Selwyn, March 18, 82.

George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.

[1782, March 18.]—* . . . so it is said that he is ill. I dined at Brooks's with Hare, Lord Chatham, D. Bolton, John St. John, and Sir H. Featherstone, and am now come home to see the children. George, Mie Mie, and Mrs. Webb are at Pope Joan. When they are gone to bed, I shall dress and go to Devonshire House. The ball is for Lady G. Cavendish; a great supper; the P[rince] of W[ales] and the Princess Royal are to be there; the old and new Ministers. Charles called the card which he had from Lady Hertford, a letter from a poor woman with a large family of small children. But for this new Ministry, they will treat with none but the King himself personally, and preliminaries must be first agreed on. They carry with such a high hand, that I have no idea of the King suffering it. He must be made of very particular materials; but he has indeed reduced himself to a sad dilemma, that is true.

But what a change in Ireland! or how are my eyes opened upon the state of that country by these last advices! What could Lord Shannon have told me? *Je me suis endormi sur le rapport que vous m'en avez fait.* I do assure you that my heart is as *serré* as it is possible, and my mind as much distracted, and my effort to appear to carry this off well is not indifferent. I have as yet not the courage to look this in the face, and to see to what both you and I must be reduced. It could never have happened at a more unfortunate time than now, for us both. But as to your public situation it is fortunate, for no other event could have extricated you so well out of this difficulty. Let your successor, sent by the Opposition, reap the fruits of what they have done.

Lord Gower thinks that I should direct this to the Dean of Derry, fearing it may be opened. Charles asked me last night if you had translated your Bishops. Upon my saying that I knew nothing of it, he insinuated that he, as Minister, *y mettroit ordre;* that is, he said, *Cela est bon à sçavoir*, or what was to that import.

Mr. Cook called upon me today, but I was gone to Lord Gower's; what he had to say, I do not know. I had no questions of State to ask him; God knows I have now little to learn upon that subject. I wish that you were all, George and I, at Castle Howard, rather than in the Castle where you now are.

They talk of the Postmaster's place for Richard,† and Richard was arguing last night for taking away poor John's‡ place; *tout cela m'impatiente, et me remplit d'horreur.* Charles, with all his insolence towards the King, is very good-humoured towards me, so I can converse with him upon pleasanter terms; *nous en sommes là* at present. Everybody but themselves is alarmed at the confusion in which we are likely to be.

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* Beginning lost.

† Col. the Hon. R. Fitzpatrick was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland.

‡ John St. John, Surveyor-General of the Land Revenues, 1775–84. (Haydn.)

I have in these last forty years seen many changes of Administration, but none attended with these circumstances, none which could make me feel before. I have your situation and my own to feel for at the same time.

If the King lives, he is a cipher; if he dies, what is our prospect? Lord Gower said if he had any more intelligence this evening he would send for me, but I have not heard from him. How could he have any if what Charles told me is true? Rigby and the Advocate are said, by their intrigues, and the mismanagement of Lord N[orth] and his master, to have brought all this about, which at Christmas might have been prevented. Lord Waldgrave is better, since his fall, but declining very fast.

Some talk of a new Parliament. It is not probable; if it was, another *embarras* for you, in point of expense. I shall hear more by tomorrow, and shall write every day. You need not be in pain about George, in no respect. I hope that both you and he will live to see this country and yourselves in a more flourishing state. I have given up every thought of satisfaction to myself, but the care of Mie Mie.

Endorsed: March 18.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 19, Tuesday, 11 o'clock, morning.—. . . Gregg dines with me today. He has been ever since Friday last at Saffron Walden, so I have as yet not seen him. I have a great deal to say to him. The seeming impossibility of your staying in Ireland agreeably to your own sentiments, and the inconvenience which returning suddenly will be to your private affairs, gives me at this moment not a little disquietude, and Lord G[ower] cannot help it, by any lights which as yet he has himself.

I saw Charles last night, and by accident was alone with me [him]; he stretched out his hand to me with great good humour. I could have asked him an abundance of questions, and could have reasoned with him a great while. For although in that sphere he has much superiority to me, he has not the faculty of persuading me in the least of what I know to be without reason, and a great part of which he knows to be so himself. However, I did not, for fear of betraying a want of temper which could be of no use, and I asked him no questions, lest he should interpret them ill, and think that I wanted to deprecate his vengeance or solicit his favour. He must be reduced to his former despair before I shall discuss these matters with him pleasantly.

He spoke of all coming to a final issue now within a very short space of time; he talked of the King under the description of Satan, a comparison which he seems fond of, and has used to others; so he is *sans ménagement de paroles.* It is the *bon vainqueur et despotique;* he has adopted all the supremacy he pretended to dread in his Majesty. It seems a dream that I survey his figure, and know his history. His talents are great, but talents alone never operated in this manner.

When he said how few days we had to subsist, I uttered in an humble voice, "Πολλα μεταξυ πεσει"; I have forgot to write my Greek.* To that he said, "You are in the right—that is the only reflection which can be suggested for your comfort, but it is next to an impossibility." He talks of us so much as an Opposition, that even the Wine Surplus, which we call a majority, is forgot, and I wonder he does not in his sleep walk into St. James's with the seals of his new Government in his hand. He told me that he would make me a Baronet, for my vote tomorrow night.

* Some of the letters are doubtful.

The Duke of Dev[onshire] said gravely, "A va price for one vote only!" Charles Turner has seriously insisted upon it.

The Fish told Lord N[orth] the other night, after the Division, that he had only three bottles left of that champagne which he liked so much, and if he would come and dine with him they were at his service. Lord North replied, archly enough, "What! *still*, Mr. Craufurd, may I dine with you?"

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March 19,] Tuesday night, 11 o'clock.—Gregg dined with me, and Storer. I hear a messenger has arrived from you today, and I have been told also, that it was a disappointment to Lord N[orth] that the Bishop of Raphoe is not recommended to the B[ishopric] of Clogher. You know best upon what grounds these expectations were founded. It is reported tonight that a new negotiation is commenced with Lord Rock[ingham's] party, and that they *commencent à filer doux*, but God knows if it be true. By Thursday's post you will know more. . .

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Selwyn, March 19th.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 20, Wednesday morning.—. . . When he [George] was in bed, and Mie Mie was returned from the Opera, I went to White's, where I met with Keene.* He was not contented with telling me a story which could not interest me, but, although the time of putting a letter into the post was elapsed, he would make me sit down to write a letter to you, which he said should be put into Lord Hillsborough's packet. And this was to speak to you upon a subject which I have nothing to do with, and so I told him, and that was, your arrangement about the Bishopric of Clogher. He got, I suppose by his importunity, a promise of it from Lord N[orth], and then from Lord Hillsborough, that is, a recommendation to you in favour of his brother-in-law the Bishop of Raphoe. A messenger, he said, came yesterday, and no notice [was] taken of this recommendation, which he seemed to think was a *péché mortel*, by his countenance, and I was to represent to you this neglect. You know *him*, I believe, and you know *me*. I said that I could only make it a subject in my letter of news, and by way of intelligence; if I said a word more, you would see that I went out of my usual line, which is never to ask you any questions about your business, and that if I did so, you would see immediately that I had been pressed to do so; but if he pleased, I would sit down and write a postscript to my letter which was gone to the post, and this article of news should be inserted. I did so, and read it to him; so now you will know why I talked to you of the Bishopric of Clogher, and the motive which I had for writing my second letter of yesterday. K[eene] is a good-natured, friendly man, but has no idea or tact whatever of propriety in such things, and I dare say, to have acted up to his mind and judgment, I must have wrote a *plaidoyer* in favour of his brother-in-law, Dr. Hawkins, whom I never before heard of. Today is, it may be, the last effort which Lord North will make, so Charles is very busy in whipping in votes. The Fish is greatly out of favour with his friends at Brooks's. . . .

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* Whitshed Keene, a Lord of Trade, 1774, and a Lord of the Admiralty, 8 April 1783. (Haydn.)

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 21, Thursday m[orning].—In the midst of all that multiplicity of distress and confusion in which I am at present, as well as the public, I will not omit to let you know that, excepting the cough, George is very well. . . . . What happened yesterday in the H[ouse] of C[ommons], of which you will by various channels know the particulars, with many more in a few days, must for ever astonish you, if you were not sufficiently apprised of the characters of the persons concerned. I hear that the Duke of Montague at Windsor, the day before, told the King of the impossibility of continuing the Administration.

Lord N[orth], when he went to the King, was told abruptly of these intentions; and then He (*sic*) sent for the principal persons in Administration, and those who had assisted him, and having thanked them, went down to the House to declare this in his place in the manner in which you will, I suppose, see it described in the papers.

The old Ministry is at an end, and of what materials the new one will be composed, the Lord knows. The insolence, the hard heartiness (*sic*), brutality, and stuff, which these people talk, altogether give me the worst apprehensions of what they will do, and I have only to hope that from this, which seems so irreconcilable to reason, decency, or the usual practice of Government, some system will be formed that I shall like better.

As to Lord N[orth], what happens disagreeable to him he merits in greatest degree, and if the King chooses to acquiesce in all this ill treatment of him, I see no reason why I should be offended, or feel more for a man's disgrace than he feels himself. He might have prevented it; he seemed to wish that he could; he now seems not affected by it; but *je courerois risque d'extravaguan*[*ce*] *si je continuois sur le chapitre.*

I stayed at Brooks's this morning till between 2 and 3, and then Charles was giving audiences in every corner of the room, and that idiot Lord D.* telling aloud whom he should turn out, how civil he intended to be [to] the P[rince], and how rude to the K[ing].

Thursday night, 9 o'clock.—George is going on as before, no fever, but a cough. Sir N. T[homas] has forbid his going out as yet. I took him out airing yesterday in the middle of the day for an hour, but today he has had some physic.

Lord Gower and I were a long while together at Whitehall; we both agreed that, *rebus sic stantibus*, it seems impossible that you should stay in Ireland. Hare informs me that they do not mean to remove you. I should wonder if they did, for such an account as I have of the state of Ireland is terrible, and I am sure one cannot wish to send a friend to weather such a storm. The best thing for you would be their sending another in your room, but, if they do not do that, the next is to desire to be recalled, when you know who these Ministers are. You must expect a pause for some time in your political *carrière*, and you must in that interval practice a great economy, which will do you infinite credit, and then, upon a new turn of affairs you will be called with more lustre into a better situation. This was Lord Gower's opinion, and is mine.

Charles assured me, not half an hour ago, that the King had sent for nobody, that all was as much at a stand as before the Creation. Nobody knows what to make of it. But a Ministry must be formed by Monday.

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* *Qu.* the Earl of Derby; *see* p. 608.

It is thought that my nephew* will be Chancellor of the Exchequer and C[harles] Fox the Secretary of State, and of the rest I know nothing, of that nothing like intelligence (*sic*). It is imagined that Lord Rock[ingham] and Lord Shelbourn cannot agree.

The King had no Drawing Room, only the Queen† between him and Lord Robert; Lady Sefton next to Fitzpatrick; the Prince between the D[uchesse]s of Devon[shire] and Cumberland; on the other side of the Duchess of D[evonshire] the Duke of Cumberland.

When I left the House, I left in one room a party of young men, who made me, from their life and spirits, wish for one night to be twenty. There was a table full of them drinking—young Pitt, Lord Euston, Berkley, North, &c., &c., singing and laughing *à gorge deployée;* some of them sang very good catches; one Wilberforce, a M. of P., sang the best.

I shall go at noon (?) to Whitehall, and write again in the evening. I dine at home today, but tomorrow at Lord Ossory's. I would not leave my house when George was here, but Mrs. W[ebb] has a care of him, and attention to him in everything, as much as to Mie Mie. Poor Lady Craufurd wished to go to this Ball. I did not know, or would have contrived it for her. She was at Lady Hertford's, but the Duchess is so (*sic*) at Gloucester House, so that cannot be, upon admissible terms.

Lord Sheilbourn was at Dev[onshire] H[ouse] the whole night, which seems to countenance the report that Lord R[ockingham] and he cannot act together. *Plût à Dieu que la discorde, cette déesse si utile en certaine occasions, voulût bien se mêler de cet arrangement; ce seroit bien à propos.* But there is no agreement among them but which tends to create confusion. Tommy T[ownshend] and his family seemed in high glee. Lady Middleton's daughter danced with my cousin of Westmoreland; *il est tant soit peu gauche, sa danse a fort peu de grace.* The women looked extremely well. Lord George presented to me his bride; she is her father *toute crachée*, but not so handsome. Charles has not bought a good coat yet upon the change in his affairs. I thought that his former calling would have supplied [it ?]. Mrs. Boverie at supper. Many ladies who had not received cards were sure it was a mistake, and sent for them. This was an additional pleasure to those to whom they were sent, for here was a school for scandal as well as for dancing. Lady Warren played at Pharo; the Prince at Macco, and the Duke of Cumberland. John, with a very handsome coat, satin, *couleur de maron*, and an *appliqué* of silver and *des diamans faux*—a coat *d'hazard* sent from Fripier's in the Ruë de Roule. The Duke‡ and I did not receive our cards till five o'clock. It was such a snow and hail and rain when we were coming away as never was seen.

I am glad my dear little boy is in this house now; I am sure that he would run a great risk out of it, just at this time. . . . He is mighty busy in making out his Latin with Littleton's Dictionary, which I have given him. . . . I left Lady Gower and Lady Ann and the Dunmores at the Ball. The Duchess of Bedford has invited me to Bedford H[ouse] to see your letter to her. . . .

Storer carries this off with such seeming spirits as are certainly more becoming than an apparent dejection. But I dread to think to what, I verily believe, that he will be reduced. I utter no complaint, but I feel the danger I am in, and the distress which it may occasion to me, and

* Thomas Townshend.
† A fresh leaf begins here.
‡ Of Queensberry.

still more Lord N[orth's] abominable treatment of me. If I had resented it, as many would have done, I know what might have been said. But I have acted my part well and steadily, and when I have done all which becomes me to do, I shall make up my mind to the event.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March 22,] Friday night, 10 o'clock.—*Et nous n'en sommes plus avancés.* One Ministry out, and no one besides named. Lord Gower was with the King today, but I have not seen him since. At Brooks's, [or] here at White's, not a word to be learned; I suppose that the King is struggling for life. Lord N[orth] is making up pensions, &c., &c., at the Treasury. Charles was not at Brooks's, so it may be is in some council or other, but where I know not. George is well, but still coughs a little; the weather is as wet as possible. McKensie and Jenkinson were today with the King, so that occasions speculation. Gregg has fixed Monday to come to me to talk over your money affairs.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Selwyn.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March 22,] Friday m[orning], 11 o'clock.—George seems very well; his cough is considerably abated, but the weather is so remarkably wet and bad, that Sir N. T[homas] wishes him to stay within.

I was at Devonshire H[ouse] till about 4, and then left most of the company there. All the new supposed Ministers were there except Lord Rock[ingham], who had probably other business, and perhaps with the K[ing]. Rigby assured me that some one was sent [for ?], and if Charles did not know it, he was more out of the secret than he thought that he had been. To be sure, the arrangement is *entamé, la pillule est avalée, et bien des coulœuvres après.* Charles I left there; I believe that he had heard what did not come up to his full satisfaction, so probably a little water is mixed with their wine. We shall know today, for this strange situation of things cannot remain till Monday; *la machine n'est pas construit à pouvoir aller jusques à là.*

I conversed privately a good while with Lord Ashburnham. I have the greatest opinion of his judgment in the conductive part of life. I really believe, if any man ever went through life with consummate discretion, it has been himself, and he has preserved his reputation at the same time, or else I should not give his conduct this *éloge.* He asked me after you in the most obliging and interesting (*sic*) manner, and solicitude about the part you would act, not hinting a doubt of your not performing it well, but with great expressions of esteem. He hoped much that you would take this opportunity, as he said, of leaving Ireland. He said that it would be laying the foundation of a very brilliant situation to you at another time. He is very much in the right. I could not, to be sure, explain all the difficulties in the way of this. There are none, indeed, comparatively speaking.

Hare writes to you; he expresses a tenderness for your interest; *je ne la révoque pas en doute,* but his interests and yours are not the same. These new people will wish you perhaps to stay, and say it is from regard to you. If you believe it you will deceive yourself. If they will send another, so much the better; let their friend stay to govern Ireland when Ireland is what it will be. But if they talk of keeping you there,

wait to see the Ministry established, and then ask for your recall. I hope that you will not reflect a moment with concern upon the straights to which you may be reduced by way of expense. We will do all we can to arrange this matter, but honour and figure, as you know, cannot be added, or taken from you, by expense. That is not the scale in which the respect which all the world owes and is ready to pay you and Lady C[arlisle] will be weighed. If you came from Holyhead in the stage waggon, it would only be more reputable to you. There was a strong instance of that in the story of this Duke of Newcastle's father. Lord Gower tells me that Lord Rock[ingham] is personally not attached to you from provincial reasons. I never adverted to that consideration.

The K[ing] had a most narrow escape hunting on Tuesday. His horse ran away with him; he was thrown on a gate; he seems to be marked out for a people (*sic*) to be distressed and disgraced in every way possible. Burke was last night in high spirits. I told him that I hope, now they had forced our entrenchments and broke loose, that he and his friends would be compassionate lions, tender-hearted hyænas, generous wolves. You remember that speech of his; he was much diverted with the application. Our fête was very brilliant indeed, and well conducted; there was a supper for at least 300 people; eight rooms where there were tables. The Prince *l'astre de la nuit, couvert de faux brilliant* (sic); *c'est un beau cavalier.* The Duchess of Cumberland was there, but not the Princess Royale. It was proposed, as is said, that the Duke of Gloucester should be Commander in Chief.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March] 23, Saturday night.—George goes on well, but Sir N. T[homas] will not let him go out. The weather is worse than it has been at any time this winter. Leveson has been all this evening at my house to play with him.

Nothing as yet arranged, and we meet on Monday. It is imagined that we must then adjourn till Friday; about that there will be a bustle. Lord Gower was sent for yesterday morning by the King, and was with him a great while. I was this morning at Whitehall. The Chanc[ello]r was there. Gregg showed Lord G[ower] your accounts; they are better than he expected. Charles expressed to me last night more than once an anxiety lest you should be in Opposition, and asked me if the Master of the Horse would please. I could give him no answer to that, but that it depended upon circumstances. He said Lord Cadogan's place would do for Lord Foley. That this Revolution which he brought about was the greatest for England that ever was; that excepting in the mere person of a King, it was a complete change of the Constitution; and an era ever glorious to England, and a great deal of such rhapsody. Richard insolent to a degree.

I was a good while today with Lord G[ower]; still of opinion that your return here would be the most favourable event that could happen to you. Ossory hinted to me this afternoon that the King would see Lord Rock[ingham] tonight. Hanger assures me that Charles is better disposed to me than to anybody, but that I have enemies who surround him; so there is one friend in a corner.

On Monday I expect some envious dissertations in the H[ouse] of C[ommons] on the nature of the new Government. The Duke of Gloucester won't be Comm[ande]r in Chief for two reasons; one is, that the Duchess can be admitted at Court; and the second is that Lord Rock[ingham] will not permit it. It is meant to take the Army

out of the K[ing's] hands, and that would be putting it into them. I have no more for tonight. My love and respects to your fire-side. I shall see Caroline again with great pleasure indeed, and the little boy.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Selwyn, March 23rd.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord Carlisle.

1782, March 25, Albemarle Street.—Eustace carries over to you the whole of the correspondence between Sir H. C. [Clinton] and myself from the time of my marching into Virginia, without any note or comment. I do not expect that your Lordship will soon have leisure to read it, but when your Parliament is prorogued, if you should have no war in Ireland, perhaps you may find time to look into it. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March 25?] Monday night.—I send you a list of the promotions today. We have adjourned over to Wednesday. No debate in the House of Commons. Dunning announced the arrangement, and that was all. He and Lee are said to be Attorney and Solicitor. Gregg and Ekin[s] dined with me. George is going on very well. The weather will soon mend, and he shall, if they judge it to be safe, return to school.

My spirits have been lower today than ever. I have not temper enough to see persons whom I know to have acted the parts which the present Ministers have done, in the situations in which I now see them. It was not till today at noon that this was [known?]. I was with Lord North yesterday an hour, by accident, for very few could get admittance to him. He confirmed to me the opinion which I have delivered to you already from myself and others, that nothing could in some respects be more fortunate for you than the opportunity of retreating from Ireland.

Forty people are writing at different tables at this house, Brooks's. I will write to you again tomorrow.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Selwyn, Monday, March 26th.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 26, Tuesday morning.—I have no more to say of George than that he appears to me so well that I should *myself* have little fear in carrying him back to school, but the weather makes it to be feared what may happen from it, and while others think so, I must. I sent you last night the list of changes; all the papers will convey them to you today, that is, those which are already made. The others of an inferior kind will be the news of each day, and one week will not be sufficient to make them, so general is their vengeance, and impatience to get into lucrative places.

I have, in my own mind, resigned my own, but I have said nothing about it, but to my own private friends. It is a comfort to me to unburden my mind to them. I can make it up to anything, but to the infinite insolence with which all this is accompanied. Commiseration for you and the Duke of Queensberry is worse to my feelings than the greatest injustice which can be done to myself.

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* March 25th was Monday in 1782.

I am sorry for the miserable situation to which his Majesty has reduced himself, but I shall never be of opinion but that he needed not have delivered himself bound, as he has done, into the hands of people who had so long professed to treat him with indignity and contempt. But if no consideration for himself had prevailed, he might, in my opinion, have taken some more care that the virtues of his friends might pass unpunished.

They now talk of the Garters, but to whom they will be given I know not.

It was said last night that the Duke of Rutland and the Marquis of Carm[arthen] were competitors for your place. If I could see you here, and as I certainly should, meeting all this with the manliness with which you conducted yourself on all other occasions, and will I am sure upon this, I should feel more comfortable than I do, but at present I am quite oppressed. I have more reason to complain of those I was connected with than those to whom I am to be delivered up. There is no degree of *supercherie* which has not been used towards me by that rascal Robinson. Lord North pretends to be concerned at it, but it is too late.

There is much solicitation for saving particular people, but I do not know with what success. Lord Ash[burnham] does not lose only his near prospect of a Garter, but I am told he will lose his place in the Bedchamber also. Success, which mollifies others, seems to have made these only more arrogant, and the Earl of D.* was last night as treasonable in his discourse as ever. It is not the power of the Crown only which is to be *anéanti*. Lord North has his Cinque Ports made up 4,000*l*. a year. This gives them cause of much complaint. It is even supposed that the best wrestler of them all at Court will fall a sacrifice to this revolution, and that Lord Hertford will lose his place among the rest. I should not believe it, but what has happened was so out of my calculation that I can be incredulous in nothing. Accidents, and abilities to improve them, will raise people from the lowest to the highest condition, let their private character be what it may.

† The Treasury is settled: Lord Althrope, Mr. Greenville, *i.e.*, James, and Fr. Montague. The Admiralty is filled up also, but I have not their names to send you. The Board of Trade has received its death wound by Burke's Bill, so those who compose it need not be put to an immature death. News is come today of the loss of St. Christopher, Nevis, &c.; Barbados, Jamaica, and Antigua, I suppose, go next.

I have counted upon the loss of 3,000*l*. a year of my income, supposing myself defrauded by Mr. Gore in Ireland of my annuity. There is an Act of Parliament on foot in Ireland for the sale of his estate; what therefore will become of my arrears or annuity the Lord knows.

This misfortune and *revers* in so late a period of my life requires some degree of philosophy to support. *On se fait à tout*, it is said; I pray God that I may make up my mind to this distress. It has happened at the most unfortunate period at which it could have happened. But the calamity in Lord Courtenay's family is still greater. The death of Lady C[ourtenay] is an irreparable loss to I do not know how many daughters which she has left behind her; she was, I am told, the most valuable parent that ever was.

Charles was very ill last night, but is better today. Tomorrow these new people kiss hands. I still think, if I had been in the place

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* *Qu.* Derby.

† Here begins a fresh sheet, endorsed with the same date as the preceding.

of a great personage, that I would have risked my whole situation rather than have submitted to all this. But I am afraid that he neither feels for himself or for anybody else.

Today they tell me that it is not intended that you should be sent for from Ireland. If that be the case, it is a further confirmation to me of the troublesome and dangerous situation of that country. You will judge best what you are to do. I have not seen Lord Gower for some days.

I have not spirits to talk upon this subject any more, or courage to investigate what is likely to be either your situation or my own. Their mercy is as formidable to me as their persecution. My friend Williams looks secure, but I cannot think that he will keep his place; it [is] 2,500*l.* a year, as I am informed. But he may have got something comfortable that I know nothing of.

Lord North has been employed for many days in clearing the office. I hope before you leave yours that some occasion will happen to serve poor Warner. I saw Mr. Cook today. If you come, I do not conceive it can be till June. Keene talks of going to live in Ireland, as I hear.

Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: Selwyn, March 26.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March 27,] Wednesday night, 10 o'clock, at home.—The Cabinet Council kissed hands today, and Dunning with the rest. He is Chancellor [of the] Duchy of Lancaster and a peer. At this I was surprised. Ashburn[h]am is kept, and all the Bedchamber. Lord Hertford is delivered up at discretion; either he or his son Isaac must be sacrificed. But his Lordship has not been thought the father of the faithful, or so himself. Their trimming has released his M[ajesty] from any obligations to protect them.

The Duke brings me word from Court that I am safe, but how I do not comprehend. To take away my place, which is to be annihilated in two months by Burke's Bill, [is absurd], and a pension I would not receive, but as an appendix to a place or as a part of it. But the D[uke], whose friendship for me is very *vif*, on some occasions, has fished out this for me. I could not go to Court, my temper would not permit. I could have seen my R[oyal] master on the scaffold with less pain than insulted as he has been today. I am going out to hear all that passed, and how he bore it. From my parlour window I saw Mr. Secretary Fox step into his chariot from his office, and Lord Shelbour[n]e and Dunning from the other office. The Levee was not over till near five, that is, the audiences, a most numerous Court—souls to be saved, and souls not to be saved.

Warner dined here, and Storer. Mie Mie went to her Academy, so I stayed at home to keep George company. He was upon the dining table hearing Warner, Storer, and I [me] talking over this political history, with an attention and curiosity which would have charmed you, as well as the questions he asked. He looked like a little Jesu in a picture of Annibal Carraci's listening to the Doctors. He has been reading today speeches in Livy, with the French translation. We gave him sentences this evening to construe. It was wonderful how well he did them. The weather grows fine, and I shall desire leave to carry him back till the 25th of next month, for he is very well; the cough which [he] has is trifling. He has no heat; he looks delightfully.

I was with Lord Gower this morning. The Chanc[ello]r dined there today. I talked with Lord G[ower] about you; he has explained your

situation, and I suppose has told you that arrangements will be made here to your satisfaction. I see some comfort in all this. *Nous reculerons pour mieux sauter.* Your return will mortify some of the Opposition, who hope to keep you a year in Ireland out of charity, to insult you, and for their convenience. Lord Carm[arthen] solicits this with *chaleur* and impatience. I believe there is in this *tant soit peu de malice, et pour se venger,* for he will have your Lieutenancy in the County too. He has lost himself with me entirely. A thousand traits of him have crowded upon me, which a little partiality to him had obscured.

I was asked to dine at Derby's today with the new Ministers; I could not accept it. Prudence forbid[s] that, as well as want of temper. What I said or did not say would have been ill interpreted, so I refused.

Charles has taken a house in Pall Mall. Sheridan is his secretary. What becomes of Hare and Richard I know not. Richard has provoked me beyond measure by his insolence and unfeelingness about everybody and everything. The Garters are for the Duke of Portland, D[uke of] Devonshire, Duke of Richmond, and one of the Princes.

My nephew, Secretary at War, and Burke, Paymaster. This was what he hoped for, I mean Tommy. The C[hancellorship] of the Exchequer not determined upon it [yet ?]. Lord John Cav[endish] balances about it. Young Burke, Secretary of the Treasury. Another ball at Devonshire House. I long to see you, Lady Carlisle, and the children. This is the only balm in all this infernal business. But *vous avez un beau rôle à jouer,* but you must have patience for the present and, as George says, wait the event. This is *à plusieurs facettes.* I will now go to White's for more intelligence, and write more if I can, but it is half-hour after ten.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 27 [28], Thursday morning, at home.—I went to Brooks's last night, as soon as I had left this house, and my first salute was from the Marquis [of Carmarthen*], who said that he had a great delicacy in writing to you on the subject of the Lieutenancy, in which he is reinstated. After all his professions of respect to you he begged of me, if I had no repugnance to it, to take that office upon myself, which I promised him to do. He was sworn in yesterday at Council, as I understood. He told me that he had sat often with Mr. Fox at a green table, but never before at one covered with green velvet.

Lord North was at White's, and Rigby. Rigby rallied Lord Cov[entry] in his usual style, which is the same, winning or losing; and Lord N[orth] had around [him] a small court of his nearest adherents; but it was visible in the countenance of both of them, that this revolution was ———.† Be it what it may, they have as much pity from me, as from others, that is, as much as their behaviour has entitled them to. That scoundrel Robinson has a pension of a 1,000*l.*

The late Charles, now Mr. Fox (for I think that the other name has begun to sound obsolete already even at Brooks's,) was there, and as much the Minister in all his deportment, as if he had been in office 40 years. I had no conversation with him, or probably shall the rest of my life; I may in point of discretion be more silent upon his subject than I have used to be, but I cannot unsay, unthink, or repent of any

* He became Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding 27th March 1782. † Omission.

one charge which I ever brought against him. *For the present*, what I have to transact with Government, passes through other hands, but whether I shall ever have one word more to say or exchange with a Ministerial man, I do not know. Mr. T[ownshend?] told the D[uke] yesterday that no hostility was intended towards me, but *nous verrons*. If any favour is shown to me, it must come to me in a becoming manner, or I shall not accept it. In the mean time I have and shall carefully avoid either provoking or courting them.

I am very anxious to know what you intend to do, or what will be your situation. I think of it with a grief of heart which you must give me credit for, for no words can express it. I feel for my neighbour more than I believe that he deserves, and for myself, as it is very natural to do. The juncture of time, the abominable treatment which I have received from the late Ministry, and the little expectation of any favour from the present, hold out to me a most melancholy prospect. If I have that only, of being useful to you, it would be a balm to all the rest.

Storer and I, when Warner was gone, gave a loose (*sic*) to all we felt and thought upon what concerned you or ourselves. Poor Warner! I am afraid that what hopes he had must now be entertained no longer. But he is very cheerful, and declares, with great generosity of mind and justice to you, that he shall not complain of his lot; he is persuaded, that if you could help him, you would, and that there are disappointments which a man must reconcile himself to.

I do not yet hear what will be Hare or Richard's* reward for their attachment to Charles and to his principles. Lord Robert† does not choose a place which will oblige him to go to Court, so will not take the Treasurer's staff. The Duke of Marlborough's name is never named on this occasion. I should feel and behave towards my brother very differently than perhaps he does. He and Hare held the bank last night, but the Secretary's‡ name is ordered to be left out of that commission, so *ostensibly* he has no more to do with it. But sooner or later it may be his best guide. Notwithstanding what has happened, I will wait, if I can, to the conclusion of Charles's life before I pronounce my judgment upon the felicity of it. He flourished in the 18th century, that is certain.

The King was civil, both to him and to the Duke of R[ichmond], and held the latter a good while in discourse. Lord Townshend takes very ill his dismission, and Lord Clarendon knew nothing of his till after Lord Ashburton had kissed hands for his place. Poor Bory, as Mitchel tells me, is in great pain about his place. You will have your dog, Bob, back again, and your son in perfect health, and he will, I hope, be no more for many years at a distance from you.

I beg to know, as soon as you can, what is determined by yourself, what there is for me to do, when you think that you shall come away, and if you would have me go any part of the way to meet you. If you do not bring the children to London, I must go where I can see them. Good God, what a situation we are in! it seems to me and to all the world a dream.

Lady G[ower] held a language to me yesterday which I suppose is to be that of that house, and we are, therefore, to be satisfied with this revolution in some respects. But I shall never depart from my opinion, either of the measures or of the men who contrived them. I find that

* Fitzpatrick became Chief Secretary for Ireland.
† Spencer, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, 24th May 1782.
‡ Charles James Fox, Secretary of State.

we are to say that the King will be better used than ever, and that upon the whole he is satisfied with what has happened.

Thursday night.—It was settled this morning that the Duke of Portland should be Chamberlain; he declines it, and it is said that he goes to Ireland, and that the Duke of Manchester *may be* Chamberlain. Lord Carm[arthen] solicited the Lieutenancy of Ireland the most, and it being refused, he would have it believed, I suppose, that he does not choose it. Lord Hertford and Lord Beauchamp are both to be annihilated, and poor Keene with them. Lord Hertford cries out bitterly, "Put not your trust in princes." More have been put to the sword in the storming this town than was ever known. I believe that I have not one advocate at Brooks's, and most of them very inveterate, as Boothby tells me. My great offence is, not only the not having sacrificed to Charles all my political opinions, but having abused him on your account, some years ago, in which offence you have your share; this, Boothby assures me, is the case, and I believe it.

The King will have no more personal friends, as Lord H[ertfor]d says; there will be no opposition to that in this new Government; what a cipher his Majesty will be, you may guess. Charles does not, as I hear, stand for Westminster; parochial and ministerial duties clash too much; so Burke will be for Westminster, and the other for Calne.

I have not heard of what particulars passed at the Queen's Drawing Room today. Some tell me that the King looks ill, others that he is perfectly satisfied with his present situation. If he is, he may thank himself for having what he likes. Richard is talked of to succeed Lord Hinchinbroke, who has resigned. I was asked to dine tomorrow at the Duke of North[umberlan]d['s]; he tells me that we are completely undone. It is very credible, from what appears. I wish that you would leave Ireland to undo itself. I'm very impatient to hear from you.

Isaac Corry to the Rt. Hon. W. E[den].

1782, March 29, London.—I did not arrive in London till last night, or you should certainly have had an account of the various arrangements talked of in this hour of revolution, notwithstanding I am convinced that you must have them all more authentic from other quarters. I'm afraid it's now very old to tell you of Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox, Secretaries of State; Mr. Burke, Paymaster, with only four thousand a year; Lord Rockingham, First Lord of the Treasury; Barré, Secretary at War; General Conway, Commander-in-Chief; Dunning, Lord Ashburton, with reversion of the Seals; Norton, Lord Grantly; Adl. Keppel, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Howe, to command the Fleet; Duke of Richmond and Lord Shelburne, blue ribbons; I need not mention Lord Gower's name; Richard Sheridan,* Under Secretary to Mr. Fox. All the present people in the offices to go out; and Lord North is said to have had a refusal of his request to the King for a pension to Mr. Robinson, Mr. Bromell, and Sir Grey Cooper. It's reported that Lord Hillsborough and Lord Stormont have had a violent difference, but I know nothing of it as a fact. Lord Jersey to have the Stag-hounds in the room of Lord Bateman; all the last year's Lord Lieutenants of counties to be superseded; in short, one entire and universal removal of all those attached to the late Ministry. They would (the present Ministry) treat upon no other terms, and only on

* Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. (Haydn.)

conditions of coming in all together. The Duke of Rutland is said to desire a blue ribbon, and the Duke of Devonshire is also spoken of slightly for one. Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Althorp, to the Board of Admiralty; the Board of Trade and Green Cloth to be abolished; and further, to give you what nearly concerns yourself, his Excellency and you to be recalled; the Duke of Portland talked of to succeed; Sir W. How, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland; Lord Scarborough and Lord Grantly, Vice Treasurers of Ireland in the room of Lord Nugent and Mr. Hamilton. I know nothing of Irish bills yet.

I give you all the above as only probable, for I believe many of them are not by any means yet settled. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March ?] 29, Friday night, 11 o'clock, White's.—I have received five† letters this evening, but by the date of this you will see that I must defer my answer till tomorrow. George is extremely well. Lord Jersey has Bateman's Hounds. I shall know more tomorrow from Whitehall. I was there today for some time. This will end well and honourably for you; *en attendant, soyez tranquille.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] March 29 [30 ?], Saturday m[orning], 8 o'clock.—I could not write last night but a few lines, but if I could, many pages would not have been sufficient, or any force of language which I possess strong enough to express all I feel from reading your letter of the 22nd instant. Although my friendship, and tenderness for what concerns you, may not be greater than that of * * (*sic*), my judgment has on this occasion been, as I perceive, more corresponding with your sentiments, which I have spoke from the dictates of that pride which I can adopt on your account, but would be presumptuous on my own. I hope, in avoiding one inconvenience, that I have not fallen into another, but if I have, the mistake can be easier corrected if necessary.

When Charles has expressed to me, as he did more than once, an anxiety about your conduct, and an uneasiness lest it should be in opposition to his own, I contented myself with saying, that it was impossible for me to know what you would do, but I was in no pain about it; that if he could, as I had heard him say that he could in very strong terms, answer for your ready judgment on all occasions, so I would answer for your honour, which two things made me sure that you would always act as became you, and that, therefore, I was in no pain upon that head; that whatever might happen disagreeable to you, or to me, we were both prepared for it. And when I have expressed a curiosity concerning the disposal of offices in general, I have been sometimes taken up *shortly, impertinently,* and *dirtily* by that jackanapes Lord D., and he has said, "Your friend will not stay in Ireland."

I have then only answered, "My Lord, my wishes are that he *may not,* and it is most probable that he *will not,* desire it; but you are quite mistaken if you suppose that in these arrangements I have any anxiety or curiosity about him." All that is an object of my love and esteem

† Or four ?

is quite independent of other people's resolutions; and as for what regards myself, I am not indifferent, I own, and I shall wish to know how I may be treated by those to whose power I am delivered up, but I have never asked one question concerning it. I shall provoke no man's anger unnecessarily; it is my only solicitude to let people see that if they oblige me by good treatment, they oblige one whom they do not despise, and who has acted in all circumstances like a gentleman.

I have, I find, from what I have been told by the Party, the credit of having behaved better and calmer on this occasion than many of my fellow convicts. What I have felt I have felt like a man, and that I have not attempted to deprecate by pretending that I thought myself to blame.

But, my dear Lord, this has been merely exterior, for at home and alone I have been greatly depressed, both on your account and on that of others. I have felt for the honour and credit, and sufferings, of a person to whom I can only be attached by principle. For the sentiment of personal affection does not arise for objects of such inequality. I do not know how to account for it, but I have had, and still have, such a share of *that*, as would make one think that with the air of France and with the language of the country I had imbibed all the prejudices of their education. My thoughts about your distress, and of those dear children, which seem to belong as much to me as to you and Lady C[arlisle], have really affected me at times in a manner which would have exposed me anywhere out of my own room, and to anybody else but to Dr. Ekins, who knows how naturally, and justly, I feel for you.

I have in the last place been touched, as I must be, with the great difference of my own circumstances, such as they were and might have been, and such as they would be if all this impending mischief had its full effect. The loss of three thousand pounds a year, coming after debts created by imprudence, and which might otherwise have been soon liquidated, is a blow which I confess that I was not prepared for, and if I could not feel it for myself, I must have felt it for you. Born for your use, as Zanga says, I live but to oblige you, and so soon as I become unprofitable to you, I shall feel then the most sensibly, how imprudently I have acted, and how unjustly I have been dealt with. I have, as I have told you before, not had yet the courage to look upon that ledger, where I saw once so fair an account, and where I must now make myself so many rasures. *Stabant tercentum nitidi in præsepibus altis.* I must now see myself reduced in comparison to a narrow or at least a circumscribed plan, and without a possibility of assisting one object of my affection without hurting another.

However, gloomy as the prospect has been, it may clear up, and I could, if it was right, encourage hopes and anticipate a perspective that is not unpleasing to me.

I shall see Lord G[ower] today, who will tell me more particularly how things have been settled since yesterday, when I was with him. It is an idea of my own that he has contrived an arrangement for you, which, while it relieves your distress, saves, I hope, your honour. I have myself as much dreaded as you could do, your being thought of as an object of mercy, and I trust that so near a relation will dread that for you, as well as myself, and that if he secures you from injustice that he will secure your credit at the same time. I have my eyes opened now upon the intrigues of a Court more than they were in all the former part of my life, and of all people I believe that I shall be the last for the future who will be the dupe of Ministers.

The new Government, for it is more that than merely a new Administration, has given me quite a new system for my own conduct. If they have by violence &c. got into places from whence I would have excluded them, if now they should behave rightly in them, and the country becomes better and safer for their conduct, it would be folly not to assist them. But I am, above all things, desirous that both your assistance and my own, such as it is, should be more wished for by them than their assistance wished for by us.

I think that you stand clear of all which can humiliate you at present. No one's conduct in every circumstance, so far as regards your administration in Ireland, can be more universally commended. You do not desert, but retire, when those who are at the helm, if they have confidence in your understanding and honour, mistrust your inclinations towards themselves, and you leave to their friends and dependants a business from which no honour can be derived.

You are not driven from your post, because they will have recalled a man manifestly more willing to leave it, than they to profit of the resignation. They would have kept you perhaps for their own sakes, although they would do nothing for yours, and they would have made you a tool, but cannot as they know make you a friend but by behaving well towards [you] and towards their country.

Your private circumstances, if known to be embarrassed, are known at the same time not to embarrass you. Your chop and your pewter plate will reproach others sooner than they can reflect disgrace upon yourself. The *audax paupertas*, however, *is not* necessary, but great economy *is*. I myself will give you an example of it, and contribute every atom in my power to ease your mind from what will most sensibly and naturally affect it. What interest in Parliament is left me shall be yours, and if my little bark, sailing in attendance upon yours, is able to assist you, I shall be happier in that circumstance than from any which I could otherwise have derived from it.

But we may perhaps all act in concord for the present. I am told, I do not [know] how true, that no hostilities are intended towards me; *nous verrons*. I can never be used by any set of Ministers so ill, or with such indignity, as by those who are removed. . . .* said last night that the executions were now near[ly] over. I will open my mind to you. I think both his and Richard's language in all this transaction has been to the last degree indecent, and I am sure, unless these two are better advised, they will do their chief more disservice than any ill-conduct of his own. When people of low birth have by great good luck and a fortunate concurrence of events been able to obtain, from lively parts only, without any acquisitions which can be useful to the public, such situations as are due only to persons of rank, weight, and character, it is surely an easy task *not to be* insolent. It is all I require of them; I envy no man his good fortune, ever so undeserved, while he shows no disposition to offend others. But with all this I have not been provoked enough to express my resentment, or mean enough to deprecate that of others.

I was last night at supper with Charles, but not one syllable passed between us. He knows that I see him in a situation where I cannot wish to see anyone who has aspired to it and obtained it by the means which he has used. No one admires more or thinks more justly of his abilities than I do; no one could have loved him more, if he had deserved it; what his behaviour has been to the public, to his friends, and to his family is notorious. Facts are too stubborn, and to those I

* Some name struck out—it seems to be "Hare."

appeal, and not to the testimonies of ignorant and profligate people. However, if hereafter you can reconcile yourself to him and to his behaviour towards you, I will forgive him, and although I desire to lay myself under no obligation to him, I will remember only that he is the child of those whom I loved, without interest or any return.

George wonders to see me write so much to you; he is so well that I will carry him to school on Monday, without consulting any person. . . . He has read more Latin *to me* than I have *to him*, for my breath has been affected by the cold, or I should have read more with him; but he has hammered out his Latin with the dictionary and what assistance I can give him, and construes it wonderfully well. He will be at school till the 25th of next month, and then I propose exercise abroad, and the Modern History of Europe at home, and French; for to speak the truth he is defective in the pronunciation of that, for want of practice. The Theodore's coming here obliges me to have my nieces dine here, to see her. I'm afraid people will come to see Mie Mie dance *par billets*.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March 30 ?] 10 o'clock at night.—I saw Lord Gower in the morning, who confirmed my imagination, that something was intended for you; he would make me believe it, and has not said so; but before I went to dinner I have been assured both from Lord Ash[burnha]m and the Duke of Q[ueensberry] that you are to have the Lord Steward's Staff,* but the Duke of Port[lan]d desires to demur about his choice of† (*sic*) about the L[ieutenancy] of Ireland till Wednesday next. If he goes, then I suppose this will be offered to you; if not, that of Lord Chamberlain. I am too much in the dark to say more, either about the fact, or what will be acceptable to you.

Lord G[ower] goes to Trentham tomorrow, but has left this, he says, in good hands. I confide in his having a proper jealousy of your honour, as well as a concern for your interest. I wish some better head than my own would say, what I ought myself to wish, to refuse, or pursue.‡ I have my political lesson to learn—feelings are not certain guides, ill humour warps them, and makes them sometimes unreasonably peevish and delicate. Ekins and Storer have been here this evening. Storer was with me and alone for a great while; I was careful to conceal what you have said, but delivered sentiments of yours for my own. He loves and honours you extremely; he is delicate about you beyond measure, but how good his judgment may be I protest I know not.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, March ?].—§Nine mails you say arrived at one and the same time; with them what a quantity there must have been of my letters! All the matter of them which concerned your son I expected you to read, and not much more. If you have, I hope that they have been

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* Lord Carlisle was appointed Lord Steward of the Household 4 May 1782. (Haydn.)

† Apparently Selwyn at first intended to write "employment" here, so the words "about his choice of" are superfluous.

‡ "Persuee" in MS.

§ The second or third leaf of a letter.

now long since committed with all others to the flames. I write upon too many things which do not concern me, and of which I have but an imperfect knowledge. I open myself, both upon persons and things, too freely, and therefore what my letters contain are [is] fit for no one's inspection but your own, and I would not have submitted them even to yours, but because I know that I can safely place the greatest confidence in you, and that perhaps at some moment or other my intelligence, such as it is, may amuse you. You have led me to think so, by what you said to Ekins, about the colour of a hired horse. *Je m'imagine que les détails que je mande ne sont guère moins intéressans qu'une anecdote pareille.*

The story of the Duke of ——— is supposed to have become as much the subject of conversation in Ireland as here, but I should be sorry to have it known that I contributed to the publication of it. It is one which for his Grace's sake had better never have existed. He merits the disgrace, I must confess, more than any mortal ever did, from his unprovoked malignity to others, and from his indecent behaviour to our R[oyal] master. I have seen all the papers concerning this, besides the original letter, and what no one should have seen, an *unqualified acquiescence* in what that young Lord dictated, and which he declares that he does not *solicit* but *require*. Lord H.* gave his Grace the fairest opportunity of avoiding this, which was possible, but his pride and his malignity together prevented him from seeing the precipice till he fell from it. I dined with Lord H. last Saturday at Lord Buckingham's, and a very agreeable dinner I had.

Reports gave us a fair prospect of receiving good news, and surely of great importance, from the W[est] Indias. Those already received from the East are good and authentic. Charles has been so gracious as to tell his faithful Commons, that he will govern them without proscriptions. Barbadoes may not be in the hands of the French, so I may lose nothing and Cordelia may be still a Queen.

My old friend,† when there was a coalition between him and the Duke of Newcastle, sent out circular letters to notify that the King had given him the conduct of the H[ouse] of C[ommons]. If his son is to be presented with any conduct by his Majesty, it is to be hoped that it will not be his own, and that things may go well. But such management of all sides! John must have been, as you suppose, at the bottom of this. I really believe, if Providence had a mind to create the world anew, John would be appointed to begin with composing a chaos, and take the plan of it from his own mind. But poor John, I really have pitied him. I believe that he has felt a kind of *terramoto* (*sic*), and it has affected his spirits; it has been visible to everybody.

I for my part have had, at least, *bonne mine à ce mauvais jeu*, so I have been no object as yet of their compassion, or indeed ever shall. My confidence is in the K[ing's] justice and power; if he preserves the one, I shall have the full benefit of the other. I may lose my place, but before I do his Majesty must lose a much greater.

[Lord Carlisle to ————.]

[1782, March ?]—I have received your letter, and confess with an aching heart that I am under the greatest difficulty of reconciling the warm expressions of friendship it contains with the unnecessary and unprovoked affronts I have met with from the Cabinet of which you

* *Qu.* St., *i.e.*, Stormont. † Henry Fox, Lord Holland.

are member. I am given to understand that it was not the intention of his M. Ministers to mark me out for particular vengeance, but on the contrary to render my retreat from this situation both honourable and creditable. [*A few doubtful words interlined.*] I think by [y]our general offers of ministerial assistan[ce] you convey also this sentiment. Would it not have been more consistent, had any accommodation been in serious contemplation, to have made my resignation or removal, if you like the word better, of the E. R.* part of that amicable arrangement? Lord C.† has a certain claim that I should not in any situation have disputed with. What occasion was there for the rudeness and violence of that measure? Whom did it gratify, or what possible end of government could it answer? If, therefore, you[r] regard for me was not sufficiently awakened(?) between me and this absurd as well as injurious treatment, I own I should almost doubt its activity(?) and vigilance, were I disposed to entreat a new exertion of it.

I believe your Administration likely to be very permanent; I know of no power likely to disturb you. More temper and more civility will certainly [not?] render at [it?] less stable. A man of sense feels no resentment at being dismissed from an office under such circumstances as the present, but there are decent forms to be observed between gentlemen, and it is a great violat[ion] of common decency that the Gazette should precede many days all official notification of dismission. This was my case. The situat[ion] which I fill, independent of the mockery(?) of personal regard, demanded a different conduct.

Draft, in the 5th Earl of Carlisle's hand.

[Lord Carlisle to ——.]

[1782, March?]—I am to thank you for two very kind letters, and have no apology to offer for not answering them immediately, excepting the unwillingness I felt to enter upon the subject to which they relate before I saw my way, [and] before I had time to collect the information necessary to form a judgment upon my own situation, and of the conduct that had been observed towards me.

I shall begin by premising that the moment I foresaw a change in Adm., I did not entertain a thought of keeping the L[ieutenancy] of the East R[iding], because, with much more favourable intention towards [me] than I could be any way entitled to from the present Ministers, such a restitution was not to be refused to the former possessor; and you will also observe that as my resignation preceded in date the D. of P.'s‡ acceptance of this Govt., I had not the madness to wish to continue in a situation hazardous and indeed impracticable without the confidence and warm support of the B. Ministry. These are sentiments which I am sure you gave me credit for the first (?) moment your attention was directed towards me. Now suffer me to state the treatment that I have met with. From different quarters I am given to understand that no hostility is particularly intended against me, but on the contrary my retreat, so far from being to be marked with any personal indignity, is to be softened by some expedient (?) honourable in the sight of the wor[l]d, and acceptable to my feelings. Consistent with this I am dismissed from an honorary office§ among the first expulsions,

* The Lord Lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire.
† Carmarthen.
‡ The Duke of Portland.
§ The Lord Lieutenancy of the East Riding; *see* April 5.

and I receive the authentic account of my dismission by the Gazette, several days before I am honoured with any official notification whatever. Would the suspend[ing] this measure for a few days, and the endeavouring to have made it a part of an accommod[ation], if any accommodat[ion] was admissible, been a very violent effort of that friendship, of which if there should be any abatement, you say the fault will lay entirely at my door? But perhaps I may be told Charles* was not answerable for this measure, and had not the power of giving it a different direction. Supposing what thus would make him a cypher in the Cabinet, unable to carry a point of such a nature, merely whether an unnecessary insult should be offered to a man whom he call[s] his friend, and that he is overruled by those who insist that the affront shall be offered—what am I to think of that friendship which gravely proposes to accept mark[s] of favour from men who insult me first in the manner I have described, and then add to that insult by proffers of ministerial assistance. But all this was owing to hurry and confusion! Without the mo[c]kery of personal regard, let me ask you, if the situation itself ought not to [be] regarded with a little more attent[ion], for prudential motives, than that of a commissioner of stamps or that of the surveyor of the Board of Works.

Draft in the 5th Earl's hand.

William E[den] to ————.

[1782, March?] 11 o'clock, Monday, Holyhead.—Here we are after a passage of eleven hours, during ten of which I was the most miserable wretch not upon earth, and groaned worse than any lying-in lady. Mrs. Eden had qualms too, but when we came to our anchorage, and I was able to open a pair of aching eyes, I saw her dancing round the table at sight of the poor old Island.

I do not believe that we shall go farther than Conway tonight; I will send the messenger forwards, and will endeavour to be in London about Thursday noon.

It is impossible to think of going back, though I have left four children in pawn.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1782, April?] Friday morning.—I write this whilst I am waiting to see Lord Rockinghame, and immediately after I leave his Lordship, Mr. Cook will proceed to Ireland. I have had very full conversations with Lord Shelburne, Foxe, and Burke; I have found the last very kind and very friendly. My letter to Lord Shelburne, of which Mr. Cook carries a copy, will explain to your Ldp. the import of what passed with the other two.

I have seen Lord Rockinghame, who says that he will have a meeting tonight, and will let me know the result tomorrow.

He intimated to me that this precipitate measure had been contrary to his sentiments and wishes, but that it had been intimated (I believe by the Chancellor or Lord Gower) that your Lordship meant to come away instantly. This is very odd. He seemed to doubt whether it would not end in entreaties to us to stay and to finish matters regularly, with due attention to friends, &c. He took credit for the kind part he has taken about Laws's (?) Bishopric,† which I incline to think you ought

* "Fox" is written over.

† *Qu.* John Law, Archdeacon of Carlisle, made Bishop of Clonfert, 1782.

not to recommend or accept whilst matters remain in this state. Indeed the behaviour is thus far so totally ungentlemanlike, that unless it is all revoked, there are not any forms of moderation that we can keep with honour. I shall be much tempted, if the worst happens, to move the Repeal of 6 Geo. 1st. Lord Loughborough agrees with me that I ought. They may embarrass our circumstances, but they will raise our characters.

Will your Excellency be now charging yourself with seeing people, and talking to them? fair communications may be prudent. I told Lord N. and Lord J.* and F. that you would under present circumstances reject the distant offer of the Stick with indignation.

It may be material to be preparing for our sudden death, though I still incline to think that it will not take place.

I wish that you would, entirely as of your own motion, continue to be secretly arranging with Hamilton some mode or arrangement by which I may be paid for the expenses which I have incurred in Blaquiere's house, for rent and repairs and alterations, about 650*l.*; if it could be brought into any tolerable account, in case of the worst happening, it would be very convenient to me. I borrowed money to go to Ireland; it would be hard to borrow to return. The warrant, if any mode it can be settled, not to be issued till we know the worst.

I shall probably dispatch another messenger tomorrow.

Mr. Lees will settle with your Excellency as to all our Army arrangements; which should in any event be ready to be transmitted on receiving my next.

[P.S.] I have not slept or been one moment out of a bustle since four o'clock yesterday.

It might be of use if Hamilton could privately consult Geo. Ponsonby about some equivalent for his office, which we may want.

We shall also want some Cust. H. office or other office of 3 or 400*l.* a year for Cook.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1782, April,] Saturday night, Downing Street.—I am sick with vexation, heated with unavailing conferences, and in every respect ill-prepared to write to you with the cheerfulness that I could wish.

I had a three hours' conference this morning with Lord Thurlow, to whom Lord Shelburne had yesterday stated everything according to his own mode of reasoning. Lord Th.'s sense on this subject may be good, but I told him again and again and again that it was utterly above my comprehension, and ill-calculated either to quiet my feelings or convince my common sense. His opinion, as well as I can collect, amounts to this: "That your Lordship was at a period of Irish politics where it "was necessary to give way with great disadvantage to the character and "tone of your past Government; that therefore your recall was fortunate; "that if the friends of your successor try to turn it to any unfair "construction against you, time and truth will be your best advocates; "that for the present your best conduct is to preserve your natural coun- "tenance, which he decribed as firm, thoughtful, and serene; that with "respect to the Duke of Portland, he ought to receive from us every "assistance, and information of what we had proposed, what might be "expedient, &c., &c., &c."

When I said that I could not help feeling the business as the extreme

* *Qu.* Lord John Cavendish.

of personal ill-usage, founded in folly, and forwarded in precipitation and ill-manners; he said, "All that might be so, but that you had "nothing to do but be magnanimous."

When I observed that we could not possibly be on terms with these people on this side of the water on our return, because we should from that hour be construed to have connived at the ill-usage of our friends in Ireland, and to have betrayed our public situation; and when I stated that this might make it impossible for you to accept the White Stick or any other office (notwithstanding the injury done to your private fortune by your public services), he said there was something in that which had not yet struck him, and exclaimed repeatedly with much earnestness that he would give anything in the world to have Lord Gower present. He said repeatedly that he felt he spoke liable to suspicion, but yet that what he said deserved your consideration, and wished me to report it.

He gave a turn to your letter of resignation which I did not expect; he said that, having thus resigned, you had no right to complain of a successor being appointed; and when I urged that the resignation necessarily meant at the proper time, with due decorum and attentions, and subject expressly to the explanations which I was sent to give, he said that it was still a resignation, and contrary to what Lord Gower and he meant to advise (if I am not mistaken Lord Gower positively advised it). When I farther added that your recall was sent from hence and the Duke of Portland's instant departure fixed two days previous to receiving the letter of resignation, he still repeated that he disapproved the resignation. When I urged the style of treatment and the indignity, he said that public men should be above passion and feelings, and consult only magnanimity and wisdom.

When I desired him to carry these general words into practice in Ireland, and to state how I was to answer in the Irish Parliament when I should be told by malevolent men that your Administration had been so contrary to all just and moderate principles as to induce the present wise Ministers to recall you; he said that he could not foresee the proper answer to declamations which he had not yet heard.

And thus we debated to little purpose; we parted with personal kindness, but with a declaration on his side that he thought my judgment warped by resentment, and a declaration of mine that what he had said had not made the slightest impression on me. He wished me to communicate to you, and to write fully to you: I have ransacked my brain to do him justice against myself, but though he said much, I think I have stated all the import.

I collected from him that he and Lord Shelburne and Lord Gower had privately cooked this piece of Politics, against which I inveighed without delicacy or reserve: in truth (and this they cannot comprehend), if we were to enter into these refinements, it would amount to a betraying of the Irish Government, and your memory would be execrated instead of being revered whenever it should be discovered. I may be mistaken, possibly you may think me so, and may convince me that I have been so when it is too late; but I own that according to my notions of honour and sense (which I am willing to think inseparable), we have no alternative but open war; and I certainly must have a strong bias of my reason towards this opinion, for I have reason to believe that a different sentiment might be made advantageous to our private prosperity, and that my creed may personally involve me in early embarrassments as to income, which at best must now be very contracted.

It is now late on Saturday night, and I have not received any answer to the letter which I sent yesterday morning to Lord Shelburne; nor have I heard anything further from Lord Rockingham; I suppose,

therefore, that they proceed in their system, and leave us to such line as we may think proper to adopt.

I had much talk with the Chancellor about the question of free legislation, in which they are distressed, and do not know what to do.

I do not think that I can possibly go from hence before Wednesday, and I hear that Fitzpatric talks of going on Tuesday. Selwyn and Storer dined with me today. He (*sic*) says that Lord Ossory and that set consider me in this business so obstinate and violent, and desirous to inflame you, and therefore wish Ricd.* to go as an antidote to the poison. God help him! He little knows the sort of scene to which he is going.

I find that the day of the Duke of Portland's departure is not fixed yet, and that he talks of going by Welbeck. I suspect that they mean to instruct you to adjourn the House by Message; our friends must take care not to consent to that without a previous strong and particular Vote of Thanks to you. Daly and Fitzgibbon might be of use now if you could take the trouble to see them, and poor Bushe, to whom everything kind ought to be said. Burgoigne† is to command in Ireland. The Chancellor has not changed my opinion in any degree, but he has given me a disposition to be more guarded and considerate and reserved in my language on this business than I was disposed to be.

After all, it is damned provoking. The language they hold is that by your immense majorities and steady management you excited the jealousies of the people, and gave birth to demands which must now be gratified, and therefore that it is wise to throw the odium of past refusal on you, and the popularity of present gratification on your successor. There is an absolute fixed insensibility as to the personal inconveniences to which they expose us, and as to the unjust principle of the whole transaction.

I send my letters to Lees and Hamilton both open, that your Excellency may see them before they are sealed and forwarded.

I go tomorrow to dine at Bushy; on Monday I go to the Levee, and thence to the House of Commons, where I shall possibly be tempted to lay a foundation for a last dying speech in Ireland.

If Bushe could point out any reversion (?)‡ as a security to him, I think that on going you might venture to recommend it, though this is difficult.

I submit that though it may be right to have your final letters on army and other matters ready and signed, it may also be right to keep them to the last moment, as we may wish to make alterations and amendments, and additions.

Endorsed: Received Thursday, April 10th.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782,] April 1, Monday morning, at home.—Yesterday produced nothing new but the dismission of Lord Edgcumbe. The addition of the word Mount to his title seemed to be given without any participation from the Fates of the Destiny intended him. He seems, and professes himself, surprised at the dismission, and so he may well be as to the manner, for no notice is now given you, and when you come to Court your first intimation of not belonging to it, is by seeing another person there with the badge of your office.

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* Col. the Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick.

† Lieut.-Gen. John Burgoyne.

‡ "Reversions" are referred to elsewhere.

The K[ing], when Lord Bateman came for orders, said that Lord Jersey had his place, and added, to his shame and to my sorrow, that he, Lord B[ateman], might be sure that it was not his doing. The assurance was needless, and when I shall now see in the Gazette, that his M[ajesty] has been *pleased* to appoint such a one to such a place, I substitute in my own mind the word *obliged* in the room of it.

But Lord Edg[cumbe] was a marked man; he was a deserter from a corps to which he had attached himself, and which for his sake had quarrelled with Lord Chatham. After execution, I read the Ordinary's account, and this is what I learn of Lord Edg[cumbe's] situation. Lord Bateman was promoted by Lord Holland, which should have been a motive with Charles to have stickled for him; but no sentiments of that kind influence him, as you well know.

Lord Hert[for]d will be dismissed this week, and Keen[e]'s office will go with him. I agree perfectly with you that he is, as you say, too small a gentleman to talk of Bishoprics; but if people will talk, I must hear them. I am myself responsible only for what I say, and not for what others say to me. He teased me to put into a letter what I told you, which I did, as an article of news, but I assured him at the same time that it could not with propriety be mentioned by me in any other manner.

Poor Keene is a good-natured, friendly man, with better qualities *par l'endroit du cœur* than many others who are of better rank, and have had a better education. He talks and moves in the way and manner he has been brought up, that is as a dependant, and has no proper tact, or he would have seen that to speak to me about his brother-in-law's bishopric, but by way of conversation, was not becoming. However, not to disoblige one who is always very civil in his deportment to me, I complied with his request, and told you what he had informed me of. I understand since that, that Lord N[orth] had received your answer to his letter, which poor K[eene] thought, according to his ideas, would be to you a *mandamus* or *congé d'élire*.

Now people have been shot by platoons and in corps, the individual will be popped at or sniped, as they call it, from time to time, as Lord Sh[elburne] or Lord R[ockingham] sees occasion, or as it suits their present humour. My nephew was with me yesterday an hour, but did not open his lips upon my situation, or indeed his own; for the one I do not believe that he interests himself much, and with the other, whatever he may pretend, he is not, I am sure satisfied. Both Burke and Barry* are preferred to him. Sir J. Lowther is outrageous; Lord D. *marmotte tout bas*. The K[ing] opposes the number of new peerages. Sir G. Cooper expected a pension as well as that thief, his colleague.†

It is said in the world that the Duke of Manchester is to be Chamberlain; the Duke of Portland, Lord L[ieutenant] of Ireland; and Lord Carlisle, Steward of the Household; but nobody can ascertain this till the Duke of P[ortland] knows his mind, or that of his dependants, and when it is, it must be known also, if you will accept. If you do accept anything under this Government, you cannot have a more eligible employment, in my mind, than the Stewardship, on many accounts. But if you are not disposed to do that, or will be of no Court, but when you are in the Cabinet, and share in the Government of it, then you will take your *parti*.

I wait with anxiety to see how you will determine on this question. You have perhaps more light to guide you, from what Lord G[ower]

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* Isaac Barré. † John Robinson.

has wrote to you, than I have; you have your own feelings, and your judgment; as it [is] such as I should myself wish always to be guided by, so I must think that it will be better than my own, if my opinion was asked. You approved of my communicating your sentiments to Lord G[ower], and so I did. He has your interest at heart, no doubt, and I hope will not forget what you have so warmly pressed, that you wish to have it never separated from your credit. I hope that it will not be so on this occasion, and that whatever arrangements he makes for you, that he will take care that it is not made unpalatable by (*sic*)* to you. You may be sure that till I know how you would have me talk, I say as little as possible. What I do, is in the language of one who believes you to be very *fier*, very delicate, and very right-headed in this matter; but it would be impertinent in me to say anything but what I conjecture, till I can say it with an authority from you.

Lord Carm[arthen], although he denies it, is still, I am persuaded, a candidate for Ireland in case the Duke of P[ortland] refuses it. Betty waits in Lord Rock[ingham's] outward room to be under housekeeper at St. James's. Foley, Richard, Hare, and Lord R. [Spencer] are still unplaced, and how they are to be satisfied for their virtue, their patriotism, and their fidelity, I do not know.

There is one part of your letter of the 22nd which has affected me very seriously, although I have not, as yet, spoke of it to you, and that is where you tell me that I shall see you changed, and that you are worse in constitution than you was. For God's sake, my dear Lord, do not suffer your health, and your quiet, and temper, to be made a sacrifice any more to anything so deplorable as a scene of business must be, which subjects you to all, of which you have had experience. You may be condemned to drudge in business, for years, till you have neither health or spirits, and be rewarded with ingratitude only. I have quite another *carrière* to wish for you. No power or consequence can make you amends for the loss of your family [and] domestic comforts, and for that of your temper. I am sure Lady C[arlisle] will be of my mind. The care of your fortune and the education of your children is enough to keep you employed.

It is very unpleasant to me to know so little as I do at present, what will become of myself. I thought that some one or other would have in a friendly manner procured me the *coup de grace*, or an assurance of being preserved in this general massacre. Till it is decided I shall go neither to St. James's or to the House of Commons, for I do not know, in the one place, to whom I am to pay my homage, or in the other, what part I am to act. I shall govern myself by the best lights I can get, and those must come from you. I hope now it will not be long before I see you. That, I say, is the balm that makes my present grievance supportable. I shall deliver George into your hands, the healthiest and best little boy in the world, and I shall be happy to see him under the immediate inspection of those who can only have more tenderness for him than myself, if that is possible. George is very desirous of reading the Roman history. I suppose that there will be no objection to it. He read with me, yesterday, Cataline's speech in Sallust; it is difficult Latin for him, but not more so than Phædrus, which he likes much. Common construction is familiar to him, but such a transposition of words and Græcisms, as are in Sallust, make the Latinity more difficult, but *il n'en fut pas rebuté*. He utters some of the periods with an emphasis, as if he imbibed the spirit with which the speech was conceived.

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* End of a page.

Mr. Townshend came into my room while I was talking to him of the conspiracy and of Cataline's character, which, I do assure you, of his own accord, he applied very justly. Mr. Townshend smiled, as if I had been poisoning his mind by *comparaisons*, but I shewed him that it was the lesson of the day and in course, and that I had not picked it out because it was applicable to the times, or to persons. He heard me quote something the other day to Storer, which he had read in the *Selectæ*, which he brought with him from school, and he told me the next day that I took *his* Latin to quote it in company, which he spoke as if he thought it a robbery.

Charles is very assiduous in his office; he has taken a house in Grafton Street opposite to the Fish's. I suppose the Fish found it out for him. He is to have constant dinners, when it will be proved whether he likes flattery, or can distinguish it. You remember what passed at C[astle] Howard, on that such (*sic*) subject. Cov[entry's] malice and mischief and envy at this time are incredible; as he has been neither consulted, or offered anything, he does not know what part to act.

Lord Gower to Mr. Eden.

1782, April 3, Trentham.—. . . I am very unhappy that I had not an opportunity of seeing you *en chemin faisant*, as I might have been able to have given you an outline, though not an accurate and correct map, of the present environs of St. James's. I must therefore refer you to my friend the Chancellor, who knows perfectly my sentiments upon Lord Carlisle's present situation. I flatter myself that you will find Lord Shelburne ready to act a fair and manly part upon the occasion. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you here, upon the road, or in London, and shall be obliged to you if you will acquaint me with your intentions of leaving London. Lady Gower desires her compliments to you and Mrs. Eden.

Francis Gregg to Lord Carlisle.

1782, April 4, Skinners' Hall.—When I had the honour of addressing your Excellency the last Tuesday, I had not then the smallest expectation of seeing you so soon here, as I now find there is a probability of doing, but I supposed, in case your Lordship was to return, it might be in May, after the Sessions was over. In that I soon found I was mistaken, and I therefore met Mr. Selwyn and Dr. Ekins yesterday, to talk over the business of your Lordship's return. Knowing the convenience it would be to your Lordship that the next Lord Lieutenant should take a great many of the articles your Lordship has been obliged to lay in, I thought it prudent to wait on the Duke of Portland for that purpose as soon as possible, which I have accordingly done today. His Grace was pleased to express himself much obliged by the attention and offer, and has desired me to inform your Lordship that he should be very glad to have such things as he should otherwise be obliged to purchase—such as the state horses, wines, the necessary furniture, and if he finds himself under the necessity of having more coach horses than the state ones, then such of the bay coach horses as your Lordship shall choose to part with. I proposed to the Duke that your Excellency should permit some person, on your part (Mr. Ramshay I mean), to remain a short time upon the spot, in order to settle the account and valuation of what he should agree to take, which he seemed much to approve.

Indeed, on your Lordship's account, I think there is a great utility in it, your departure being so sudden and unexpected, that a very heavy loss indeed must fall upon you, unless some faithful servant can be left behind to collect all together, and dispose properly of what you shall not choose to bring away; supposing Matthews or Braight were likewise left to assist Ramshay.

The Duke has a great deal of plate, and therefore will not, I suppose, purchase any more. He was pleased to enter into a detail how much he should be hurt if your Lordship felt any ill-will against him personally for being the person appointed to supersede you, and hoped you would consider it only as the arrangement of an Administration in which you must be sensible he had a great part in fixing, and as such that he was obliged to stand forward and take that part, however disagreeable to himself, the rest of his friends should allot for him. I must do his Grace the justice to say it was impossible for anyone to behave with more delicacy towards your Lordship, nor to express himself in more respectful terms of you without flattery, than he did. As I was sure your Lordship would wish me to give him every assistance in my power, as to the arrangement of his household, &c., I offered him my services for the purpose, and have explained to him as much as the short space of an hour's visit would admit of. He has desired to see me again, and that I will likewise give the Duchess leave to send for me, if necessary, which I agreed to. He supposes he must set off so soon as the beginning of the next week; the Duchess is not to go for a month or more, I believe only to be in time to be present at the Birthday. I will not trouble your Lordship at this moment any more than is absolutely necessary. I have acted in the manner I should suppose your Lordship would have directed me, had the time admitted of it.

I have desired Mrs. Sheppardson to prepare the apartments at Castle Howard ready for the children, in case your Excellency should adopt the plan of sending them all there; if not, her troubles will not be great. I have determined with Mr. Selwyn that it would be most prudent not to engage any house in Town till your Lordship's arrival. He is so good as to say he will resign his first floor to Lady Carlisle, and put up a bed in the middle room. He will also give your Lordship the little front parlour, and a bed to Lady Carlisle's woman, and for the time he supposes your Lordship may take in determining whether you shall take a house in Town or go to Castle Howard, which may be about a week or ten days, he will lodge out of the house as near you as he can. He has no room for any servants, but they can easily be lodged in the neighbourhood. I am going with Mr. Selwyn this evening in expectation of meeting Mr. Eden, whose arrival has been mentioned to him. Perhaps your Lordship may have sent some directions to me by him; if so, I can only now assure you of my attention to them. If not, I will then do for the best. Should your Lordship wish to have me meet you anywhere upon the road on your return, I will set forward the moment I have the honour of your commands.

I have wrote to Mr. Ramshay to mention to him what I think it is proper for him to do.

[P.S.] 1782, April 5.—I have seen Mr. Eden since writing the former part of this letter, who left Mr. Selwyn and me on a visit by appointment to Lord Shelburne. He was so good as to tell me he should send a special messenger to your Lordship this evening, and that he would take the charge of my letter.

I have suggested everything I could possibly think of to Mr. Ramshay for his conduct in case of your Lordship's sudden departure, but I must request the favour of your Lordship to be pleased to give

him half an hour's conversation with you as soon as you can spare it from the public business you may be engaged in.

I am convinced every one on this side of the water must feel with indignation the brutal treatment your Lordship seems likely to meet with.

William Eden to Lord Shelburne.

1782, April 5, Downing Street.—Having reconsidered the conferences with which your Lordship yesterday indulged me, I think that I ought specifically to state my reasons for having often declined your intimations to me to enter into opinions and facts respecting the present circumstances of Ireland, and the measures best to be pursued there. When I arrived in London I had come prepared and disposed and instructed to serve most cordially in the critical measure of closing the Lord Lieutenant's Government, so as to place it with all practicable advantages in the hands of whatever person his Majesty's Ministers might have destined to succeed to it.

I presupposed, however, that either his Excellency would be recalled very soon, but not without the attentions which are due to him, his station, and his services, or that his Majesty's Ministers would assist and instruct him in first concluding the business of the Session and the various public measures and arrangements of some difficulty and consequence, which are immediately connected with it, and which cannot be completed in less than four or five months. Finding, however, to my extreme surprise, that the manner of giving the Lieutenancy of the East Riding to Lord Carmarthen had been such as to amount to a marked and personal insult, when it is considered that the thing taken is merely honorary, and that the person from whom it is taken is an absent Viceroy, and hearing also from your Lordship that the Duke of Portland is not unlikely to be made the immediate and actual messenger of his own appointment, I from that moment declined any communication respecting facts and measures, because the line adopted towards the present Lord Lieutenant must, in my opinion, be fatal to the ease of his successors for a long period of time, and ruinous to all good government, and the consequent peace of Ireland. Your Lordship has informed me that this is not meant as a personal exertion of power against Lord Carlisle, but that his Majesty's Ministers have adopted this mode of removing my Lord Lieutenant as a wise measure of government. I differ so totally in my weak judgment, that it would be idle in me to trouble them further respecting Ireland.

I shall, as the duty of my situation requires, wait on such of his Majesty's Ministers as are disposed to see me, and, with that respect which is due to them, submit what I have here stated.

My next anxiety is to act as I believe Lord Carlisle would wish me to act for his honour and for the public service; two objects, which cannot at this moment be separated.

I am ready this evening or tomorrow morning at any hour to attend the commands of his Majesty's Ministers, either separately or collectively. Tomorrow at two I shall go into the country to make a visit of personal respect and private friendship, and on Monday in the House of Commons I shall state, as fully as a weak voice will permit, what I conceive to be the present circumstances of Ireland. I shall do this without any mixture of complaint, and with the most anxious regard to facilitating any subsequent system for the general tranquillity. I shall only wish to let it be implied by the world from Irish facts, in contradiction to English treatment, that the present Lord Lieutenant of

Ireland (I borrow his own words from his last letter to your Lordship) "has had the good fortune to conduct the business of Ireland at a most critical period without discredit to his Majesty's Government, and with many increasing advantages to the interests of his kingdoms."

Copy.

Charles James Fox to Lord Carlisle.

1782, April 30, Grafton Street.—I really cannot think of any expedient that will answer the purpose of what we talked of this morning; but it is certainly evident that even if you consider Eden's interests solely, that you cannot forward them by being out of humour with us. There is certainly no intention of persecuting him, and as to anything else a very little inquiry will satisfy you that at present it is impossible, even if there were not (as there are) a thousand claims upon us which must have a preference to his. I am sure you must know that in the situation in which things are at *this moment*, I can have no other motive for wishing you to take a part with us, than the desire of our living all together as we once used to do in better times; but that motive is as strong as ever it was, and I do wish it with an earnestness which I am incapable of feeling for objects merely political.

Lord Carlisle to W. Eden.

[1782, April.]—To write, or attempt to describe, all that has occurred since my arrival in this place, would be giving you a very unnecessary trouble. I shall confine myself to facts. The general impression that was made by the conduct you in necessity adopted on this side the water was this, viz., that you had acted from disappointment, resentment, and an endeavour to distress Administration, without any prospect or wish to serve the public, or those for whom you was particularly interested. This impression, owing to your absence, and the feeble exertions of those possessed of your real motives, and of the necessity of upholding all those politically connected with us in I[relan]d, was was not easy to remove. I have not been wanting in trying to open the eyes of those who were willing not to continue in error, and think I have succeeded in quarters where it was of the greatest consequence no error should exist.

Everything was said to me in extenuation of the behaviour which was as foolish as it was affronting. It was agreed on all hands that the most ostensible reparation should be made for so ostensible and marked an injury. Lord Talbot's wand was offered me by Lord Rockingham with all the accompaniment of concern for the treatment respecting the Lieut[enanc]y of Yorkshire. This appears to myself, and those I consulted, as an ample reparation for everything that had passed relative to my own situation. Upon this offer being made I desired time to pause, not to weigh the reparation, but to consider whether I ought not, in justice to you, who are by no means considered according to my wish, [to] refuse everything that was offered to me. The essence of the different consultations I have held upon your subject is this: That was I to reject that which was held out to me, and which was considered as a full atonement for what had happened, I should attract towards you an additional degree of resentment, because any other cause of refusal but yours ought to subside. That I should place myself in a situation out of which as little good was likely to arise to myself as

to you, and that in short such a conduct would be as injurious to you as to me.

This determined me upon accepting.* But here comes the riddle which I cannot safely enter upon till we meet. What will you say when I tell you I knew, when I accepted, I might possibly not fill the situation, but that another friend of yours might? What I have done, I have done with my eyes open—I think for the best. The B[isho]p of B[ango]r writes to you, and I hope agrees with me.

Autograph draft.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1782, April?], Friday, Dover Street.—I send you two packages, the one containing the steel seals and your Lordship's crystal seal, the other consisting of four copies of the Proceedings of the present Irish Session to the time when your Administration closed. I have not had time to examine whether this work is fairly executed.

What your Lordship will do as to the great line of protecting the people in Ireland who think that they have claims to our support I know not; indeed I am not sure that it is practicable to do anything as to such considerable arrangements as the Attorney General's Office; the business of Mr. G. Hamilton, Mr. Foster, and Mr. Bushe; the Peerages, &c. &c. But it is right that I should mention the matter, because some Irish letters respecting it, and expressed in very earnest language, have recently been communicated to me.

There were several smaller matters in which you might undoubtedly interfere with a certainty of success, such as settling the proposed compensation to poor Lees; completing Mr. Cook's additional salary; the small pension to Mr. Hamilton's children; the small pension (*sic*) to J. Mathew and Wm. Ferguson; and the military pension (*sic*) recommended some months ago and overlaid (I mean Col. Blakeney's, Major Ridsdale's, Lord Gower's friend, and the Miss (*sic*) Burkes'). All these I believe should be settled with Lord Rockinghame.

There is also a military list of successions of the 23rd February, containing things of course which were notified to be approved by the King, and yet the commissions have never been signed. A minute of this should be given to Lord Shelburne; the original I believe is lost, but there is a copy in Jenkinson and Weston's office. In the meantime the officers concerned are losing their ranks, and are deprived of their purchase money.

[P.S.] Mr. Wallace (?) has repeatedly tried to see you about some county interests.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1782, April?] Sunday, Beckenham.—I have received your card, and will wait upon you on Wednesday. I was in ill-luck not to meet you at the Duke of Portland's on Tuesday last, nor at the Council on Thursday. I tried to wait on you the latter day, but the business lasted till half-past four, and I was obliged to proceed to Lambeth in my way to this place.

Mr. J. Flood came to me last week; I gave him a letter to Mr. Windham, and told him I was sure you would have no difficulty in mentioning his proper and honourable conduct to Lord North.

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* The office of Lord Steward of the Household.

I hope the Duke of Portland has done our little jobs; there cannot be a possible reason for declining them, more especially as he seems by no means desirous to treat us unkindly.

Charles James Fox to Lord Carlisle.

[1782, May 2 ?] Thursday morning, St. James's.—I could not see Lord Rockingham last night, he was so much out of order, but I have no doubt but the thing will be settled today. I have sent him your note, in order to apprise him about the Staff, which I dare say he had not thought of; but whether the Staff comes or not, the matter must be settled, or we make the most scandalous and unjustifiable figure that men ever did.

Endorsed: Fox, May 4th (*sic*).

Lord Rockingham to Lord [Carlisle].

1782, May 3, Friday, p.m., 2 o'clock, Grosvenor Square.—A return of my old complaints (*sic*) in my side prevented my being able to attend his Majesty yesterday, and though I am now better, I am not quite well enough to go to his Majesty today.

Lord Shelburne has just called upon me, and I have the satisfaction of communicating to your Lordship, that there will be no retardment in your Lordship's being appointed to the office of Lord Steward, if the Steward's staff is delivered to his Majesty *on Sunday next.* I understand the present Lord Talbot should be the person to deliver up the Staff, and I suppose the Funeral (or the going out of Town of the body of the late Lord Talbot) is or will be *previous to Sunday*, which will enable the present Lord Talbot to go to Court.

If your Lordship could do me the honour of calling here at any time, I shall be happy to see your Lordship.

Charles James Fox to Lord Carlisle.

[1782, May 4,] near six, House of Commons.—The K. told me he had told Ld. S. to go to Ld. R. this evening upon the subject; upon my stating the case and asking whether Ld. R. would have authority to tell you it was done, he said, Ld. R. will certainly be [able] to speak to Ld. Carlisle.

The Staff, he said, would come on Sunday. It remains to see what Ld. S. is to say to Ld. R. tonight. I need not repeat to you what I think of the matter.

[P.S.] I am just come from St. James's.

Endorsed: Fox, May 4th.

Lord Rockingham to Lord [Carlisle].

1782, May 4, Saturday night, 10 o'clock, Grosvenor Square.—By the note I have received this evening from Lord Shelburne in answer to my letter, I have no doubt *that somehow* the Staff will get to his Majesty's Closet tomorrow, and I trust that your Lordship will receive it from his Majesty's hands immediately after the Drawing Room.

I am in hopes of being able to be at Court tomorrow, though I do not feel quite well.

Charles James Fox to Lord Carlisle.

[1782, May 14,] Tuesday morning, Grafton Street.—The Irish business will certainly come on Friday. The Repeal of the Act of Geo. I. will most likely make a part of it, or certainly something tantamount to such a Repeal. But there is to be a Cabinet tonight, at which the manner of bringing it on is to be fairly determined.*

John FitzGibbon to [Lord Carlisle].

1782, May 27, Dublin.—The anxiety which I feel to do justice to a firm and honourable man, will not allow me to give up the idea which I yielded very reluctantly on the 16th of April to his solicitations—I mean an Address to the Crown in favour of Eden. And as I am well assured that it is an object near your Lordship's heart, I shall not make any apology for addressing you upon the subject. Though I cannot accuse myself of a very high veneration for the Commons of Ireland, I did hope that they would have stood proof against the influence of power for two days. However, I was quickly convinced of my error, and am very happy to see many of them treated with a very just contempt by the new Government. The experience I have already had of them will not allow me to trust anything to their feelings. And therefore, before I have ventured to mention the subject to any man in Ireland, except to Beresford, I wish to know from your Lordship, whether we may hope to obtain a mandate from the Minister of England to the Duke of Portland, not to oppose such a measure here, if it should be proposed. For without such a mandate, Beresford agrees with me that we have no prospect of success.

I do not presume to suggest to you the grounds upon which I am induced to hope we ought to succeed in preventing an opposition on the part of the Irish Government. Nor do I wish, if possible, to mention the subject to Eden, till I can announce a victory to him.

You have heard no doubt long since of the removal of Mr. Lees. Last Friday, the Prime Serjeant† and Attorney General‡ were dismissed; and Mr. Burgh and Mr. Yelverton were appointed to succeed them. Mr. Forbes was requested to accept of the Solicitor's gown, but he desired that Carleton might be permitted to remain in possession till a place could be found for him on the Bench. Forbes is indulged, and Carleton continues Solicitor General at his sufferance. But their cruelty to poor Coppinger is unexampled. They have put George Ponsonby into his place, and that they may not have the crime of murder to answer for without some degree of palliation, they mean to offer him in exchange a place in the Customs for which, I believe, Master George was indebted to you. It would seem that the present system is, totally to unhinge Government in Ireland, and to erect a kind of mobocracy, by which they hope to rule the Parliament. But however practicable they may find this system for a moment, if they should remain in Ireland long enough to see another Session of Parliament, they will find themselves bitterly mistaken. Though I am not much in Lord Shannon's confidence, I can perceive very evidently that he is in extreme bad temper, and waits only for a fair opportunity to show it.

Flood is outrageous. He has been passed by altogether, and his kinsman has been put out of the Admiralty to make room for Mr. Metge, a friend of Lord Charlemont. He contrived to find out ground of opposition to an Address moved by Grattan this day. He

* The Bill for the Repeal of the Act of 6 Geo. I. was brought in 17 May 1782. (H. C. Journals.)

† James Browne. ‡ John Scott.

said that although the Act of the sixth of George was repealed upon the principle for which we had contended, he did reserve himself for the occasions which would necessarily occur hereafter for asserting the rights of Ireland with effect.

Lord Carlisle to Lord [Gower].

[1782, July 1,] Monday.—Lord Rockingham died this morning, and as you may suppose speculations of every kind are flying about the Town; I am too ignorant to form any, and have little satisfaction in retailing those I hear. Lord Shelburne desires me to tell you that he will write to you the moment he can give you a mark of his confidence, and would himself have notified this event had he been able to have accompanied the mere notification with any information worthy your attention. I am sorry and vexed you are at a distance; you know my sentiments and wishes; it [is] therefore needless for me to say more upon that subject. You may depend upon hearing from me as often as I can gain any intelligence.

Endorsed: 1782.

Luke Gardiner to [the Earl of Carlisle].

1782, July 1, Phœnix Park.—Asking the Earl to stand sponsor to the new Bridge, which the Trustees of the Circular Road desire to call after his name.

A draft of the Earl's reply is annexed.

Lord Gower to [Lord Carlisle].

1782, June [July] 4, Trentham.—I am much obliged to you for your information of the death of the Marquess of Rockingham; I am sorry for it, for though I generally differed with him in politics, I respected him, as we had in the former part of our lives been very good friends, and have always continued so to a certain degree. As to your lamenting my absence at this time, I fear I could be of little use; nor years nor disposition incline me to take again an active line in politics; the times are strangely out of joint. I should be but a feeble prop to any party. If I could be a centre of union for a small time, till parties could adjust their matters, the good which might accrue to the country and to individuals might make me risk a ministerial situation. Believe me, I say not this out of vanity, for there are times you know when an empty vessel may collect the hive.

Lord Carlisle to Lord [Gower].

[1782, July 5,] Friday even.—You will have had a variety of letters informing you of the step Fox yesterday took by resigning the Seals. This day has produced no more resignations, though Keppel is understood to be in fact no longer at the head of the Naval department. Conway, the Duke of Richmond, and T. Townshend remain. The Duke of Portland will come from Ireland, and it is said that the Duke of Rutland will go: God help him! No certainty as yet what situation Pitt will take; last night he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, this morning Secretary of State. The world is in much suspense in regard to the other. Lord Coventry has been mentioned. Some turn their eyes to Sir Jos. Yorke. Have you heard from Lord Shelburne? If

you have, you will have had much better lights than those I can pretend to give you.

Lord Rockingham has not left many legacies—not a shilling to Burke; a thousand pounds a year to Fitzwilliam's brother, and makes up Lady R.'s jointure 5,000*l.*; all the estates &c. &c. &c. to my friend.

I am, I own, very eager to hear whether you mean to take a part in this new business. In regard to myself, that cordial communication which Ld. S. talked of the other day has been by some accident omitted; I have not therefore had an opportunity of explaining my own situation, and of showing how perfectly free I stand respecting all political obligation, and that a reparation for injurious treatment calls for little more than a candid acknowledgment that the injury is repaired, and a suppression of further complaint. But this is not worth troubling you with at present. I must immediately press upon him the necessity of turning the stream of Irish persecution from those who were the supporters of my administration, for I know it will be expected from me to raise my voice upon this subject with a new Ministry; though my difficulties with the last were well understood by my friends on the other side the water.

The House of C's is just up—full as possible, everybody expecting Fox would produce his reasons for his conduct, but Conway moved to adjourn till Tuesday, and not a word said.

We had Burke's Bill in the Committee yesterday—such a mass of nonsense and absurdity. It was a money bill, and a measure not to admit alterations; and so, to our shame be it said, we passed it, in spite of common sense and common justice.

I can only repeat my regret that you are not here.

Autograph (copy ?). Endorsed: 1782.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1782,] July 6, Beckenham.—All my papers are at Greenwich; and indeed I do not recollect that I ever had any copy of the Minute which your Lordship gave to Lord Rockingham. I will subjoin to this note such particulars of depending applications as I can recollect; and I will also enclose a note to Mr. Weston for a more accurate account, in case your Lordship should use the present occasion to take care of our friends in Ireland. I have very full and very frequent letters from some of them; and I am convinced that the Duke of Portland has already done more mischief to the whole system of good, wise, and practicable government than thirty years can repair. I think that we ought ostensibly, avowedly, and earnestly to use all means of forwarding the Reparation, and whether it may be my fate or not to be hostile to the new English Government which is forming, I shall be very glad most honestly and honourably to offer and to give every information within my power to the new Viceroy, whoever he may be, leaving it to him to use that information so far only as in his own wisdom he may approve it. The Duke of Portland will embark amidst the praises of all the fools, which are a considerable faction in every kingdom, but his Government is already held in execration by many injured and worthy individuals, and in extreme contempt by every man of sense.

I have heard that you will not find much difficulty in completing Mr. Hamilton's arrangement, in which Mr. Bushe is included. Reparation should be made to Scott for the loss of the Attorney Generalship, and this perhaps might be done by giving him a complete grant of Plumtree's office for life. There was a flaw in the former grant, of

which the Duke of Portland meant to avail himself in favour of Lord C. Bentinck, and to the dissatisfaction of Fitzpatrick. Lees should be taken care of, which may well and properly be done by replacing him and his nephew. It would be also a most becoming act if your Lordship could carry the Prime Serjeantship for Fitzgibbon. For the other matters in the subjoined note you are no otherwise responsible than for an earnest representation; but they are most of them so proper, and some matters so much of course, that I cannot think you will meet with difficulties.

I shall be happy to see your Lordship at Beckenham, if at any time you should find leisure and fair weather sufficient for so long an excursion. I shall have the curiosity on Tuesday next to attend the House of Commons; but I do not know at present that I shall stir five miles from this town on any other day before the last week in October, when I shall go to Blenheim.

I foresaw an early and sudden death to the Administration which expired on Thursday last, but I own that its catastrophe came much sooner than I expected: there was a possible state of things in which the present crisis might have given most fair and most flattering openings so far as my friendships and views were concerned. At present I am ashamed to say that I can feel nothing better than a poor-minded satisfaction at seeing the situation of others as embarrassed and unpleasant as our own.

Minute [*i.e.*, the "Note" referred to above].

1. A pension to Vescy, in order to clear his office for Burgh.
2. A change in the name of Mr. J. Hamilton's pension.
3. Mr. Hamilton's office to be opened for Foster; and Foster to be succeeded by Bushe.
4. An additional salary to E. [or C.?] Cooke, customer of Kinsale, 300*l.* a year.
5. Mr. Ramshay and Mr. Smith to have offices and salaries in the Phx. Park.
6. Mr. —— Matthews to have a pension of 200*l.* a year. Mr. W. Ferguson to have a pension of 150*l.* a year.
7. Mily. pensions.— Col. Blakeney; Miss Burkes; Mr. Ridsdale.
8. Peerages.—Lord Mayo, an earldom (very slightly recommended). Lord Clonmore and Lord Gosford to be Viscounts. Mr. Mathew, Mr. Clements, Mr. Tonson, and Mr. Pomeroy to be Peers.

I do not recollect anything farther. Sir Staff. Smythe wished to be mentioned for the Privy Council.

Lord Carlisle to Lord [Gower].

[1782, July 8,] Monday.—*Private.*—The report of the day is that the French and English Fleets are in sight of each other, but I cannot vouch for the truth of it.

The meeting at Lord Fitzwilliam's yesterday morning was of a curious nature. It consisted of most of those who are called of the Rockingham or Cavendish party. Lord Keppel and Thomas Townshend were not there, nor General Conway. Fox gave his reasons for his retiring, and the Duke of Richmond for his remaining. The latter was so pressed and stung in this nest of hornets, particularly by Mr. Baker, whose sting was particularly venomous, that at length he burst into tears, and so the meeting ended. It lasted from 12 o'clock till 9. Burke spoke

two hours, and it is said made the best speech he ever was heard to utter. He resigns with Lorp Althorp, Jack Townshend, Lord Rob. Spencer; Hopkins remains at the Admiralty, and Grenville at the Treasury. Mr. Townshend* is now said to take the Exchequer, and Pitt the Seals.

The people are to be roused upon the subject of Col. Barry's pension of 3,200*l.*, granted in this œconomical minute for his life, Lord Ashburton's place, part of which is also for life, and the omission of the ordonance (*sic*) in Burke's Bill. This is all to be laid to [the] good nature of the dead man, and the diabolical acts of the present Minister; but how to carry much blame to that quarter, and not take too much themselves, will be difficult.

The retreat of all the Cavendishes will make it impossible for the Duke of Portland to remain. Fifty years will not restore that situation. Whether we are to make a stand upon external legislati[on] God only knows. Perhaps it is war if we do; certain destruction to our commerce and our existence as a commercial people if we don't; a pleasant alternative to some airy young nobleman who may undertake the Government.

Lord Temple is talked of for the Seals, and, as I told you, Lord Coventry, though that rumour grows fainter every day.

Lord Loughborough sat with me the other night two hours, and took much pains to induce me to raise my tone with Lord Shelburne upon the subject of the persecution carried on against many of my friends in Ireland. I want no inducement to do my utmost to turn that stream from them, and indeed shall consider myself involved in their hardships if continued under an Administration whose language is that of disapproving such acts of wanton power. But when he enlarged upon the avenues that were by these events opened to ambition; that support ought to be honourably solicited, and not taken for granted would be given; and that the temptations to oppose were now strong, and would be stronger; I acquainted him exactly with my feelings, which were like those of a shipwrecked man, who looks at the sea from a distance, and is only surprised at those who will venture upon it, especially when he sees a cloud which at this moment is bigger than a man's hand; American dependence and independence.

July 9th, Tuesday.—Nothing more from Lord Howe—a day of great expectation in the House of Commons—an attack upon Barry's pension, and an explanation from Fox. Seeming contradiction; for the censure must on the first go the Marquis and those nearest to him. To my surprise, Lord Shelburne tells me that he has not written to you. Keppel certainly remains. Lord Cha. Spencer will be offered the Vice Treasurership, but 'tis said he will not take his brother's leavings. 'Tis also said that the Advocate† will be Paymaster.‡

Copy, endorsed: 1782.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1782, July.]—(*Beginning wanting.*)—I hear that, by a calculation made by two or three persons, who together examined the list of the H[ouse] of Commons, it is reckoned that Lord Shellbourne may count, for one reason or another, upon 130 belonging to him; Lord North,

* Thomas Townshend became Foreign Secretary, and William Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer.

† Henry Dundas became Treasurer of the Navy.

‡ Isaac Barré became Paymaster-General of the Forces.

whichever side he took, would carry with him about 120; C[harles] F[ox] and the rump of the Rockingham party, four score. This, you see, supposes 330 only on a division, but I may have forgot the number of the Court at present. There will be little to be guessed by the division upon the Address, except what regards the declared Opposition party, and that I am sure was said to be 80.

I am told that T[homas] T[ownshend] is to have a peerage for his wife, and the Paymaster's place for himself, and the Advocate in that case to be Secretary of State. Mr. Gilbert has a place made for him in the Household, and I suppose a good one, as all reformers mean to have. The number of poor people who had been made comfortable by small places given them in reward for old services, now sent out to seek for subsistence, is prodigious, to which this Calf* has been chiefly instrumental. I have been told more than once since I came to town, that a *certain personage*, to which personage no epithet or adjunct was ever so ill applied as that of *certain* to him, was, at a certain time, very near retiring to another estate of his in a distant country,† and that is credited by those who I should think were often well informed. It may be so, but to me the expedient surpasses all other frenzies. I will not for that reason contend for its impossibility. *C'est ici qu'il lui faut, ou regner, ou périr.* But he might have done the one and run no risk of the other, I am sure, if instead of obstinacy he had had resolution, and if he had only let those who insulted him see how totally impossible it would be for them at least, in all events, to profit by it. As it is, he must submit to the effects of his own timidity. As much as I execrate and detest those who have treated him in this manner, I have, I own, now no compassion for him.

Lord Ossory has been in town, but I have not yet seen him. He will not go openly against his brother-in-law, as I am assured. None of Brooks's people have called upon me, but Storer and he [him] I have not now seen in some days.

Lord Sh[elbourne] and Pitt are much bent upon the affairs of Representation at present, or pretend to be so. The negotiators in Paris are ordered to procure a Peace on any terms; whatever it is, it will but increase the war at home. Tommy's police, as Keene tells me, is not as yet very extensive, for people in his neighbourhood are robbed by footpads at their own doors, *entre chien et loup*, but hardly that.

The Duchess of B[edford] showed me drawing[s] of her two granddaughters, which excel anything of the kind I ever beheld. She touched upon the intended match, now broke off, but in a very slight manner; seemed rather to blame her g[rand]-daughter than her nephew. She says that Lord Waldgrave is surprisingly recovered. Here is a great deal for today, and more than I wish had been true.

Lord Carlisle to Lord ————.

1782, Oct. 29, Castle Howard.—Touching the withdrawal of the appointment of the pay-clerk or paymaster from the Lord Steward (the writer).‡

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* The Duke of Portland.

† Hanover.

‡ Lord Carlisle resigned this office in Feb. 1783. *See* Walpole's Letters, viii. 330, 331.

Sir F. H. Drake.

1782.—Sundry letters of Sir F. H. Drake, touching the scheme for the Establishment of the (Royal) Household.

J. Secker.

1782, and undated.—Ten letters from J. Secker, dated at the Board of Green Cloth, relating to the "Establishment," officers, payment of creditors, the paymaster, &c.

Ireland.

[1782?].—Rough notes on the standing army of Ireland, and the limitation of its numbers by the Act of 10 W. and M., in Lord Carlisle's hand; endorsed—The Mutiny Bill.

[Baron] Weinheim to Lord Carlisle.

1783, Feb. 21.—Refers to a conversation between them at the Duchess of Ancaster's house (*hotel*), and to papers written by Mr. John Warner and his Lordship's mother. Is relieved to find that he has not to deal with barbarians and Americans.

French.

Charles James Fox to Lord Carlisle.

[1783, April.] One o'clock, Brooks's.—We are just come from Grosvenor Street. I think it will all be settled by tomorrow morning, but there is still a difficulty between us which I had rather not mention, because, if it is adjusted, it had better never be known to have existed. We are agreed upon the following points:—

1st Lord of the Treasury - -	D. of P[ortlan]d.
Chancr. of Exchr. - - -	Ld. John [Cavendish].
Secretaries of State - - -	Ld. North. Fox.
Admiralty - - - -	[Ld.] Keppel.
Privy Seal - - - -	Ld. Carlisle.

The Presidency is not yet settled. There is one point upon which I wish you to be prepared, and that is upon the supposition of our not agreeing tomorrow morning, how far you will like to be proposed as a part of an arrangement without Lord North, who however promises support in any case, and consents to his friends taking office with us. I cannot explain to you by letter what will be the precise state of the business in that contingency, but will see you as soon as I can tomorrow morning.

Charles James Fox to Lord Carlisle.

[1783, April?] Wednesday night.—Hamilton's message to me was a more unpleasant one than I expected, as it was to tell me to see Thurlow tomorrow morning. I have written word of this to Lord Loughborough, whom I was in hopes to see tonight, but he cannot come. I will endeavour to see him before I see Ld. T., and, if I fail, will see him immediately after. You may depend upon it that the negotiation *shall* end one way or other with our interview.

[P.S.] I kept your servant as long as I had hopes of seeing Ld. L.

[Lord] Cathcart to Lord Carlisle.

1783, June 12, Walton's.—I think I am not mistaken in believing that your Lordship will excuse the liberty I take in writing to you upon the subject of a letter I received last night from New York, as it contains some particulars with regard to the manner in which the news of the peace operated, which may have been less fully stated in other accounts.

The town of New York by the end of April was full of Americans from all the *States;* the Port by order of Sir Guy* opened for all American vessels to load and unload. Sir Guy, with Mr. Elliot as Lt. Governor, was to proceed up the North River in a frigate on the 2nd of May to meet General Washington and Governor Clinton, at the request of the American General. It was not supposed that much business could be concluded in consequence of this Congress, or indeed till Sir Guy receives more explicit instructions from Europe, but it was apprehended that Washington would demand money for the prisoners, and Clinton immediate possession of the town of New York, for which last the State of York is extremely anxious. Neither of these requisitions can have been complied with.

It is hardly possible to conceive in what manner the Americans have taken up the heads of Agreement. They have already passed a law to enable all persons who were proprietors of houses or lands in the three islands within our lines to sue those who have been in possession of them, and enacting that orders from British Commanders-in-Chief or others giving such possession, or receipts from the persons appointed to collect the rents of such houses belonging to persons in rebellion as were let for the maintenance of the Poor, should not be admitted in Court as a ground of defence.

Many estates belonging to people not mentioned in any of their Acts of Confiscation have in the month of April been located by persons possessed of certain Certificates that had been given to the army as pay. These Certificates have been brought up at 4*s.* for the pound, and are to be paid out of confiscated estates. It is impossible that this can ultimately be allowed of, but in the meanwhile it produces a confusion which your Lordship can easily figure to yourself. The object, however, which they really have in view is to get the Loyalist, whose Estate is thus located, to purchase the Military Certificate perhaps at ten shillings in the pound, and then to say he is well off in recovering half his property. Associations have been formed to prevent the Loyalists from remaining in the United States even without claiming their property, and many who have attempted to establish themselves within their jurisdiction have been extremely ill treated. Thus, you see, your Lordship was very far from being mistaken in foretelling the miserable situation in which the Loyalists would find themselves left by this cursed Treaty.

You will easily guess from what correspondent I derive most of this information. As Mr. Elliot has consented, if his health will permit him, to remain at New York till the last, I do not mean to make any direct application for him till towards the time of his return, as I do not think it would be doing common justice to his situation and services to rank him with the multitude of suffering Loyalists who are hourly flocking to the Treasury. But as what is said by a person connected as I am with Mr. Elliot is apt to be considered, at best, as a matter of course, I should be extremely obliged to your Lordship if you

* Carleton.

would have the goodness to speak for him in such a manner as that it may be known that there is such a person, who has been constantly, and is still, employed, and who has been of some service under each *succeeding* General [barring a pun, which I did not intend].

His being spoken of in this manner will lead to further inquiry, and will pave the way for any specific application which his friends may afterwards bring forward. Mr. Elliot may perhaps have wrote to your Lordship himself. He did not desire me to make this request to you; but it occurred to me as the step that would be most beneficial to him, and your Lordship's attentions to him, and the civil things I have heard you say of him, have led me to think I might take this liberty.

Lord C[arlisle] to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland [Lord Northington].

1783, Aug. 14, London.—Notwitstanding the unwillingness with which I give your Excellency any interruption, yet I cannot, in justice to Mr. John Flood, refuse to express my sense of his very honourable conduct and support of Government during my administration, and in the strongest manner to mention him to you as a person whose behaviour I should have been most happy to have distinguished, as there were circumstances attending it that made it most particularly meritorious.

Copy, in Dr. Coombe's hand.

Lord C[arlisle] to the Duke of Portland.

1783, Aug. 15, Piccadilly.—Mr. Sheridan informs me of your Grace's obliging intentions respecting the recommendations I had the honour of submitting to your attention, and that it would be more agreeable to you that the provisions, as mentioned in my note in your Grace's possession, should be upon England instead of Ireland. I have only to express my ready acquiescence under any mode that may best suit your convenience, and to return you my thanks for the kind manner in which you have met my wishes.

Copy, in Dr. Coombe's hand.

John Flood to [Lord Carlisle].

[1783,] Sept. 12, Flood Hall, Thomastown.—Touching his disappointment on finding that Lord Northington had not received a letter from Lord Carlisle in the writer's favour, as promised.

Your Lordship must be sensible how irksome it must be, to be disunited from one's family, which my conduct in Parliament, at the time your Lordship was here, has ever since occasioned. This, and other most important reasons, make my situation a most particular one. . .

It is in your Lordship's power to convince me of your friendship, and wishes to serve me by your interest in England, where you must be powerful, to get me made an Irish Privy Councillor, which my situation in this country so well entitles me to, and shall be made doubly happy to receive it from your Lordship, in whom I have reposed my confidence as the first and only Lord Lieutenant I ever did for the many years I have had the honour of sitting in the Irish Parliament. . . . .

ANTHONY STORER to LORD CARLISLE.

1783, Sept. 23, Portugal Street.—Mr. Fox having appointed me to the Secretaryship at Paris is an event which I think it proper to inform you of, and I should, I own, have requested your leave to accept it, had you not, upon a former occasion of the like nature, seemed to think that my application to you was perfectly idle, and that your dissent or approbation was entirely useless and unnecessary. I have considered it however as right to acquaint you with this appointment, lest you might imagine that it might make me neglect that attendance in Parliament which might be material to your interest, but which, give me leave to assure you, certainly will not do [so], as I shall be ready at all times to return to England, upon the shortest notice that I may receive, that my attendance is wanted. . . . . .

Asks for a copy of the Earl's Play, lately printed—The Father's Revenge.

LORD CARLISLE to the LORD LIEUTENANT of IRELAND.

1783, Sept. 28, Castle Howard.—I had some weeks ago the honour of addressing your Excellency upon the subject of Mr. John Flood, stating how particulary meritorious his conduct had been in the support of Government, and how much regret it gave me to leave Ireland without an opportunity of distinguishing him by some mark of favour. Your Excellency will, I am persuaded, think this a sufficient reason for my repeating my recommendations of him to your Excellency's protection, in the conviction that the object which will gratify his wishes will be of a nature not calculated to give you any inconvenience.

LORD C[ARLISLE] to JOHN FLOOD, ESQ.

1783, Sept. 28, Castle Howard.—Stating that he had written to Lord Northington, the Lord Lieutenant, and offering to do so again; but declining to interfere with respect to "the other object" [the Privy Councillorship].

Copy, in Dr. Coombe's hand.

The DUKE OF PORTLAND to [LORD CARLISLE].

1783, Oct. 2, Thursday morning, Chiswick.—I will not trespass unnecessarily upon your leisure, but I cannot avoid thanking you for your acquiescence in the wishes which the state of Ireland had given rise to, and which were communicated to you by Sheridan.

By the new Stamp Duties created last Session, the business of distributing is so considerably increased that the Board has represented the necessity of appointing an additional officer for that purpose in most of the English counties, and I therefore propose to your Lordship the distribution of Cumberland and Westmoreland (which has hitherto been held by one person, whose name is Wilkin) for Mr. Ramshaw, whose connections with those counties may probably render the situation particularly acceptable to him. As the Post Horse Duty has not been increased, the poundage on which for those two counties amounted only to between 38*l.* and 39*l.*, the estimate of the additional distributor's emoluments is to be formed upon those which his predecessor derived from the old Stamp Duties, which we flatter ourselves will at least be doubled; and from thence it is inferred that the new distributor's poundage will amount to 250*l.* per annum, which,

deducting the allowances to sub-distributors, may leave him clear 180*l.* or 200*l.* per annum. In offering this employment to Mr. Ramshaw you will be so good as to understand that I by no means intend to restrain you in the nomination to it. You will dispose of it in whatever way and to whomever you think proper. If it should suit Mr. Ramshaw, it will give me great pleasure, but my principal object will be answered if your Lordship considers it as a mark of the regard and esteem which I bear you, and of the attention which those sentiments must dispose me to testify for you on all occasions.

J[AMES] H[ARE] to LORD CARLISLE.

[1783?], Oct. 15, Paris.—At my arrival I was disgusted to the greatest degree with the dirt and nastiness of the *hôtels garnis*, which are in all respects worse than they were formerly; but as I have now got a clean apartment, I am very well reconciled to Paris. Lady Jersey has been amazingly goodnatured to me, and carried me to dine at the Duc de Coigny's, where I found myself so ill at my ease, that I made a resolution, to which I have adhered ever since, viz., not to go into a French house again. The English here are very numerous, but not such as I like to live with. John St. John is by many degrees more stupid and ridiculous than he is in England; I am afraid he is not quite satisfied with his reception here, as he does not seem to gain ground, though extremely desirous of paying his court to everything French.

It is quite impossible to say how much I like the *spectâcles*, though they are worse than usual on account of the voyage to Fontainebleau. I believe I shall go there for a day or two next week. Scott is come from Lunèville (?) on purpose to see me, so that I cannot leave Paris as long as he stays. Mr. Pitt is here, and goes to Fontainebleau; everybody expresses the greatest curiosity to see him. Lord Jersey is, I believe, very much admired, at which I am not surprised. I think I shall certainly be in England by the 27th or 28th, and perhaps sooner.

. . . .

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON to MRS. CHAPONE.

1783, Nov. , Madam.—By sending the Tragedy* to me a second time I think that a very honourable distinction has been shown me, and I did not delay the perusal, of which I am now to tell the effect.

The construction of the play is not completely regular, the stage is too often vacant, and the scene[s] are not sufficiently connected. This however would be called by Dryden only a mechanical defect, which takes away little from the power of the poem, and which is seen rather than felt.

A rigid examiner of the diction might perhaps wish some words changed, and some lines more vigorously terminated. But from such petty imperfections what writer was ever free?

The general form and force of the dialogue is of more importance. It seems to want that quickness of reciprocation which characterises the English drama, and is not always sufficiently fervid or animated.

Of the sentiments I remember not one that I wished omitted. In the imagery I cannot forbear to distinguish the comparison of joy succeeding grief, to light rushing on the eye accustomed to darkness. It seems to have all that can be desired to make it please. It is new, just, and delightful.

With the characters either as conceived or presented I have no fault to find; but was much inclined to congratulate a writer, who, in defiance

* "The Father's Revenge," by Lord Carlisle. *See* Walpole's Letters, viii. 394, 418.

of prejudice and Fashion, made the Archbishop of a good man, and scorned all thoughtless applause which a vicious Churchman would have brought him.

The catastrophe is affecting. The Father and Daughter, both culpable, both wretched, and both penitent, divide between them our pity and our sorrow.

Thus, Madam, I have performed what I did not willingly undertake, and could not decently refuse. The noble Writer will be pleased to remember that sincere criticism ought to raise no resentment, because judgement is not under the control of will, but involuntary criticism as it has still less of choice ought [to] be more remote from possibility of offence.

I am,
Madam,
Your most humble Servant,
Nov. 1783. Sam: Johnson.

Endorsed: Dr. Johnston (*sic*) to Mrs. Chapone.

Lord Northington to [Lord Carlisle] the Lord Privy Seal.

[1783.]—I had the honour of a letter from your Lordship some time past on the subject of Mr. Flood's conduct while your Lordship held the Administration of this country. As I considered it solely as intended as a mere honorable testimonial from your Lordship of his attachment to the King's service during that period, I did not conceive it necessary to trouble your Lordship with an answer in return.

Previous to my receipt of that letter Mr. Flood had been with me, and stated a proposal which was perfectly inadmissible, that if I would *engage* to give him an office he would purchase again into Parliament; but that if I did not, I think he said, he could not answer it to his family to dispose of so much money in that way.

As your Lordship interests yourself so warmly in his favour, I shall be happy in any opportunity of attending to his request, consistently with any other engagements I may have been obliged to enter into.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Carlisle.

[1783.] Monday morning.—When you was so good as to call upon me, I was with Mr. Pitt, having sent him my reasons for not accepting the Great Seal. I doubt whether you will think them sufficient, but I am sure you will approve the motives of my conduct.

I saw Mr. Fox for a moment on Saturday, but without any particular conversation; that which I understand he had held the preceding evening indicates in my judgment everything that is bad, and must make a breach with him inevitable, unless all is to be sacrificed to his ambition or resentment. The state of politics seems to me dangerous in an extreme degree, but as far as I can judge the Ministry will act with vigour and resolution. I enclose to you the copy of my letter to Mr. P., and if I can possibly get away from West[minster] I will come to you between two and three o'clock. If I should not be able, perhaps you will have the goodness to call here in the evening. If you see the D. of P. [Duke of Portland], he will probably tell you his idea of Mr. Fox's discourse. He is much distressed by it, but he ought to be more alarmed and more decided than he seems yet to be. I am sorry Lord F. [Fitzwilliam ?] did not hear it; from the style of his last letter I think he would have been very much roused.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1783 ?] Thursday morning.—There is nothing I should wish much more than the accomplishment of our friends' object: how far it is attainable I have not the least guess, but I will try to learn. I have had no answer to my letter, but I think, on full reflection, the answer, be it what it may, or even the singular circumstance of receiving none, should not affect ultimately my determination on the present state of things.

Endorsed:

366, pour la mort.

309 (?), pour la detention.—57.

There are also a few lines in Latin on the dorse, apparently written by Lord Carlisle.

WILLIAM EDEN to LORD CARLISLE.

[1784, March ?] Thursday morning, 6 o'clock, Oxford.—Having passed nine hours yesterday in all the riot and noise of a re-electing Corporation, I feel pretty much this morning as I should have done if I had had eighteen squires from the counties of Tipperary, Kerry, Clare, Mayo, and Sligo to dine with me at the Castle of Dublin. I am therefore by no means qualified to give explanations if they were to turn on any nice distinctions and hair's-breadths of language; but when my head did not ache (as it does consumedly now), and when my brain was less confused than it is at present, I had a meaning of my own which led me to say that your standing clear of the quarrel was a fortunate circumstance; and I think I can recollect it.

I never had a doubt that the genuine warmth of your Lordship's heart would show itself on the present occasion; after what Lord N. had said to me in the most distinct and positive terms (though I have not been so unpolite as to remind him of them), and after Lord Hills[boroug]h's repeating to you that everything was settled, you certainly have just cause of complaint and resentment, even if the circumstances were not (as I trust they are) considerably aggravated by considerations of friendship; but I am, drunk or sober, clearly satisfied that on your part it ought not to rise into a quarrel; such an end of the business might indeed embarrass Lord N. (if one could wish it), but it would in other respects be awkward, and perhaps hurtful to both of us. The world would not understand the story, and much undeserved odium would fall on me for having been the means of diverting you from a career highly honourable to yourself and probably beneficial to your country. This was my meaning, and as I have several other letters to write about the Heytisbury Election, &c.,* I will say no more at present.

I see that the proposed arrangements have not yet reached sufficient maturity to find a place in the Tuesday night's Gazette; whether they are suspended on this puzzle, time can only shew. Lord N. is at Banbury, and to be re-elected tomorrow.

If your Lordship can send me anything interesting, you will have the goodness to direct to me tonight at Amesbury, Wilts, where my head-quarters will be till Saturday evening. On Saturday night I hope to sleep at Andover, and on Sunday at Bagshot.

[P.S.] I inclose Lord B.'s letter, which being very kindly meant, but containing a very weak expression, I communicate it reluctantly. We must, however, keep it to ourselves.

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* William Eden was elected M.P. for Heytesbury on 9 September 1780, and again on 31 March 1784. This letter more probably belongs to the *former* date.

Edmund Burke to Lord Carlisle.

1784, May 10, Charles Street.—I have read the speech which you did me the honour to communicate with the greatest satisfaction. It does you credit in every point of view in which it could be considered. That it was heard with temper I do not wonder; because the moderation, which regulates every part of it, would have communicated some degree of calmness to the most savage auditory which could be collected. That it made no impression was as natural. If sound policy and sound argument were to have any weight at the meeting where it was delivered, it must have produced such an effect as we could have wished. But as the audience to which you addressed yourself are of the determined enemies to everything which can make Government powerful and respectable, all the arguments in favour of strong and able Government were so many motives to decide against you.

However, as I have very great confidence in the power of truth and reason when not too quickly abandoned I really wish I could prevail on your Lordship too permit that speech to be published. The fever of the general Election abated, the rage of addresses has spent itself, and this is the time for powerful alterative medicines in our political constitution.

The Duke of Portland to [Lord Carlisle].

1784, May 26, Wednesday even.—I return you my best thanks for the communication of the very ingenious and able argument which I have the honour of returning you enclosed. When such a state of facts and such reasoning cannot avail, it might be very blameworthy to renounce the public service for ever, but I hope this is as little your inclination as mine. I have a pleasure in looking forward, and even in contemplating the present delirium, for the violence of the paroxysm in some measure convinces me of the impossibility of its duration; and when once the country recovers itself sufficiently to reflect upon what has happened, I should flatter myself that there cannot be any danger of a relapse. This idea makes me rejoice at your having committed to paper the sentiments you took the trouble of delivering at York, as I trust the moment is not very distant when they may have the effect to which they are most justly entitled.

The Duke of Leinster to [Lord Carlisle].

1785, June 13, Dublin.—I see by the public papers that you have taken an active part in the Irish Resolutions, which I can assure [you] are no way palatable here, particular[ly] that 7th (?) Resolution. I doubt much whether they will pass our House of Commons, if they should come over here in the manner they have gone to your Lordships. We have a report here they are to be amended in the Lords; if so, I should take it as a particular favour if you would order some one to send me a copy of the Resolutions when they have passed the House of Lords, as we are very anxious to hear what has been done in the Lords. Our present Administration in this country are very close, and shuffling. I have no connection with them, but by all accounts Mr. Orde* is [a] great *shuffler*. As for His Grace,† provided he gets his skin full of

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* Thomas Orde, Chief Secretary for Ireland.

† *Qu.* Charles, 4th Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

claret, he cares little about anything else. I hope you will excuse my being so troublesome.

P.S. Mr. Grattan and Daly have declared against the propositions as sent up to the Lords.

On the back are some notes on trade, &c. by Lord Carlisle.

Lord North to [Lord Carlisle].

1785, July 29, Bushy Park.—Having been disappointed in the hopes of seeing you in London, I am obliged to take this method of returning you my most grateful acknowledgments for the very friendly, handsome, and generous manner, in which you defended my character and conduct in the House of Lords. I heard, when I was in Town, how much I was indebted not only to your Lordship's friendship, but to your ability, and I believe that, if I had had the good fortune to meet you in London, you would have been convinced by my manner, as well as by my words, of the deep sense I retain of that obligation which the expressions in my letter will but faintly and imperfectly convey.

It is common, in political life, to be wantonly, ignorantly, and unjustly attacked, but it is not equally common, upon such occasions, to meet with a kind and generous spirit, who will take fire immediately in the cause of an absent friend, and fellow-labourer, and not permit, for a moment, a mistaken or false accusation to pass unnoticed and unrefuted. Such a friend it has been my good fortune to find, and I acknowledge, with sincere thankfulness, that I owe to him a degree of comfort and satisfaction which, in the midst of my political vexations, I have not often felt, and which I am now unable to express.

There in also a copy of this letter (in the hand of Dr. Thomas Coombe, the Earl's secretary ?).

Lord Carlisle to Lord North.

1785, Aug. 4.—The slightest expression of your Lordship's approbation of my conduct on the occasion to which your letter refers would have been too ample a recompense for an exertion, which almost for the first time became easy to me, owing to the motive which impelled me to it. That invective which has neither truth nor ingenuity for its support may be repelled by the weakest hand; and it is not always that injustice, without the assistance of subtilty or speciousness, will so carelessly, as she did on that day, expose herself to obvious refutation.

. . .

Copy.

William Eden to [the Duke of———].

[1785,]——Friday, Parliament Street.—I shall probably try to find you at home for a few minutes in the course of the morning, but I have rather wished to postpone interrupting you on this Irish business till it is farther advanced; and I only desire you to understand that I am always ready to attend your commands upon it; possibly, before you go into Committee, I might, from the circumstance of being much hackneyed in the subject and in all its parts, be of some little use in explaining the bearings and tendency of particular passages.

The plan of the Ministers is to receive the Petitions, and to give the Hearings, and to sit from day to day early and late till the whole is finished; and their expectation is that about this day fortnight the

whole may be dispatched to Ireland: all which is utterly impossible if our friends among the Peers make a tolerable exertion.

I hope that the Petitions which desire a Hearing will be presented on Monday or Tuesday, and not sooner; if the Hearings should last only till the Monday following, the whole must then be printed; and the House will not be able to go into the Committee before the Friday: it ought to last three or four days at least in the Committee and on the Report; and I suspect that in the course of the discussion, it may become practicable to force some considerable amendments, in consequence of which the business may be sent back to the Commons. It is very material to give Ireland about three weeks for consideration, before the new Propositions go again to her Parliament: at this hour the Castle influence would prevail on the Parliament to adopt the whole with little difficulty; but though I learn this from good authority, I learn at the same time that there is an extreme uneasiness arising. In truth, there never was a plan so completely calculated to give present dissatisfaction and to create perpetual dissensions between the two contracting parties.

The enclosed scrawl contains some minutes which Lord Loughborough and I last night wrote down for your Grace and Lord Stormont, as the ground of motions, &c., today.

[P.S.] This business will not go on well unless you can prevail on those who take a lead in it to have frequent meetings next week. Any of us who are conversant in the business will at any time attend those meetings if we are wanted.

Endorsed: Letter—Mr. Eden—upon the Irish propo.—1785.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[17]85, Dec. 5, Beckenham, Kent.—The friendship which has so long been between us, and which I have always wished to preserve and cultivate, leads me to inform you of a circumstance materially affecting me. Mr. Pitt has proposed to me to undertake the Commercial Negociation with France in a rank similar to that of Sir James Harris at the Hague, upon the commercial points only, and separate from the businesses of the Embassy. He states it as a temporary situation offered, and to be accepted only on its own public grounds; and though I am not vain enough to feel pretentions equal to what the offer implies, I think upon a full consideration of all circumstances that it becomes me to accept it. The propriety of my doing so will depend much on my subsequent conduct, on which I am not afraid to rest both for the approbation of my friends, and for the esteem of others who give any fair attention to what is passing in political life. Mrs. Eden desires to be kindly remembered to Lady Carlisle.

Holograph. There is a copy of this in Dr. Coombe's hand.

William Eden to [Lord Carlisle].

[1785,] Dec. 28, Beckenham near Bromley, Kent.—Touching the collectorship of the stamp duties in Cumberland. . . .

I find that Lord Loughb[orou]gh is informed of those impertinent lies which were lately circulated respecting him, and on which we had some conversation when I last saw you. He is going to prosecute the publishers, which may be right if he can punish them; but if he cannot, or if he cannot trace the calumny, I shall be sorry that he is apprised of it. I have never understood whether the paragraphs arose from conversations, or *vice versâ*.

Endorsed: Dec. 28, 85.

The Duke of Portland to [Lord Carlisle].

1786, March 2, Thursday even.—In reflecting upon the intention you mentioned to me in the House of Lords, an idea occurred to me which I wish to submit to your consideration, because, if it should prove well founded, I apprehend it will be necessary for you to alter the form of your Motion, and to be prepared to lay before the House a digested plan of the amendments you propose making to the Act of 1784. Though, I must acknowledge, that it is not in my power to refer you to authorities, and that I have not been able to discover among the standing Orders any one which will apply directly to the support of my notion, I am so strongly impressed with the belief of its being the right of every Lord to bring in any Bill of a public nature without asking the permission of the House, that I am persuaded you would be interrupted in your opening, and would probably be asked if your Bill was ready.

In confirmation of this opinion I recollect three instances within my own memory, which are the two Bills presented by the late Lord Chatham, one in 1770 for reversing the adjudication of the Commons in Wilkes's case, the other in 1775 for settling the troubles in America; and one (I think in the year '80) by the Duke of Richmond, containing his project of Parliamentary Reform; for all which no previous leave was obtained.

I am therefore inclined to imagine that if the Motion should be made, in the shape in which you intended it, it would not be productive of any debate, and that the Ministers would assume an appearance of candour by reserving their opinions till they were enabled to judge of the effect of the proposed alterations by seeing them on paper, of which they would suppose you would give them an early opportunity by the introduction of your Bill.

After we parted in our House, I went down to the House of Commons, where I met Francis, who you know is to move next Tuesday for leave to bring in a Bill to explain and amend Pitt's Act; when he gave notice of his intention, Dundas urged him to open his plan at large, alleging that he (Dundas) had a proposition to make respecting it, which he chose to suppose might obviate Francis's objections to it. Francis declined gratifying Dundas, and Dundas entered into no explanation of his own intention. You will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus crudely suggesting my ideas respecting your mode of proceeding.

William Eden to Lord Carlisle.

1786, Dec. 16, Dover.—I hope you know that I called on you in Grosvenor Place during the few days I passed lately at Lambeth: I was exceeding sorry not to have found you at home, and to leave England without seeing you. [P.S.] If during the few weeks that we shall remain at Paris Mrs. Eden or I can execute any commands for your Lordship or Lady Carlisle, be so good as to send them to us through Mr. Sneyd.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1786, Oct. 25,] Wednesday m., Richmond.—I was in London on Monday, but returned hither to dinner. I propose to go there this morning, and to lie in town. I am to dine with Williams, who is quite recovered, as I am; he is kept in London, Lord North being there, on account of his son's ill health—Mr. Frederick N[orth]. I hear no news,

and am sorry that that which Lord Holland told me is not true, of his uncle's annuity, which I mentioned in my last.

The Princess Amelia is thought to be very near her end; there is to be no Court today, which is unusual on this day of the Accession. But I do not know that the Princess's illness is the cause of it. I intended to have gone to the Drawing Room and have put on my scarlet, and gold embr[oidery], for the last time. Pierre I believe has contracted for it already. I cannot learn from any of your family when you propose to return; I hope in less than three weeks. I wrote to Lady C[arlisle] yesterday.

I have no thought myself of settling in London, nor am I desirous of it, while the Thames can be kept in due bounds. At present it is subdued, and all above is clear after a certain hour, and my house is the warmest and most comfortable of any; and when I came here to dinner on Saturday last, having given my servants a day's law, everything was in as much order, as if I had never left it.

The Duke [of Queensberry] dines with me when he is here, a little after four, and when we have drank our wine, we resort to his great Hall, *bien éclairée, bien échauffée*, to drink our coffee, and hear Quintettos. The Hall is hung around with the Vandyke pictures (as they are called), and they have a good effect. But I wish that there had been another room or gallery for them, that the Hall might have been without any other ornament but its own proportions. The rest of the pictures are hanging up in the Gilt Room, and some in a room on the left hand as you go to that apartment. The Judges hang in the semicircular passage, which makes one think, that instead of going into a nobleman's house, you are in Sergeants' Inn.

There is, and will be, a variety of opinions how these portraits should be placed, and with what correspondence. I have my own, about that and many other things, which I shall keep to myself. I am not able to encounter constant dissension. I will have no bile, and so keep my own opinions for the future about men and things, within my own breast. I am naturally irritable, and therefore will avoid irritation; I prefer longevity to it, which I may have without the other. I have had a letter from Lady Ossory, who* is impatient to tell me all that has passed this summer in her neighbourhood, but she is afraid of trusting it to a letter. I can pretty well guess what kind of farce has been acted, knowing the *dramatis personæ*. The Duke of B[edford?] was to wait on her Grace, ...

I thought that Boothby had been with you. Mrs. Smith assures me that you have fine weather, and fine sport; so I wish the fifth-form boy [Lord Morpeth] had been with you, and his sister Charlotte, to make and mark his neckcloths.†

I hear no more of Eden, but my neighbour Keene's conjectures on his refusal, which are very vague, *et tant soit peu malignes*. I expect more satisfaction today from Williams: not that I want really any information about him. I have already seen and known as much as I desire of him; he is a man of talents and application, with some insinuation, and cunning, but I think will never be a good speaker, or a great man. But what he is I do not care.

My best compliments to the Dean,‡ and Corbet. I have not heard from you, nor do I expect it. Mrs. Smith says, that sometimes you do

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* The rest of this letter is in another part of the case.

† "George's neckcloths, one step towards manhood," are referred to in the letter of 29 Oct.

‡ Dr. Jeffrey Ekins, Dean of Carlisle, 1782–92.

not return till 8 in the evening. Then I suppose *que vous mangez de gran appétit, et que vous dormez après;* so how, and when, am I to expect a letter? Write or not write, I am satisfied that you are well, and be you, that I am most truly and affectionately yours.

(*On the next leaf:*)

I shall keep this half sheet for the news I may hear in Town, and as this letter is not to go till tomorrow.

Thursday m., Cleveland Court.—I met no news in Town when I came, but that Princess Amelia has at present, in Dr. Warren's estimation, but a few days to live. If her own wishes were completed in this respect, she must have died yesterday, being on the same day in October that the late King died. It is a pity that she should not have been gratified. But she still hopes it will be in this month, that she may lose no reputation in point of *prévoyance*, which would be a pity.

It is not an unnatural thing, with our German family, to make a rendezvous as to death, and it has in more instances than one been kept. K[ing] G[eorge] 1st took a final leave of the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, the night before he went to Hanover for the last time; and the Queen afterwards prophesied that she should not outlive the year in which she happened to die.

But her R. H. is firm and resigned, and, as Dr. Warren says, declares herself ready. She flaps her sides as she sits up in her bed, as a turtle does with its fins, and says, "I am ready, I am ready."

I heard yesterday that I have lost two other friends, whom I valued as much, and for the same reason, that their faces were familiar to me for above five and forty years. I mean little Compton, Bully's friend and minister, and Sturt of Dorsetshire, both victims to the gout. I am also told that Sir G. Metham is dying. . . .

Harry Fox is to have a tolerable good fortune with his wife, which I am glad of. But that she could like his person would amaze me, if I did not know that, for particular reasons, women will like anything.

[George Selwyn to Lady Carlisle.]*

[1786, Oct. 29?] Sunday night, Richmond.— . . . I sent my coach after breakfast for the children, who came here between one and two, and stayed with us till it was time to return, and before the daylight was closed; so they all went between four and five, and arrived safe. Lizy,† Gertrude, William, and Frederick‡ had their dinner about two, and Lady Charlotte dined with Mrs. Webb; Mie Mie and I between three and four. They were all in high spirits. . . . William found his wheelbarrow in my hall, which, with the help of a birchbroom to sweep together the leaves, will serve him as an amusement till he goes to London. . . . I do not wonder at your being pleased with the account which I sent from Salthill [concerning George, Lord Morpeth]. . . . You have encouraged, or permitted me at least, to write to you, and I have as you see availed myself of it. I shall continue to do so while you stay at Trentham, but I hope that will not now be long, or that Lord and Lady Stafford will themselves be there.

I go to London on Tuesday, and to stay there that night, when perhaps I may have some news to send you more than what comes from

* This letter begins "Dear Madam," but the following letters begin "Dear Lady Carlisle."

† Elizabeth Howard, who became the wife of the fifth Duke of Rutland.

‡ Frederick Howard, killed at Waterloo.

your own nursery. I may perhaps, by that time, be liberated from a promise to keep a secret,* which cannot be such more than a few days, but which (*sic*) I am sorry to be under that engagement as not to be able to send you now an interesting information imparted to me. I shall at last, it may be, tell you only what you already know, but that I cannot help. All is secret between us, till a Gazette extraordinary comes out, and this does but reveal what, from as good authority, we knew before. Well, let who will love mystery, I own that I do not. If I promise to keep a secret I will, although I know it is really no secret; but let who will divulge it, as it is none of mine, I will not. I have fewer secrets of my own than perhaps any man ever had, because I never wish, in any circumstance, to pass for what I am not; and I hate all pretended confidence from another, because I know that what they reveal is not from having a particular confidence in me, but from their own inability to conceal the confidence which others have reposed in them, and of which they are vain.

The Duke of Q[ueensberry] set out this morning for Newmarket, and for a week, during which time London and Putney will be my chief resource. Here there is very little society, because I have admitted as yet none to which I was not, before my coming here, accustomed, and Mie Mie seems perfectly satisfied with what that affords. I was indeed last night at the Baron's concert, to please her, and of which I can say nothing, but that it is unexceptionable. It is as *triste* as his own face, nor can that of the Duke of Mountague, Lady Greenwich, or the Marchioness of Twee[d]dale enliven it, but to a certain degree. There is to be one more, and then the squall of Abraham will be over, and we must find another era from which to date our amusement.

Mrs. Keene is an *invalide*, and we *next* (*sic*) see but little of her. The Norths are in great affliction from the state of health in which the youngest son is at present, and which seems with reason to give them great alarms. The father had twelve years of uninterrupted felicity, for which we have all of us paid sufficiently. This is a *revers funeste*, and which, they say, he feels more than any other. I have seen Lord Graham, who is also very *triste*, and who, as they tell me, cannot bear to see his son, who has been the innocent cause of so much affliction. That of Lord Ashb[urnham] will, however, in all probability take more time in healing. He is still at Ashburnham, and Lord Graham is going again to see him.

M^e^ de Sevigné says, in one letter of hers, *Il est Mecredi, et le Duc de la Rochefoucault est toujours mort.* (This was a manner of speaking of her friend's death, which, as the Duchesse d'Anville, his grand-daughter, told me, the family does not relish.) I may say, It is Sunday, *et la Princesse est encore en vie.*† I hear that the P[rince] of Hesse is made her executor and residuary legatee, and that both her house in town and [that] at Gunnersbury will be to be sold. She has had great possessions from one quarter or another, but has lived well, and with uncommon generosity. She had a good understanding, and great spirit, but such an insufferable degree of pride and sometimes malice, that I never had, I own, the ambition which some of my friends have had, of making my court to her.

The Parliament I find does not meet for business till after the Xmas holidays, and that makes me afraid that till then I shall have no parties at Whitehall, but with my immortal friend, my Lady Townshend.

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* Probably the King's madness.

† Princess Amelia died 31 Oct. 1786, aged 71. (Boyle's Chronology.)

The Duke of Bedford, they tell me, will buy a house near Brooks's, that he may not have so far to go from thence at night, as to Bloomsbury Square, and would have given ten thousand pounds for that in St. James['s] Place, in which you lived. He wants, he says, but one room for himself, but shall have the satisfaction of accommodating some one or two of his friends with the rest, and it is supposed that Lord and Lady Maynard will have the preference; but this I mention as a rumour only. If it be true, you will find it soon in a paper of more authority. The idea, which I make no doubt originated at Brooks's, has diverted me extremely. Her Grace is not so well pleased with the intended arrangements. But what steps she has taken to obviate them I do not know. *Le meilleur parti seroit, il me semble, de n'y plus songer.* . . .

Mie Mie desires to be most kindly remembered to Caroline and your Ladyship with great respect. No compliments of mine at Trentham need be repeated, nor can they doubt of them. . . .

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1786,] Nov. 2, Thursday, Richmond.—I came from London yesterday, where I went the day before; but before I set out I called upon Miss Gunning, whom I would have persuaded to have dined here today, to have drunk with me your health, but she was engaged. I am to fetch her to dine here on Sunday; she will be at Mrs. Stewart's in Richmond Park. We shall go first to see the children, and then come here to dinner.

I had yesterday an idea at which I hope you will not be displeased, because I did not upon reflection carry it into execution. But I had proposed to Borey to carry to Putney some little *feux d'artifice* for the amusement of the children this evening, and to celebrate with these your birthday. But he, who is *la stolidité* même*, and with very proper precaution, said that some mischief might happen, and if no other, that the children might catch cold. I did not apprehend either of these ill consequences from their seeing a few petards go off, or a *pluye de feu* before the door or the window, and these shut; however I yielded to his superior wisdom and caution, and so laid aside the thoughts of it.

The Princess [Amelia] is at last dead, and, as you will see by the papers, just time enough to have her prediction fulfilled. It was a whimsical satisfaction which she had proposed to herself by this family compact, as I may call it, of dying either on the same day with her father or her brother. Death, who had the choice of the two days, gave her the latter.

I have wrote to Lord C[arlisle], and have told him all I had heard of her will, and which was communicated to me some time ago, but under a promise of secrecy. It did not interest me, but from the advantage which Lady Ann† was to derive from it, but that is very considerable; if my information was true, and her R[oyal] H[ighness] did not change her mind. I take for granted, when my Lord writes to you, that he will let you know all the particulars. Lord Besborough and Lord Pelham are her executors, and by this time her will must be opened, and the contents of it universally known. . . .

Incomplete.

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* Or *solidité.*

† Lady Anne Vernon-Harcourt, sister of Lady Carlisle.

[George Selwyn] to Lord Carlisle (at Castle Howard).

[1786,] Nov. 6, Monday night, Richmond.—I went this morning to London for a few hours, and returned here to dinner. I saw nobody but Williams; I was nowhere but in Cleveland Court. I found a letter from Caroline to her sister Charlotte, which I franked to Putney. In the envelope there was to me every kind and obliging thing said that could be thought of about my late illness. I received by the post also of today a letter from Lady Carlisle, who talks of leaving Trentham in about a week and of staying at Putney in about a fortnight after she comes there. This puts all thoughts out of my head of settling in town. In short, I see that we shall all meet in Grosvenor Place about St. Andrew's Day, and *à propos* to that, Williams tells me that Lord Ailesbury is to have the vacant Green Ribband. Your sister's legacy is that of 5,000 and not six. I am glad that my information was so near the truth. But I was positively assured by a friend of her R[oyal] H[ighness] that she had left her six thousand. She will be buried on Saturday. She is already embalmed, cered, and coffined; her body is wrapped in I do not know how many yards of crimson silk, and she, they tell me, looks like a silkworm in its outward case. Warren saw her embalmed. Potts attended, but I suppose that Hunter embalmed her. . . . (Reference to the late Mrs. Cavendish.)

But to return to the Princess [Amelia]. The house in Town is to be sold, as well as Gunnersbury; and what the house in Town sells for is to be the legacy destined for the Lady Waldgraves. What remains to be paid her of her Irish pension, she bequeaths to inferior servants. *Bref*, she dies worth in all about 80,000*l*. Lord Duncannon sent to the King from his father, to know if it pleased his Majesty that the will should be opened at the Queen's house. The K. said, "By no means; I have nothing to do with the will; I only desire a copy of it." She has left the Duchess of Brunswic her jewels, which are very fine; to Warren, nothing. She told him some months ago, "Make what you can of me now, for I have left you nothing."

Lord Brudenell had a bad fall from his horse, but no ill consequences have happened from it. The Town is still very empty, and Williams is very peevish that I will not remove thither for his amusement. Tomorrow morning Miss Gunning, her sister, Mie Mie, and I go together to Ham Common to hear Mrs. Hobart read a French play. We went, the Miss Gunnings and I, yesterday morning to see the children. . . .

The Duchess of Portland had yesterday or the day before an apoplectic fit in bed, and she is, or has been, in extreme danger; but I do not find that she is quite given over. There is a great match tomorrow at Newmarket, so I do not expect to see the Duke of Q[ueensberry] here till Wednesday or Thursday. How much longer it will be before he leaves Richmond I cannot guess, but I suppose that his removal and ours will be about the same time. I am sure that I am not impatient. The view of the Thames is more agreeable to me than that of those full-length pictures in my room in Cleveland C[ourt], and in one house or other I must be as it were confined now for some months.

Who will buy Gunnersbury? The Duke of Bedford? It will be a delightful villa for Lady Maynard, and if her Ladyship should pass the next year in one or other of these great houses, *son étoile sera plaisante*, and there is nothing improbable in it. It will be the triumph of Folly and Impudence together; and if her Ladyship keeps a chaplain too,

which she may do, for aught I know, there is a chapel ready, both there and in Bloomsbury Square. Whatever the comedy is, I wish to see it complete.

On Saturday I return to London, and intend to stay there all night. It is not with any view to the Royal interment. That vault and its contents are as familiar to me as the rooms of my own house. But I have business there of my own, with Harrison, and at Lincoln's Inn; and I shall be glad to hear something else than about this Princess. But of whom I can learn anything of the least importance I do not know. If I do, you shall hear of it.

Williams talks of a faction in the Cabinet. If there is, he can know but little of it. He thinks the Chancellor* and Lord Sydney are leagued against the Minister. The two corps, if they are joined, are so with very unequal talents. I believe nothing of it; and I care still less about it. I have not, as yet, learned that Eden has accepted or refused, or what has been offered to him. I hope that Fawkner will make something of *his* Treaty at the Court of Portugal, if not for us, for himself at least. Lord Carmarthaen (*sic*) is recovered, but has been seriously ill. Lord North's son [Frederick] is not dying, but will never recover, which is worse. . . . .

The Baron's concerts ended last Saturday, and we shall lose the two Jewesses, the Abrahams, in the course of this week. . . . . Remember me to the Dean, and to Corbet. Tell the D[ean] I wish that he would read a sermon of Dr. Atterbury's now and then, for my sake, but that I do not rate him so high as you imagine.† You will allow, I suppose, him to have had a good share of classical learning, that his compositions were elegant, *et son style coulant; voilà tout.* I never compared him to Sherlock, to Clerk, or to many others of his profession. But you are in the right; I may formerly have prised (*sic*) him too much. But you must recollect that I had a Christchurch Tutor, who gave me the first impression of him, and of many such showy superficial scholars, such as Westminster abounds with. The more profound are out of my depth, although not of yours. I could never get an admirer of my erudition but Wraxall; of my wit I have had indeed plenty, that is, all the fools in Town, who never had any idea of what wit is, and to which I am sure I stand [as] clear of making any pretensions as anybody ever did. But, if I had, would it be wonderful? when Lady Tweedale protests, I cannot speak but it is a *bon mot.*

Seal of arms.‡

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

[1787?] Sunday, 5 o'clock.—I have no reason to know that Sir Jas. Erskine is not to come in for Castle Rising, though perhaps the not having yet heard that he is to continue may afford some suspicion.§

Lady Andover is only expected in town tomorrow night, and I am afraid it will not be in my power to learn her intentions sooner than Tuesday.

I am infinitely obliged to you for the offer, and should at once embrace it if I were not afraid of its being attended with an incon-

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* Lord Thurlow.

† The rest was found apart.

‡ On a bend cotised three annulets, &c.

§ Sir James Erskine, Bart., was M.P. for Morpeth 1784–90 and 1790–6.

venience to your Lordship. Sir James must offer himself for the County of Fife whenever General Skene ceases to be the Member, and Skene's health is very precarious, though not so bad as to induce him to decline at present.

I will let Stuart know your Lordship's kindness to him, though from a conversation I had with him this morning I rather believe it will not alter his resolution not to come into Parliament; and if you are either to be at home or at Adhemar's about ten o'clock, I shall be happy to see you for a few minutes.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH to [LORD CARLISLE].

1787, Oct. 13, Woburn Farm.---Sir J. Erskine is at present in Holland, but I saw him at Newcastle, and I think nothing can have happened since to alter the disposition he then had to disengage himself entirely from his contest in Scotland. It will always be my wish that he should think of Morpeth only, while you are so good as to think of him for that place. No event is likely to change this opinion, for supposing his success in Scotland could be insured, I am satisfied it would be better for his fortune and his constitution, and his political situation even, to fight Morpeth under your auspices (if it were possible that it should be fought) than to take the charge and burthen of a large county with all its claims upon him. My former adoption of that project was entirely from complaisance to his cousin, who wished to support a family interest without being at the trouble of it.

The Dissolution of Parliament seems to me the only political event that is altogether improbable, and yet a few months ago I should have said that a war was equally so. Fox, whom I saw yesterday, is persuaded there can be no war, as the game is too far lost in Holland for France to interfere with any effect, but that it will be very difficult to be secure against the danger or free from the expense of preparation for some time to come. Though I think his reasoning just, I suspect that our style of negotiating may not leave it in the option of France to consult her prudence. The Duke of Richmond is supposed to have taken up Lord Carmarthen's part, and there has been a report that he was to takehis department ostensibly, leaving the Ordnance to the new Marquis [Townshend]. The pressing style of our negotiations is ascribed to him, and I am certainly informed that it is our boast that it has been very peremptory.

Grenville's mission to Holland was not owing to any diffidence of Harris,* but because it was not suitable for the Minister at the Hague to have made a journey to Nimeguen; a different reason is openly assigned for his message to Paris, and precisely what you guess, that Eden was not thought to have penetration enough to discover what the French really intended. The result, I am told, has not been quite so satisfactory, and all the experience and address of Mr. Grenville have been exerted in vain to procure the explanations desired. By comparing different editions of the account of Grenville's message, I believe it is certainly true that he brought back no other answer than that France took in good part the assurances of the pacific intentions of England, notwithstanding her armament, and that whenever H. C. M. had determined the part he was to take in any affair in which England was concerned in interest, it should be communicated to the British Ambassador. A reliance on the embarrassed state of France may excite too

* Sir James Harris, afterwards Earl of Malmesbury.

great a confidence on our part, and produce what we ought most to dread and will not be long of repenting, for I have no faith in the popularity of a war, nor in the courage of those who seem so little afraid of it. If France has no war, their Government will remain in great confusion. If she is driven into a war, the resources will be found much greater and more easily brought forth than we are disposed to believe; I doubt whether a Bankruptcy would be unpopular in France, and it would be a most formidable resource.

Your new neighbour in Yorkshire is, I understand, a very bad courtier, and not disposed to trust old interests; so I think it very likely you may meet as country gentlemen. Considering that I have conversed with nobody upon any public occurrence for some months till yesterday, I am surprised that my pen has run on so long upon such subjects, and I am afraid you will not find the information much better than a corner in a newspaper.

I had left Harrogate long before your obliging note came there, and it was forwarded to me here while I was on a visit to Gibbon at Lord Sheffield's, so that it reached me only two days before your letter.

George Selwyn to [Lady Carlisle].

[1788,] Nov. 2, Richmond.—It must seem, dear Lady Carlisle, very shabby that on this day I do not afford a sheet of gilt paper for my letter to you, but it is to no purpose giving any other reason when I have that to give of having none by me. But truth on plain paper is better than a compliment without sincerity, with all the *vignettes* which could be found to adorn it, and nothing can be truer than that I rejoice at the return of this day, which gave birth to what I have on so many accounts reason to value and esteem. I wrote yesterday such a long epistle to Lady Caroline, as would have worn out anybody's patience but hers. . . .

Miss Gunning is I find at the Park with Mrs. Stewart, and tomorrow morning I shall go in my coach to see her. I wish it were possible for her to accept a corner in my coach, and go with me to C[astle] Howard, but I am afraid that it is not. I take for granted that you have fixed upon the 20th for our setting out, and that you intend that Lord Morpeth should come to my house the day before, which will be on Monday fortnight. He wishes to have leave to come from Eton on Saturday, and, as he has told me in a letter which I have received from him today, he has hinted it to his father. I promised to second his motion, and I hope it will be complied with. . . .

I shall remove with my family to town from hence in about ten days. As yet we have leaf and verdure and air, and the country is very agreeable. We have a few to associate with, and not too many. Old Mrs. Crewe is my passion, and her house free from that *cohue* with which others are filled; and as we have no connection with those who make a public place of this situation, I find it a much more private one than I expected.

The Duke seems for this year to have deserted us. Monsieur de Calonne engrosses all the time which he can spare from Newmarket. Frederick St. John's match is, as I am told, at an end. But then the Duchess of R[utland's] widowhood is just begun. I have lost myself the opportunity of being his rival. Her Grace was in this house last summer with me, and alone, but how could I foresee the event which has since happened? and a *survivance* at my age could not be thought

an object. I do not hear who are to compose the next Court at the Castle. You see whom the papers name, and perhaps can say who are the most likely to go there. . . .

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

1787, Nov. 10, Richmond.—*I was flattering myself that when I awaked this morning I should have a letter from your Ladyship; and indeed as Pierre makes my coffee very thick, I thought that I saw something like it at the bottom of my coffee cup. It proved in part true, for I had as many letters of your Ladyship and in your own hand as go to the composition of your names. I received by the post a petition signed "Caroline Carlisle," to his Majesty's Almoner, to which I was desired to add my name also.

Addressed: To the Countess of Carlisle, Castle Howard, Yorkshire. Free. Geo. Selwyn.

Seal of arms.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1788, Nov. 11 ?] Tuesday, one o'clock, Richmond.—With all my desire to gratify your curiosity at this crisis, I can tell you no more this m[orning] than what I have read in the *World*, and which I believe and hope to be authentic. The D[uke] came here yesterday to dine, but after dinner he went to Windsor. I hope in his return that he will come here, or send me a letter. I am quieter here today in this place than I have been for some days past; my mind has been too much agitated with all the disagreeable events which might follow from this misfortune of our losing the King, or his loss of understanding. But I think they despaired too much, or the change is very extraordinary, and yet what I can conceive. But all will come out in time—the cause of the disorder, its progress, as well as its effects. This seems to occupy people more than the dismal scenes which I am sure every honest man would dread, and every sensible one must think probable.

I wish to have had a letter from you, to know as much of your motions as you might think fit to communicate, but I own that I have been fretting these two days, I believe very foolishly, that I have had no letter from George. But last night I sent one to him by the Duke's servant, to know how he did. He tells me of his cough and influenza, and I do not know what, begs me not to be alarmed, and from that moment I hear no more. I shall, I believe, remove with my family to London the end of this week, for if this bustle continues, I should like to be *à portée* to learn what is said, and what is to be done, and if it ends happily, to be *à portée* to set out for C[astle] H[oward] whenever you required it. My love to everybody. I wish I may pass my Xmas with you, Lady C., and the children, and having [have] nothing to think of but amusing them.†

George Selwyn to Lady Carlisle.

[1788, Nov.] 20, Thursday, Cleveland Court.—George, you know, set out on Tuesday, and tomorrow I hope that you will see him, and as well as when I took leave of him. I will own fairly to you, that it was some degree of anxiety to me, that he had no servant to go with

* The outside leaf of a letter.

† This is on a half-sheet.

him so long a journey. . . . When I left him in Grosvenor Place I came here to write to you a letter, . . . but condemned it to the flames. This Lord C., with whom I have breakfasted, has reproved me for: he was sorry that I did not send it; you should not be left out of the secret, you should know as much as your neighbours, &c. You shall do so, if I can furnish you with any intelligence, and although you never tell me anything which I have not seen before, a fortnight past, in the Gazette, I shall not use the same reserve with you. I intend to write constantly to you, or to my Lord, what comes to my knowledge, true or false, and when I may cite the authors of my news I will, and what I ought to keep secret I must, but I think that there will be no occasion for that; I desire to be trusted with no secrets myself. Those who are, tell them soon enough for me. . . .

The account of the K[ing] this morning in the papers, and which, to a certain degree, is generally true, is as bad as it can be, and from such information I dare say, with regard to his health or the continuance of his disorder, the whole world can have but one and the same opinion. But I am obliged, I find, to be cautious of saying in one place what I am ordered to believe from authority in another; and when I am enquiring or saying anything concerning the present state of things, I am precisely in the situation of Sir R. de Coverley, enquiring, when he was a boy, his way to St. Ann's Lane. Nothing, it is supposed, will be said today in either House. We shall meet about three or four, and agree to adjourn, about which I hope and presume there will be no difference of opinion. Lord C[arlisle] thinks that there will not, and that the adjournment will be for a fortnight.

Today, I have heard, is fixed upon to speak reason to One who has none. Dr. Warren, in some set of fine phrases, is to tell his Majesty that he is stark mad, and must have a straight waistcoat. I am glad that I am not chosen to be that Rat who is to put the bell about the Cat's neck. For if it should be pleased (*sic*) God to forgive our transgressions, and restore his Majesty to his senses, for he can never have them again till we grow better, I suppose, according to the opinion of Churchmen, who are perfectly acquainted with all the dispensations of Providence, and the motive of his conduct; I say, if that unexpected period arrives, I should not like to stand in the place of that man who has moved such an Address to the Crown. If the Dr. should, as it was told me, say simply that he must be under government, the K[ing] will not be surprised at what, *bon gré, mal gré,* has happened to him so often. But what happens, when it comes to my knowledge, I will write it, and something or other I shall write to C[astle] H[oward] every day. . . .

Addressed: *London, Novr. twentieth, 1788. To the Countess of Carlisle, Castle Howard, Yorkshire. Free. Geo. Selwyn.

Seal (*a head*).

George Selwyn to Lady Carlisle.

[1788, Nov. 26 ?] †Wednesday m[orning].—I have had the infinite pleasure of receiving your letter this morning, so I shall write to you today, and not to Lord C[arlisle], and I am the more glad to do so, because I think it but fair, as you have married him for better, for worse, that you should divide my nonsense and importunity between you. *Je lais*[*s*]*e courir ma plume,* which would be abominable and

* Found apart.

† On a separate leaf is the address of a letter dated 26 Nov. 1788, which day was a Wednesday.

indiscreet, if I was not writing to one who is used to hear me say a thousand things which he attributes to passion and perverseness, and is not for that the less my friend. Then I like, when my mind and heart are full, and I cannot open the budget before him, to evaporate upon paper, which provokes no tart reply. I wish that we were agreed upon every point of consideration in the Grand Affair which occupies the whole country, so naturally, but I am afraid that we are not, yet he will not be angry with me. For when I change my mind, or my* rage is abated, it will be more from cool and friendly advice from him than from anybody, and to make me, as I have told him, quite reconciled to measures. I must, besides, seeing they have not all the evil tendency which I expect, be persuaded that he will be considered as he ought to be, and that they think one person of character, as well as rank, is no disparagement to their connection, but on the contrary will give some credit to it. I shall say no more to you upon this matter.

The K[ing] is so much in the same state he was, and there is so little appearance of any immediate change, that I am not, for the present, solicitous about it. There must be a new Government I see, and it may be a short or a lasting one, for it will, or ought to depend entirely upon his Majesty's state of mind. For my own part I am free to confess, that if I only see his hat upon the Throne, and ready to be put upon his head, when he can come and claim it, and nothing in the intermediate time done to disgrace and fetter him, as in the [year] 1782, I shall be satisfied. It is a sad time indeed, and if the Arch[bisho]p pleases, I will call it by his affec[ted ?] phrase, an awful moment.

I pity the poor Queen, as you do, most excessively, and for her sake, I hope that a due respect will be paid to the K[ing], and while he and she were grudged every luxury in the world, by those mean wretches Burk[e], Gilbert, and Lansdown, all kind of profusion is not thought of to captivate his R[oyal] H[ighness]. In short, I shall be glad, if his Majesty has lost his head, to hear that the P[rince] has found it. I have given him as yet more credit than I would own, for I will not be accused of paying my court to him while, I say, I see the K[ing's] hat only upon the Throne.

I know that you will say that I am heated with a zeal that in three months' time may be out of fashion. It may be so; but I rather believe myself that this misfortune will add greatly to the veneration which the public has of late had for his Majesty, and make it more necessary for his successor to be cautious *with whom* and *how* he acts. He has *beau jeu*, I hope he will make a right use of it. The K[ing] will be soon removed and in a *carros*[*s*]*e bourg*[*e*]*ois*, but whether to the Q[ueen's] House or to Kew I cannot learn for certain. I should prefer Kew, if the physicians did not by that sacrifice too much of the care which is due in their profession to the public.

I cannot get sight of the D[uke]; the P[rince] will have him to himself. I am now confined; my cough must be attended to, or it will increase, and perhaps destroy me. Mie Mie is an excellent nurse, and a most reasonable girl indeed. If her mother was so, I should hear no more of her. But there will be still *du ménagement nécessaire à avoir;* however, I have no fears of the issue of it.

Mie Mie, I believe, will be glad, when your L[ad]y[ship] comes to town, to go to the Chapel with Lady Caroline; you will tell me *tout*

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* The word "should" is here interlined.

bonnement if you should have any objection; *à tout évènement* she will have a pew somewhere. She can no longer support the idea of belonging to no communion, that *en fait de salut* she should be *ni chair ni poisson*. She pleases me in that, and I shall be completely happy to see her established in the Protestant religion, provided that it is her own desire. But my profession is not that of making converts, *et je ne veux me charger de l'âme de personne*.

My dearest William, pray mind your Billiards; whatever you do, do not apply to it slovenly, wish success in it, and be so good, for my sake, as to love reading; you may entertain me, if you do, with a thousand pretty stories of Hector and his wife, of Romulus and Remus, and at last we may come to talk together of M. de St. Simon. Learn to make a pen, and write a very large clean hand, and then I shall love you, if possible, more than I do at present.

Frederick, what would I give to see you Regent with a Council, and Tany that Council. You say nothing to me of Lizy or Gertrude; my love to them.

George* must certainly be grown, but I do not perceive it. I perceive that he is strong and well, and I hope he will have a great deal of hunting, *sans être trop téméraire*. My hearty love to Lady Caroline. Mie Mie and I have not laid aside the thoughts of that which is so connected with our wishes and affections, but I see no immediate prospect of doing or hearing anything one likes as yet.

I was in hopes that when Lord C[arlisle] came here next, you and the family would come with him. I cannot bear the thoughts of not seeing you till after Christmas. The winter will appear terrible (*sic*) long to me, who have so little pleasure here besides that of going in a morning to Grosvenor Place.

Today I have a bill sent me of 100*l*. 12*s*. 0*d*. laid out for the poor King, who ordered me to bespeak for him the best set which I could get of the glass dishes and basons for his dessert. The Regency may perhaps not want them, thinking that they have no occasion for any desert, and that they can do without it: perhaps so, *nous verrons*. Old Begum, as they call her, is more absurd, I hear, than ever.

I was sorry that I could not dine yesterday at Whitehall, but I shall not dine out of my room for some time. Wine is my destruction, with the cold that I endure after it. I shall keep myself, if I can, from any complaint that will prevent my going to Parliament. The rat-catchers are going about with their traps, but they shall not have a whisker of mine.

Lord C[arlisle] sets out you say on Monday next; then I shall see him, I suppose, on Wednesday; he will not hurry up as he did down, and then I am afraid I shall hardly get access to him. Charles you know is come; I have not heard anything more of him. The papers say that Pitt and the Chan[cello]r went to Windsor together in one chaise, and he and Dr. Graham in another. I want to know, how he has relished Sheridan's beginning a negotiation without him. I have figured him, if it be true, saying to him, at his arrival, as Hecate does to the Witches in Macbeth, "Saucy and [over] bold, how did you dare to "trade and traffic, &c., and I, the mistress of your charms, the close "contriver of all harms, was never called to bear my part," &c. I will not [go] on to the rest of the passage,† for fear of offending. I hope that

* Lord Morpeth.

† "Or show the glory of our art?
And, which is worse, all you have done
Hath been but for a wayward son,
Spiteful and wrathful, who, as others do,
Loves for his own ends, not for you." (Act 3, scene 5.)

I shall not have offended you by anything which I have said; if I do not, you shall hear from me as often as you please. Be only persuaded that I am most truly and devotedly yours.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1788, Dec. 4?] Thursday morning.—I begin my letter to you this morning, and at an early hour, before I can have been informed of anything, but I do so to shew you that I am impatient to obey your commands, and that I intend to write to you as often as I can pick up anything which I think will interest or amuse you; in which I shall not forget that George and Caroline are now of an age to take some parts in public affairs. What is of a more solemn and profound nature and secrecy, such as the deliberations of the Cabinet, that you will learn from those who will relate them to you with more precision and authenticity. Of these if anything transpires to me, it must be through Jack Payne, Lord Lothian, or Trevis, and these are such confused and uncertain channels that there will be no dependence upon the veracity of them. *Ils ne laissent pas pourtant de donner leur avis de tems en tems, et d'en parler après, à ce que j'ai ouï dire.* So that *de côté ou d'autre* you are sure to know something, and perhaps what may not come to the knowledge of those who furnish materials for the daily papers.

The K[ing] is undoubtedly in a state in which he may remain, and a deplorable one it is; deplorable and deplored, I believe, by every honest and feeling man in this country. But he has now a comfort which, as the poet says, none but madmen know. You, nor any belonging to you, I hope in God will ever know what it is; but he diverts himself now, as I hear, without his reason, precisely in the same manner as I have seen the children do, before they had any, and from this account you will have a just conception of his *present* state.

There was a meeting last night at Lord Sydney's, and another at the Cockpitt, and what was said and done the public papers will, I doubt not, more fully relate than I can. I could not stir out or see anybody after Lord Carlisle, who dined with me, went away, except the Duke, who now sups every night with h[is] R[oyal] H[ighness] and his Brother* at Mrs. Fitzherbert's, and is so good as to call here before he goes.

This cough which I have now has confined me to my room ever since last Monday was sevennight, and has for the time been more severe than any which I have ever had. I could not be permitted to lose any blood till yesterday, which I am surprised at, and sorry for too, for I think that if I had been blooded a week ago the effect would have been more than I find it to be yet. I must keep at home. Blisters are recommended, but as they are sometimes attended with painful complaints, so I cannot submit to them. In other respects I am perfectly well, and in spirits.

H.R.H. has been so good as to enquire after my health, of the Duke, and I have desired him to say, that I find myself better, and am told that I may *go out* in a few days. I think it is most likely that I shall. I wish it were as likely that poor Corbet came in for something or other that would render his situation more comfortable to him.

My Lord tells me that he has had Zenks to dine with him, which I shall undoubtedly quote as a precedent, whenever my friends *now* in Government shall think it right to bring forward in Parliament the

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* George, Prince of Wales, and Frederick, Duke of York.

Recovery of his Majesty's Reason. I must own, my dear Lady C[arlisle], that I think that you had all of you too much courage in allowing of that visit, and especially at dinner, amongst all the knives and forks. I believe, if I had been there, I should have hemmed in all the children. with the chairs, as a *chevaux de frise*, and placed myself before them with the poker in my hand.

Lord C[arlisle] looks very well, and seems in great but modest glee. I hope at least to have the comfort of seeing him gratified, and when I know how, I intend to write George a letter, who will believe, I am sure, that in that instance, if in no other, I shall lay aside party prejudices, and rejoice with him.

*I had laid aside my paper, and intended to have wrote no more till somebody came to me to give me new information. But I have had my apothecary at my bedside, who has been giving me an account of the examination of the physicians by the Privy Council. The physicians, one and all, declared his Majesty to be, at present, unfit for public business; but when Mr. Burk[e], who was a leading man, and the most forward in asking questions, put this to them, whether there was any hope of his Majesty's recovering, they did not scruple to say, that they had *more reason* to *hope* it than not. Dr. Warren was the most unwilling to subscribe to this opinion, but did not refuse his assent to it. It was, to be sure, the answer which Mr. Burke wished and expected. He told me that the Party, as he heard, is very angry with Mr. Fox, and will not believe the indisposition, which confines him to his bed, not to be a feigned one.

This is my apothecary's news, but if it was the barber's only, I should tell it to you. I wish to find it all true, but not a little also that Mr. F[ox] has displeased some of his friends; for if he has, and that should not be Lord Carlisle, I shall have the better opinion of him. Lord C[arlisle] has held out to me, in his last letter, the language of a man of sense, of honour, and of feeling, but the misfortune is that all he says, from the sincerity of his mind and heart, will be adapted [adopted ?] by those who have not one of his qualities, and yet are compelled to talk as he does, to serve their own purposes.

As to Mr. Fox, although I am at variance with him, and am afraid shall for ever be so, for reasons which I do not choose now to urge, although I am determined never to be connected with him by the least obligation, I am free to confess, that I am naturally disposed to love him, and to do justice to every ray of what is commendable in him; and I will go so far as to protest, that, if he acts upon this occasion with a decent regard to the K[ing], and his just prerogatives, I will endeavour to erase out of my mind all that he has done contrary to his duty, and "would mount myself the rostrum" in his favour. To gain his pardon from the people would be now unnecessary, that is, with some of them; with the best of them, I know it would be impossible.

Lord North's speech I shall be very impatient to read, for hear, I fear, that I shall not; I see little probability of my going out for some time. I wish that I had gone from Matson to Castle H[oward]; I might perhaps be there now, and have escaped this martyrdom. You say nothing of your coming here, and will not, I daresay, come the sooner, for my impatience to see you and the children. I must live upon that unexpected pleasure; but whom I shall collect to eat my minced pies on William's birthday, I do not as yet know.

The business of Parliament does not begin till Monday; till then, it will be nothing but hearsay, speculation, &c. &c. Some tell me that the present Ministry is determined to try the number of those who will

* The rest was found with the letter of 2 Nov.

support them, and are not afraid of being overrun with Rats; *nous verrons*. Lord Stafford* was to have come to me yesterday, when the Council was up, but it was too late.

[George Selwyn] to Lady C[arlisle].

[1788, Dec. 5?]—Postscript. Good God, Lady C[arlisle], what I have done? Mie Mie wrote a letter yesterday to her mother; I was to put it in the same envelope with my own. They were only to thank her for hers, which the Comte d'Elci (?) brought me from her, enquiring after Mie Mie's health. Today I find Mie Mie's letter on my table. I shall send it by the next post, but I am afraid that I put into my envelope a sheet which was intended for Lord Carlisle. Pray ask him if he had two sheets, or what he had. I am in hopes that, *par distraction*, it was only a sheet of blank paper. Yet that I did not intend neither; she shall have no *carte blanche* from me. I am miserable about this. What makes me hope that it was not part of my rhapsody to Lord C[arlisle] is, that generally my sheets to him are barbouilled on all the sides, and I know there was nothing of that. *Tirez-moi de mon incertitude, si vous le pouvez.*

Lord Stafford has just been with me. He says that he had a letter from Windsor this morning. The K[ing] passed a quieter night, but I do not find out that he is less today what we are obliged to call him now. It is a new event, and a new language never heard before in the Court. M^e^ de Maintenon would say, "Heavens! Do I live to call Louis 14 an object of pity?" You remember that pretended letter of hers, which was said to be dropped out of M^e^ de Torcy's pocket at the Hague. [Do I live]† to speak of my master at last as a lunatic [?]—Burk[e] walking at large, and he in a strait waistcoat! Charles wrote a letter to the Prince the day he came. He wrote it about noon, and at one the next morning he received his R[oyal] H[ighness's] answer. I wish Craufurd would pick it out of his pocket to shew me.

There may be another adjournment, as I am told. Business can be suspended a little longer. If supplies are wanted much in some places, they can be postponed in others. So the Cardinal de Rohan is then chosen President of the States; is that the phrase? But he is chosen President *toujours* of the notables, or something. This I had last night from the Marquis de Hautefort. What this Marquis and Grand[ee?] d'Espagne has to do out of France at this time I have as yet to learn. I see that I am to have the introduction of him everywhere. He thinks me a man *d'une grande existence dans ce pais*. He says that I am *lié avec M. Pitt;* he wants me to present him to him. He fancies that the P[rince] has a *couvert* here whenever he pleases. It is my singular fate for ever to pass for something which I am not, nor cannot be, nor desire to be—sometimes indeed for what I should be ashamed to be. But I am used to this. *On se trompe, on se détrompe, et on se trompe encore.* I do not find, *au bout du compte*, that it signifies anything. With one's friends one must be known, *tôt ou tard*, to be exactly what we are.

George Selwyn to Lady Carlisle.

[1788, Dec. 8?] Monday m[orning].—My own bulletin is, a quiet night and almost well today, and this without either Warren or Willis.

* Granville Leveson Gower, Marquis of Stafford, formerly Earl Gower.

† There is an omission here, at the foot of a page.

To speak the truth, I am excessively prejudiced against the one, and am as partial to the other. Dr. Warren, I think, if he could not cure the K[ing], might have been more discreet in his language on the subject. Dr. Willis may be too sanguine, but I like *et l'air et les parolles*. His voice pleases me, for he says that *It will do*. This he wrote yesterday m[orning] to a friend of his own privately. He has had great success, there is no doubt, and that my enemies think also, *it will do*, I am convinced, for they talk already much more of his relapse than of his not recovering. Let him only recover, we will take our chance of the relapse, and in the meantime repair as much as possible all the mischief which will be done to the Constitution by those who are going to storm our town. It will be a fortnight, I hear, before it (*sic*) they begin to do any mischief but to our outworks, and what may prevent that God knows, who disposes of those who have reason and those who want it as he pleases. His ways are inscrutable, and yet there is not one, from his Grace of Canterbury to the lowest fishwoman in St. James's Market, who is not constantly accounting for everything he does. I am sure my doctrine is the best, as that of him who submits the most.

My greatest concern in all this, next to that deplorable condition of the K.[ing] and Queen, is that I am from inclination, principle, and every motive upon earth obliged to wish against what Lord C[arlisle] has made his object. I hope that, by some unforeseen event, that will be changed, as I can no more divest myself of my affection to him, and to his family, than I can of my abhorence and detestation of some with whom he is connected.

Willis says that the K[ing], from being as he is now, able to exert uncommon force and strength, as soon as the disorder leaves his head, will be as weak in his limbs as it is possible. Now they are searching for precedents of relapses, and I suppose every man at Brooks's has already made a most comfortable collection for the satisfaction of themselves and their leaders. I must own that I wish the subject could be changed, for although there comes to me an equal number of both sides, and if I am offended with some I am as much satisfied with others, I can say, and will say, as little as I can upon it.

My opinions and wishes are so well known that I need not say what they are, and I have neither voice [n]or spirits to defend what I think, and therefore am glad to open my mind to your Ladyship, who will receive from me everything with so much candour and indulgence that, whether you are or are not of my opinion, I shall, I hope, not suffer in your esteem from the frankness with which I own it, and knowing too that I wish for nothing so much as to be in perfect concord with Lord C[arlisle] upon every subject.

*I have had a letter today from Miss Gunning, which I will answer tomorrow, as I like her style of writing. *Le tems s'clai[r]cit;* good accounts today. God bless Dr. Willis, say I.

Addressed: London, Decr. eighth, 1788.† The Countess of Carlisle, Castle Howard, Yorkshire. Free. Geo. Selwyn.

Seal of arms.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH to [LORD CARLISLE].

[1788, Dec. 18,] Thursday evening, Bedford Square.—I am very sorry to find that your reflections upon the present state of things take

* It is *not certain* that this paragraph and the address belong to the foregoing letter.

† December 8 was a Monday in 1788.

the same course with my own, for I feel that it is by no means a pleasant one. But I feel a real consolation in your very friendly attention to me, and anxiety you feel for the hazards to which I might possibly expose my own situation. It will be some satisfaction to you to know that every possible motive to expose myself by a too forward zeal has been totally eradicated from my mind by the unsteadiness of others, nor would the fullest success (of which at present I see no great probability) afford a reasonable ground for my standing forth in any unsheltered situation.

It is not, however, either of Fox or the Duke of Portland that I have any reason to complain, and I shall go on steadily with them as far as they wish to go, till they have reached a point from which I can handsomely retire.

I have wished to communicate this to you, but forebore from a disinclination to complain of my own treatment at a difficult moment.

Lord Stormont and Lord Rawdon, who is acting with great spirit, dine here tomorrow, and I should be very happy if you could meet them. On account of Lady's L.'s situation, the party will not exceed five or six.

Endorsed: Dec. 19th,* '88.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Aug.] 17, Monday, Cleveland Court.—I am come to town this morning for a few hours only; I return to Richmond to dinner. I have sent Borey to enquire how Lady Betty and Lady Julia do, in Mie Mie's name as well as mine. They are, I find, at Mr. Boverie's in O. Burlington Street. Some of the children are with Mrs. Boverie at Richmond, which I learned yesterday. I saw Mr. Delmé's chaise in the town, which surprised me. It was at the Castle Tavern. I at first began to hope that what I had been told was not true, till it was explained. The particulars of the disorder, and the treatment of him, are, I take for granted, transmitted to Lord Carlisle, so I need not tell you what account Borey has given me of the matter. I hope that Lady Betty will not feel this loss too sensibly.† . . .

I come here, once in a few days, but not to stay. I shall remain at Richmond till I know my destination, which, for the next month, seems as yet undetermined as to time and other circumstances. I have already wrote twice to Lord Carlisle. He seems to have a claim to my first letter *par droit seigneurial*, but after that I like better the writing to you; for I am not sure that he will give himself the trouble to read all the stuff with which my letters are filled. I hope that this accident of Mr. D[elmé's] death will not be more embarrassing to him, in regard to Morpeth, than if a vacancy had happened at another time.

Your brother‡ and Lady Southerland are in town, I am told, and the Duchess of Gordon has sent to beg that I would meet them this evening at her house. That is impossible. I am obliged to return to Richmond to dinner; besides, *tous ces théatres sont fermés pour moi, dans ce moment-ci.* I know that the bait is mochaw, but that, and many other things of the same kind, must be postponed to the next season.

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* This was a Friday in 1788.

† The death of Peter Delmé, M.P. for Morpeth. Francis Gregg, Esq., was returned in his place, 14 Sept. 1789.

‡ George Granville, Baron Gower, eldest son of Granville, Marquis of Stafford. (Burke.)

I have heard nothing new in regard to France for some days past. I take for granted that all there is still in a most lawless and abominable confusion. I wish, for my own part, that although we enjoy such perfect tranquillity as we do at present at home, that this scene of horror and discord, and rage for innovation and for new constitutions, were in a country at a greater distance from our own. It is such a conflagration, that the very sparks which arise from it may chance to light upon our own heads.

I have seen a letter from Lady Camelford, who denies most positively having wrote or dispersed any such pamphlet as that which has been mentioned. The Duke of Dorset is also thought to have been very indiscreet, but I have not had that made appear. He is certainly better at a distance from those people. Some other Minister in a lower capacity might be as well for the business, at this juncture.

Lord W. Gordon, as I hear, has obtained a security for his house, and for the joint lives of him and of Lady William. Adieu, dear Madam, my hearty love to the children and to the heir apparent, I mean only that of Castle Howard. I hope that he diverts himself well, and instructs William a little, that he may both improve and divert himself too. Pray tell Frederick that Coffee longs to come and lay him in his crib. Desire Lizy to write to me, and Gertrude might add a line or two; I should think, Mle. has done her part by them both. The Duke is with his Princes at Brighthelmstone, and you will have, I suppose, *une petite dose* of them about the end of the month. We have nothing like royalty at Richmond, which has been for ages the seat of it. I do not say this *en soupirant*, I do assure you. I am contented with those for my neighbours who move in a lower and less illustrious sphere, and who seem as happy in doing so. I have made a visit to Mrs. Bacon and to Mrs. Woodhouse, but I was not so fortunate as to meet with them. I hope that I shall soon, and that they will know how to talk to me about Stackpoole Court. They will find me very ready at the language.

Addressed: London, August seventeenth, 1789. To the Countess of Carlisle, Castle Howard, Yorkshire. Free. George Selwyn.

Seal of arms.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Aug. 19 ?] Wednesday noon, Cleveland Court.—I had the pleasure, dear Lady Carlisle, of finding your letter here this morning, on my coming to town. I came to take my leave of the Duke, who sets out tomorrow in the afternoon for Newmarket, in his way to the North.

I shall send my coach back to Richmond after dinner, that Mie Mie may come tomorrow morning, *pour faire aussi ses adieux;* and then she, Mrs. Webb, and I, shall return to Richmond, and stay there till we set out, Mie Mie and I, for C[astle] Howard. Tomorrow, I will settle with her the arrangements, in the manner which you are so obliging as to propose.

I hope that you will have received today a letter from Caroline, and that I shall know from that, how she does, and in what spirits she writes. I am persuaded that you comprehend, and no one more sensibly, *ce que doit être l'effet de ces réverbérations.* No string of that instrument can be touched but I shall feel it, at whatever distance I may be.

I was indeed much struck with the sudden account which was given to me of Mr. Delmé's death. I was told yesterday, that the apprehensions of death were used to be stronger in him than in most other people, but I hope that was not so in the last period of his life, and since it is said that *il n'est permis qu'aux médecins de mentir*, that Dr. Warren made a proper use of his privilege on this occasion, since it is the object of that indulgence, and to keep the patient in a state of delusion to the last. I have sent to Lady Betty, but I know not in what instance more I can show her my attention. The Boveries have done all I would have done myself. . . . .

Fayette,* I am told, has run some risk of his life; Williams says, that he is sure that I wish him hanged, for his behaviour to Lord C[arlisle]. True, for that, and other things. He is *un échauffé, un avantageux, un brouillon*, and I hope he, and all such patriots, will, if they are not *attachés à la Lanterne*, which I hear is the summary Justice of Paris at present, have *un bon coup de vessie par le nez*. To begin a reform, and a new constitution, by a *renversement de l'Etat*, is what I do not conceive, or approve. It is well that I am not now in the Fauxbourg St. Germain; I should be soon after *en Grève*, I am sure, with my head upon a pole.

The Queen is, I hear, in a most deplorable state, and the worse because most of this disorder has arose from a detestation of her and of her measures.

The History and Antiquities of Paris will make an entertaining romance, some time hence. If Mr. Buck† and other antiquarians were now alive, they might begin with designing the ruins of Versailles, and the Bastile; to which may be added those of a hundred or two Nunneries and Convents. What a comfort I feel in being now Jacques Rostbif! I do not think that I shall ever go with George into France; if I do, two such Antigallicans never went there before, I believe, because I am persuaded that he can never, for the sake of Liberty, adopt so much barbarism and licentiousness.

Give my love I beseech you to the children, and mention me most kindly in your letters to Caroline. I want to see her, and to be with her, that I may lose the idea of her being lost to me. As I passed today in sight of your house, and of the windows of the drawing-room, I felt something, which I will not undertake to describe. It is as yet *une playe à refermer*, and when I took my leave of her at Cliveden, it was, from what I had seen there, and at our parting, with an impression which I shall retain to the end of my life. . . .

The P[rince] I suppose will be at C[astle] H[oward] in about ten days, and he will have all proper respect paid to him, I make no doubt; but I hope that he will not expect, for his diversion there, such pastimes as, we are told, were exhibited for H[is] R[oyal] H[ighness] at Brighthelmstone.

Lord Brudenel's restoration to favour rejoices me, but I am afraid of sending him my congratulations upon it, lest my own case, being so desperate, he may not think me sincere; and why not? If the nepenthe of a Court pleases him, I wish it may never be wanting to his happiness, or that mine may be incomplete without it. . . .

Let me know, if Frederick is improved, if he is grown more bashful, if he is ugly fellow, or pretty fellow; tell him that Coffee sends his love to him.

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* The Marquis de La Fayette.

† *Qu.* Sir George Buck, *ob.* 1622.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Aug. 21?] Friday night, Richmond.—I did not come hither till today, because I was resolved to stay to see the Duke* set out, which he did this morning for Newmarket, from whence he goes with his doctor to York. He said that he should not go to Castle Howard, which I looked upon as certain as that the Princes will be there. It would have been in vain to have held out to him the temptation of seeing his goddaughter, and I know that, if I had suggested it, he would have laughed at me, which would have made me angry, who think Gertrude an object worth going at least sixteen miles to see.

He was in very good spirits when he left London, and in extraordinary good humour with me. But he would not have me depend, he said, upon his going to Scotland, although he has sent as many servants in different equipages as if he intended to stay there a twelvemonth. It was quite unnecessary to prepare me against any kind of irresolution of his. After all, I hope that he will go to Castle Howard. I believe it is just five and thirty years since we were there together, and all I know is, that I did not think then that I should ever see it so well furnished as I have since, and I will maintain that Gertrude is not the least pretty *meuble* that is there.

I was so unsettled while I was in London that I did not even send to make enquiries about your brother or Lady Southerland. I could not have made their party if I had been sure of their being in town. Sir R. and Lady Payne are at Lambeth. They propose coming to dine here in a few days.

I dined with Crowle and the younger Mr. Fawkner yesterday at the Duke's, and asked them many questions about poor Delmé's affairs, and concerning Lady Betty. I hear that Lady Julia has been much affected with this accident. He had persuaded himself that he should die, although either Dr. Warren saw no immediate danger, or thought proper not to say so. The French, as I said before, have good reason to say that *il n'est permis qu'aux médecins de mentir*, and Delmé certainly justified the deception, if there was any; but he had at last more fortitude or resolution as I hear than was expected. I hope that Lady Betty will be reconciled to her change of life; there must have been one inevitably, and, perhaps, that not less disagreeable.

I am unhappy that I have not yet received any account of Caroline. Mr.† Woodhouse has returned my visit. I did not conceive it to be proper that Mie Mie should wait upon Mrs. Bacon till an opportunity had been offered of her being presented to her, but I shall be desirous of bringing about that acquaintance. Mrs. Webb is now with us, which is a piece of furniture here, not without its use, and which I am in a habit of seeing with more satisfaction than perhaps Mie Mie, who begins to think naturally a *gouvernante* to have a *mauvais air*. I am not quite of that opinion *dans les circonstances actuelles*.

No more news as yet from France. I expect to have a great deal of discourse on Tuesday with St. Foy, on the subject of this Revolution, which occupies my mind very much, although I have still a great deal of information to acquire. It may be *peu de chose*, but, as yet, I know no more than that the House of Bourbon, with the *noblesse françoise*, their revenues and privileges, are in a manner annihilated by a *coup de main*, as it were, and after an existence of near a thousand years; and if you are now walking in the streets of Paris, ever so quietly, but

* Of Queensberry.

† *Sic*; apparently "Mrs." before.

suspected or marked as one who will not subscribe to this, you are immediately *accroché à la Lanterne : tout cela m'est inconcevable.* But we are I am sure at the beginning only of this *Roman*, instead of seeing the new Constitution so quietly established by the first of September, as I have been confidently assured that it will be.

Preparations were certainly making here for her Majesty the Queen of France's reception, and I am assured that if the King had not gone as he did to the Hôtel de Ville, the Duke of Orléans would immediately have been declared Regent. There seems some sort of fatality in the scheme of forming (*sic*) a Regent, who, in neither of the two kingdoms, is *destiné à ne pas arrive*[*r*] *à bon port.*

But one word more of Delmé. I am told that if Lady Betty and Lady J[ulia] live together, they will not have less than two thousand a year to maintain their establishment, including what the Court of Chancery will allow for the guardianship of the children. That will be more comfortable at least than living in the constant dread of the consequences of a heedless dissipation.

It was conjectured that Lord C[arlisle] would bring Mr. Greenville in for Morpeth, which, if it be so, I shall be very glad to hear. Crowle says that the cook is one of the best servants of the kind that can be, and would go to Lord C[arlisle], if he wanted one, for sixty pounds a year, *par préférence* to any other place with larger wages. I was desired to mention this; it may be to no purpose.

The King, as I hear, is not expected to be at Windsor till Michaelmas. I received a letter today in such a hand as you never beheld, from Sir Sampson Gideon, now Sir S. Eardley, a name I never heard of before, to dine with him tomorrow at his house in Kent. I was to call at his house in Arlington Street, and there to be informed of the road, and to be three hours and a half in going it. It was to meet Mr. *Pitt*, and to eat a *turtle : quelle chère !* The turtle I should have liked, but how Mr. Pitt is to be dressed I cannot tell. The temptation is great, I grant it, but I have had so much self-denial as to send my excuses. You will not believe it, perhaps, but a Minister, of any description, although served up in his great shell of power, and all his green fat about him, is to me a dish by no means relishing, and I never knew but one in my life I could pass an hour with pleasantly, which was Lord Holland.* I am certain that if Lord C[arlisle] had been what he seemed to have had once an ambition for, I should not have endured him, although I might perhaps have supported his measures.

You desired me to write to you often. You see, dear Lady Carlisle, *toute l'inclination que j'y porte, et que, vraisem*[*bla*]*blement, si vous souhaitez d'avoir de mes lettres, une certaine provision de telles fadaises ne vous manquera pas.* But I must hear myself from Caroline, or nothing will satisfy me; as yet I have not her direction, and so bad is my memory now, that this morning I could not even be sure if Stackpoole Court was near Milford Haven, Liverpool, or Milbourn Port. I do not comprehend how I could confound these three places, or be so *dépaisé* in regard to the geography of this island.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Aug.] 27, Thursday noon, Richmond.—I have received yours this morning, and a very fine morning it is, and made still more agreeable to me by your letter, which I have seated myself under my great

* Henry Fox.

tree to thank you for. I have no doubt but everyone who passes by will perceive, if they turn their eyes this way, that I am occupied with something which pleases me extremely. It is a great part of my delight, and of Mie Mie's too, that we shall see you so soon. . . . It would have been a great satisfaction to me to have been able to have accommodated Miss Gunning, and to have had her company with us at C[astle] H[oward]. . . . I have had a letter from Lady Caroline. . . . (Refers to her marriage with Mr. Campbell.*) I have directed my letters to her at Stackpole Court, Milford Haven. . . .

I received at the same time with hers [Lady Caroline's] a letter from Lord Carlisle, who, as he says, finds it necessary to recommend Gregg, for the remainder of this Parliament, to the borough of Morpeth. I should have been glad that the return could have been of the same person, whoever he may be, who is designed to represent it at the ensuing and general election. To be sure it seldom happens *que l'on meurt* in all respects *fort à propos*, and this death of poor Mr. Delmé is, as much as it regards Lord Carlisle, an evident proof of it.

Sir R. Payne and Lady Payne and Sir C. Bunbury intend dining here tomorrow.

Mr. Saintefoy, with Storer, dined here yesterday, but informed me of nothing new concerning France. We talked the matter over very fully, and it was very satisfactory to me, what I learned from Mr. Saintefoy upon the Revolution and the causes of it; and now I think the constitution of that country, as it has happened in others, will be quite new modelled, and that the new adopted plan, after a time, will be so much established as that there will be, probably, no return, if ever, for ages, of the old Constitution, unless produced by the chapter of accidents, to which all human things are liable.

I should have gone to town tomorrow to have taken leave of your brother, but this intended visit from Sir R. and Lady Payne will prevent me. I was not in the least aware that during the week of the York Races your Ladyship would be alone, and am therefore much vexed that Mie Mie and I are not at C[astle] H[oward] at this moment. It was indeed what came into her head, and very properly; but the idea of running foul upon his R[oyal] H[ighness] (to use a sea term) was what prevented me from taking the measures which I should otherwise have taken. Lord C[arlisle] will leave C[astle] H[oward], as I understand by his letter, on Saturday sevennight. I hope then to be at C[astle] H[oward] by the time that he goes.

I am glad, for George's sake, that Lord H[ollan]d† has been with you, but you could not be surprised to find, in one of that family, a disposition to loquacity. He is, I believe, a very good boy, and his tutor is, they say, a very sensible man; but he‡ has a most hideous name, and if *you* do not know how to spell it, *I*, for my part, can with difficulty pronounce it, the sound of it being so near something else. . . .

Endorsed: August ye 27th, 1789, Richmond.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789,] Sept. 3, Thursday, Richmond.—I am vexed to find, by the letter which I have had the pleasure to receive today, that I am expected to be at C[astle] H[oward] on Saturday, when I do not set out till

* John Campbell, Esquire, afterwards the first Lord Cawdor.

† Henry Richard Fox.

‡ This appears to refer to the tutor.

Sunday, so that, as I told Lord C[arlisle] in my last, which he should receive today, I shall not be there till Wednesday. I am dilatory and procrastinating in my nature, but am not apt to defer what, when done, will make me so happy as I shall be at C[astle] H[oward], and should not have been so now, if I had been more early apprised of your wish to have our journey accelerated.

I am very glad that H[is] R[oyal] H[ighness] was pleased with C[astle] H[oward]. I am sure, that if he had not been so, he would have been *difficile à contenter*. But yet, it is a doubt with me, if he and I are equally delighted with the same objects. It is not that I expect others to love and admire your children as I do. There is a great deal in the composition of that; but he might if he pleased have pleasures of the same nature, but he seems to have set so little value upon resources of that kind, that I am afraid we shall never see any of H[is] R[oyal] H[ighness's] progeny, and that this country must live upon what is called the quick stock for some years to come. I wish that it had happened that he had dined at C[astle] H[oward] today, and have celebrated Caroline's birthday, which Mie Mie and I shall do here in a less sumptuous manner.

I was yesterday morning at Mrs. Bacon's door, nay further, for the servant said that she was at home, and I was carried into the parlour, but there it ended; Mrs. B. was dressing, and I could not see her. I left word with the servant that I was going into the North, where in a little time I should see Mr. Campbell, and to receive her commands relative to him was the object of my visit. I must now leave this place without having made any progress in her acquaintance, or in that of her niece. All this you will, I know, put to Caroline's account, and indeed you may, for the talk of her was the pleasure which I had promised myself by both these visits.

So Lord C[arlisle], I find, sets out today for N[aworth], and would not go to Wentworth. I cannot wonder at his preference. That you went is compliment enough, in my opinion. I shall ask George, when I see him, if he had any hand in penning the Address to His R[oyal] H[ighness], or in the answer. I shall desire also to know of him, if I am to approve of it. All I know of the times is what I am informed of by the World, which perhaps, like other worlds, is full of lies. It is equal to me; I am very little interested in it, at present; nay, if I was Argus, who by taking that title would make us believe that he saw and knew more, I should be only more satiated, and see more of what I dislike.

The French politics, as they move me less, suit me better; but of these I begin to be tired, and shall for my amusement revert to more ancient times. The history of the Bourbons is become thread-bare, and their lustre too is extinguished, as suddenly as that of a farthing candle. This Revolution is by no means unprecedented, but being transacted in our own times, and so near our own doors, strikes us the more forcibly.

Tomorrow we shall go to town, and *that*, and the *next* day will be taken up in our preparatives. It was not so formerly; an expedition was fitted out at a much less expense, and in a shorter time. But a journey of above five hundred miles strikes us at present as a great undertaking. But after we shall have left Barnet, I know much of this will vanish, and I shall think of nothing but of my *gîte*, and of all whom I shall see in a few days after. I will bring down the maps which you mention, and other things, if I knew which would be most acceptable to them, but as they will never tell me, I can but conjecture.

You do not say anything of the D[uke] of Y[ork]; perhaps he was not well enough to be of all the parties. We have *here*, for our pride, and amusement, the third brother,* who drives about in his phaeton, with his companion, bespeaks plays, and seems to have taken Richmond under his immediate patronage. A report has been spread here that Mrs. F[itzherbert] has obtained leave to come and lodge at the next door. I hope that *that* will not be the case, for her own sake, as well as ours.

I thank William for his letter, although he tells me little more than that he is my affectionate W. Howard. He may be assured that he has from me at least an equal return. Of Gertrude he says nothing, and yet, I am confident, the P[rince] did not overlook her. My hearty love to them all, and to Lady Caroline if you write to her.

I read yesterday a little Latin poem upon a Mouse Trap, with which I was most highly delighted; wrote near a century ago, by a Mr. Holdsworth.† It has been much celebrated, but never fell into my hands before yesterday. There is a great *éloge* upon the Cambrians, but whether Mr. Campbell would be flattered with it I am not sure. If I did not suppose it to be no more a curiosity than was the Blossom of the Chestnut Tree, with which I was so struck the beginning of the summer, I should bring it with me. There is a translation of it in English verse, that is little short of the original. Dear Lady Carlisle, adieu. I never know when to leave off when I am writing to you, nor how to express the affection and esteem with which I am ever yours.

Endorsed: Richmond, Sepber. ye 3d. 1789.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Sept. 5 ?] Saturday m[orning], Cleveland Court.—We came from Richmond yesterday in the evening, and shall set out tomorrow. Mie Mie is in great trouble lest I should be ill at C[astle] H[oward]. I shall be ill in many places and many times before I finish this pilgrimage of eighty years. But if it should happen that I am confined to my room at C[astle] H[oward], I hope Shepardson will nurse me, for if her dancing days are not over, perhaps that (*sic*) her nursing days are not over neither. You will be so good, dear Madam, as to recommend me in a particular manner to her care, and let her know that it is a dry nurse that I want, and not one with a colt at her foot.

I am surprised that I have not heard from Miss Gunning. I told her what I learned from your letter, and her maid seemed to confirm the same. I hope she is not angry with me for not having wrote before. I have a great esteem for her, and like her company of all things, and should have done on this occasion whatever you and she had pleased, but I think, to speak the truth, that it might not have been so convenient to her as she expected. . . .

I was privately mortified that I could not see Mrs. Bacon or Mrs. Woodhouse before I left Richmond. The Duke of Clarence sent yesterday a modest proposal to put six of his horses in the Duke's stable, and for three months. It was not complied with, so the Duke of Q[ueensberry's] pleasure about it is to be first known. I should not wonder if he wanted my cage for his Green Finch while her own house is painting. I like Princes very well, but *dans l'éloignement;* as of the sea, a distant prospect of them pleases me best; perhaps you do not believe it. . . .

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* William, Duke of Clarence.

† Edward Holdsworth, 1688–1746.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Sept. 5 ?] Saturday noon.—I have just received a letter from Lord C[arlisle], and another from George, and I have wrote to thank him. I see a Court life does not spoil his manners, and that he can even remember his friends who are in disgrace. I am, dear Lady C[arlisle], not well at all this morning. I have a very slight fever, and am on my couch taking cooling draughts, but I dare say that I shall be well tomorrow, but perhaps not well enough to set out so early, or go so far the first day. I have sent Mie Mie to buy the maps.

Lady Payne and Sir Ralph are in town. Mie Mie will go and drink tea with her this evening. I shall keep within doors for security. I thought it necessary to write this, that if we do not arrive at C[astle] H[oward] so early on Wednesday, you might not be surprised. If I should be worse tonight or tomorrow, which I do not apprehend, and not go till Monday, I shall write by Monday's post.

George tells me that the P[rince] was very good company. I had no doubt of it; *il a des talens et des qualités aimables.* I am glad that he has been at C[astle] H[oward]. I wish that Caroline had been there at the same time, *qui est un des plus beaux fleurons de votre couronne.* I am afraid that George was too reserved, and Princes are more taken with what is on the surface, and have seldom patience enough to discover intrinsic merit. For the others, *ils ont tenus leur petit coin,* I am sure, and Frederick not less than the rest.

It is a charming Corps, that of the City of London. They are very *complaisant* to me, and will not disturb me in my ill acquired possessions. I will go and eat turtle with them whenever they please, and when I have any interest at Court, Brass Crosby* shall be knighted; it would indeed have been hard, if with all his brass, he had grudged me a little iron.

On 8vo paper.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Sept. 6 ?] Sunday night.— . . . This evening I have been, first at the Duchess of Gordon's; she has been gone this fortnight, the Duke, however, is still in town. I went then to the Duchess of Argyle's. There I found the whole family assembled, Lady Ailesbury, Mr. Damer, Mr. Conway, &c. The Duke and Duchess set out for Italy tomorrow, so I was fortunate in this respect. Lady Payne was my next visit, but she was gone out, and I finished with the Duchess of Bedford, who, as the servant told me, was now at Lady Jersey's. She has been at Russell Farm and I don't know where.

This is an account of my day, and that I added it to my others of more unnecessary procrastination, I hope that you will forgive. My mind and heart have been for a long while with you, and after Caroline's wedding I should have been glad to have gone to C[astle] H[oward] directly, or as soon as it could have been. But things have happened otherwise for me very untowardly, but tonight I am so well that I may now count upon having no more impediments.

Today, as we were at dinner and the windows up, H.R.H. passed by in his chaise and made a most gracious bow to Mie Mie, and if he could have been sure of my not being in the room it may be would have stopped to have told how much he liked C[astle] H[oward].

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* Lord Mayor of London, 1771.

I hear no news. I fancy there are very near as many French in London as English, although I don't know who they are. If I should not be at C[astle] H[oward] till Thursday, it will be on that day very early, for I shall make as much expedition as I can with safety, and as your Ladyship will receive this letter on Wednesday, you may then be sure that we are set out.

I was very glad to hear that Lord C[arlisle] had ceased to be at so enormous an expense, as I suppose it was, the keeping hounds, and that having found out that it was so, and that he could spend his money more to his own satisfaction and to the advantage of his family, he took that very prudent step of parting with them. But I did not imagine that from thence it would be concluded that he was undone, or that he had lost sixty thousand pounds at play; but I heard at Argyle House that this was reported, and till I explained it they could not guess upon what the report was founded, although they gave no credit to it. I am sorry that George loses any part of his amusement, but I am sure that he will, when he reflects upon it as he must do, be perfectly satisfied of the propriety of the measure.

I asked after Lady Derby; as you may suppose she is at Sidmore,* if that is the name of the place, taking care of her health, and she finds the air to agree with her very much.

This is all I can recollect to say tonight. The maps are to be brought to me tomorrow at eight o'clock. I was disappointed last night, and I had made a blunder, not having your letter in my pocket; I said France and England, but upon looking the letter over again to be quite sure, I found the mistake time enough to rectify it. . . .

I was asked today by Miss Tryon to dine at her table at St. James's, and to meet Lord Huntingdon. This was for tomorrow. I think she said that he has been at Sir R. Gunning's.

[George Selwyn to Lady Carlisle.]

[1789, Sept.?] 12, Saturday, Richmond.—. . . Miss Gunning dined here yesterday, and we drank your health together, and there was one glass particularly for Lady Caroline. . . . I went in my coach to fetch her; she was at Mrs. Ch. Steuart's, but she went from me after dinner to Mrs. James Steuart, for from Steuart to Steuart, and from Hobart to Hobart, she hops as a bird from spray to spray. Corbet's son came with us, and instead of sending him back to school at night, I prevailed that he might be carried with her to lie at Mrs. Steuart's. . . . I had a letter from George yesterday. . . . He has your permission to come to my house on this day sevennight. . . . He hopes we may set out therefore on Monday instead of Tuesday, the 20th (*sic*). I have postponed a decision upon that till we meet. I do not wonder at his impatience; mine is little less, and my friend Williams says, in a letter to me from Crome, speaking of our summons to Parliament, he is sure that considering *to whom* I am to go, and *with whom*, if the Devil himself stood at the first turnpike to stop me, I should take the first opportunity of his turning his back, to give him the go-by. Indeed it would not be upon any trivial occasion, such as public business, that I should protract the time of waiting upon your Ladyship, whom I long to see *encore une fois au sein de votre famille.*

We go from hence on Monday, and we dine with Miss Gunning at Court on Wednesday. George is much offended with me, and scandalised at my

* *Qu.* Sidner, in Kent. (Index Villaris.)

thinking that he gets all his intelligence of Court anecdotes from the King's barber. He protests that his informer retails them fresh to him from the King's own mouth. I have told him that nobody less informed than such an officer of State as the barber is can tell him so much; and that although I do not wish, or by any means recommend to him, the situation of a courtier, if by his own ambition he should become one, he must learn not to be too delicate in respect to his connections, and be contented to lather and be lathered in his turn. But *that* for his future consideration; he has nothing to do at present but with the Muses and Apollon, who is said to be *sans barbe*, so does not want a barber. If I should propose going with Lord Morpeth to the Play, when he comes to town, you would not be against it, I suppose, but of that I shall, I hope, know your opinion.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Oct.] 16, Friday m[orning], Thoresby.—I do not know if Mie Mie has done as she intended, which was to write to you, and to express, as well as she is able, her sense of all your Ladyship's goodness to her, but it was determined that we should both write before we left this place.

We came here on Tuesday, and tomorrow we leave it to go to Lord Coventry's, where we shall stay one night, and the next day go to Matson. I suppose that we shall dine there, and stay till Sunday, the 1st of November, when I propose to set out for Salthill, so as to be there the 2nd, as I have long since intended, and to drink your health on that day in particular with George. If the weather should mend, and be fair for the next ten or twelve days, I shall be contented, and I shall not view my own little farm with less satisfaction, I do assure you, for having been so long at these great domains. They are very fine and magnificent, but they are not mine, and before I wish anything of that nature to belong to me, I shall weigh with myself what additional comfort or advantage I should derive from it; at present, none; and therefore I am perfectly satisfied, having everything which I want of luxury within my own reach, and a greater disposition to enjoy it, and myself, than I see in most other people.

I have told Lord C[arlisle], in my letter to him, with what raptures I saw Clumber. There is indeed there every convenience or luxury of life, in the greatest perfection. I have seen Welbeck and Worksop, and now this*; but I see in none of them what pleases me at Clumber. *There* everything, the minutest, has been attended to, and no expense whatever spared to make it complete. But I will write no account of my travels till I can acquire such a style as that of Mrs. Piozzi, but shall be infinitely happy to talk over with you all which I have seen since we left Castle H[oward]. . . . Here is young Mr. Campbell, the nephew of Mr. Pierepont, and our Mr. Campbell's first cousin. . . . . I shall be at Richmond, as I reckon, about the 5th of next month. . . .

I beg my kind compliments to the Dean [Ekins], and my respects to Lady Jersey, &c., &c. John St. John is, I hear, preparing an entertainment for the Theatre. What he will call it, or what the audience will call it, I will not pretend to say. The subject of the piece is, the *Masque de Fer*. It seems an odd one for the stage, but John can make

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* Thoresby Hall, co. Lincoln.

some[thing] of nothing, or nothing out of something, as he pleases. It is called, in the account sent to me, a sing-song performance; so I hope that, whoever composes the music, John himself intends to be one of the vocal performers. I should not be sorry for this flirtation which he has had of late with the Muses, notwithstanding the discouragement which he receives from Minerva, if it was not at the expense of more weighty considerations. He cannot be employed upon the Property Office, as it is called, at Drury Lane, without neglecting the Land Revenue,* upon which more, as I should fancy, might still be said, than has as yet occurred to him. Tell Lord C[arlisle] this, and ask him if John's name is to that Book, about which I had once my doubts, for I have never seen it. If he avows the performance in the publication, no more questions are to be asked; if not, I am not reprehensible, if I give it to one person sooner than to another. What says Harry?† I am sorry that I could not be for one day, at least, with him and his spouse at C[astle] H[oward], although the house must have been, by her accession to the company, sufficiently filled without me. But next to yourself and Caroline, I must regret the not seeing our good Dean. I stayed at Clumber one day more than I intended, because the B[isho]p of St. Asaph‡ came there to meet me, but I would give a hundred Prelates for one Dean, like my old friend, and so pray tell him.

George Selwyn to Lady Carlisle.

[1789,] Oct. 22, Thursday, Matson.—We arrived here yesterday at four in the afternoon from Crome. We left there a very fine day, which grew worse every hour, and before we got to the garden gate it was as bad and uncomfortable as possible. Mr. Bligh would have said *unprofitable*, and perhaps with truth, for I see no advantage in having come here, and shall be very glad to find no ill consequences from it. We found to receive us, Dr. Warner, who had been here almost a week, and another gentleman who was come to dine with me, and both of them so hoarse that they could not be heard. I was by no means elated with finding myself where I am, and it was well that, upon getting out of my coach, I had the honour of your Ladyship's letter, which was some consolation to me. But I find by it, what I have a long while dreaded, that Car's going away would be attended with great uneasiness to you. . . . . It is well that you can meet it with so much reason and fortitude. I have, I know, the smallest portion of either that any man ever had.

This day has cleared up. I am as yet very well, and shall be very careful of myself, and I propose, as I have told you, to set out from hence on Sunday sevennight, the first of the next month, and stay with George two days at Salt Hill. I am sure that I should not have the pleasure I have in meeting him, if there were not some intervals when I cannot see him, and I am convinced, that a life must [be] chequered to have it really a *plaisant* one. I am glad that he and

* From this it would appear that John St. John was still Surveyor-General of the Land Revenues, though Selwyn succeeded him in the office on 15th January 1784, according to the Auditors' Patent Books (Exchequer), vol. 40, p. 147. The same books contain Selwyn's appointments as Paymaster of the Works on 27th December 1755 and on 21st March 1761 (vol. 34, p. 1, and vol. 36, p. 119); also the appointments of Henry Selwyn as Receiver-General of the Customs, 1727; John Selwyn as Treasurer to the Queen, 1730; and William Selwyn as a King's Counsel, 1780.

† *Qu.* Hon. Henry St. John, General in 1797.

‡ Samuel Halifax, translated from Gloucester, 1789.

W[illia]m were amused while they stayed in town. I expect to hear from them some account of it.

The new Bishop* is at Gloucester, as I am told, with his family; *c'est une foible ressource*, but it is one; they are represented to me as very agreeable people. Other company we shall have none, I take for granted, and that Mie Mie, finding herself so much alone, will be glad to return to Richmond. . . . I am most excessively concerned for poor Lord Waldgrave. . . .

Addressed: Gloucester, October twenty-second, 1789. To the Countess of Carlisle, Castle Howard, Yorkshire. Free. Geo. Selwyn. *Postmark*, Glocester. *Seal of arms.*

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789,] Nov. 6, Friday m[orning], Richmond.—Lord C[arlisle] will receive a letter from me this morning which will be sufficient to assure you that George is well. He is so indeed, *à tous égards.* I stayed with him all Wednesday, and yesterday about noon I left him, so that in reality his course of erudition had but one day's interruption from me. Mr. Roberts is *au comble de sa joie, et de sa gloire*, having gained the prize for a better copy of verses upon the Deluge than that of any of his competitors. They are to be printed, so I shall see what I can at present have no idea of, and that is, how he will find matter from that event to furnish a hundred or two of blank verses. I should think that no one, but one like our friend John St. J[ohn], who uses Helicon as habitually as others do a cold bath, is equal to it. I only hope, for my part, that the argument will not be illustrated by any *débord*[*e*]*ment* of the Thames near this house; at present there is no appearance of it.

I stayed at Matson, I will not say as long as it was good, but before it became very bad, which I believe it did before we had left the place two hours. The storm was brewing in the vale, but upon the hills we bade it defiance. I am very glad to be at a place where I can be stationary for a considerable time; and it is what is very requisite for my present state of health, which requires attention and regularity of living. If these are observed, I am as[su]red that after a time I shall be well, and that my lease for ten or twenty years seems as yet a good one. As for the *labour and sorrow* which his Majesty K[ing] D[avid] speaks of, I know of no age that is quite exempt from them, and have no fear of their being more severe in my caducity than they were in the flower of my age, when I had not more things to please me than I have now, although they might vary in their kind. When I see you and Lord C[arlisle] with your children about you, and all of you in perfect health and spirits, my sensations of pleasure are greater than in the most joyous hours of my youth. It is no solitude, this place. We have got Onslows and Jeffreyes's, Mr. Walpole, &c., &c., and if Mr. Cambridge would permit it, I could be sometimes, as I wish to be, alone.

On Monday Mie Mie and I shall go to town for one night. I am to meet M[e] de Bouf[f]lers at Lady Lucan's. I think that if this next winter does not make a perfect Frenchman of me, I shall give it up. I hope, more, that it will afford Mie Mie also an opportunity of improving herself in a language which will be of more use to her, in all probability, than it can ever hereafter be to me. I am not disgusted with the language by the abhorrence which I have at present of the country.

* Richard Beadon.

But these calamities, at times, happen in all climes, as well as in France. Man is a most savage animal when uncontrolled.

The last accounts brought from France fill me with more horror than any former ones. The K[ing], I mean of the Frenchmen, is a *Bête*, and his Queen is to be described by another B, but now I begin to pity them both. He is to be moved only by the fear of some approaching danger to his person. She is agitated by all the alarming and distressing thoughts imaginable. Her health is visibly altered; she cries continually, and is, as Polinitz says of K[ing] James's Queen, *une Aréthuse*. Her danger has been imminent; and had the K[ing] left his capital, and her in it, as he was advised to do, *il eût été fait d'elle;* she would have been, probably, dragged to the Hôtel de Ville, *et auroit fini ses jours en Grève*. She holds out her children, which are called *les enfans de la Reine exclusivement*, as beggars in the streets do theirs, to move compassion. "Behold, how low they have reduced a" Queen! But as yet she is not ripe for tragedy, so John St. John may employ his muse upon other subjects for a time. To speak the truth, all these representations of the miseries of the French nation do not seem to me (very decent)* proper subjects for our evening spectacles, and it is not, in my apprehension, quite decent that Mr. Hughes, Mr. Astley, or Mr. St. John should be making a profit by Iron Masques, and Toupets stuck upon Poles.

The D[uke] of Orléans's embassy here is universally considered as one devised for his own personal safety, and he is equally respected here and abroad. The subject of his credentials and object of negotiation had no more in them than to say that his most Xtian Majesty desired to know how his brother the K[ing] of England did. The answer to which was, very well, with thanks for his obliging enquiries. The King speaks to the D[uke] of O[rléans] civilly, *mais il en demeure là*. His behaviour to the Duc de Luxembourg and to other Frenchmen of quality was more distinguished. He talked yesterday to M. de Luxembourg for an hour and 17 minutes. You know how exact we courtiers are upon these points.

Charles Fox was at Court, but was scarcely spoke to. *Il n'en fut pour cela plus rebuté*. He stayed in the apartments till five in the afternoon. Others of the Opposition were there. Lord North came to Court with his son-in-law, Mr. D.† *I* must wait for a future opportunity of paying my court. The Duke has finished his, I believe, for the present. I expected to have found him here or in London. He went again into Scotland last Friday, and will not be returned in a month, and this *sans qu'il m'en ait averti. Il faut avouer que notre Duc, à l'égard de tous les petits devoirs de la vie, est fort à son aise*. M^e^ de Cambis is also come; *il en fourmille*, but all of them almost beggars; some few, I hear, have letters of credit. Poor M^e^ de Boufflers, as Lady Lucan writes me word, is *dans un état pitoyable*. But for the French, *brisons là pour le présent*. . . .

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Nov. ?] 9, Monday morning, Richmond.—‡ . . . I have not been at Neasdon, or in London, for as yet I have not had my coach or horses in order; and except to see William, and to go once to

* These words were inserted afterwards, but smeared, as if to be omitted.

† Sylvester Douglas, Lord Glenbervie.

‡ This begins with a long reference to an accident to Lady Caroline [Campbell].

London, I shall have very little inclination to stir from hence before your family returns to town. Mr. Hare called upon me yesterday, who seems very much recovered, and with him were Mr. James and Mr. Greenville. Mr. Walpole also came with them. They came over in a boat from Lord Frederick's, where I was pressed to dine, but I could not.

I was also yesterday a considerable time with the Duke of Orléans, at the Duke's. He brought thither with him, in a phaeton, Madame Buffon, *la bru du naturaliste*. The Duke of Clarence, having parted with his Green Finch, is not much in this part of the world. I do not know what they parted about. I suppose only that she was like many ladies who have had the same sort of education, and that she did not like to be *un oiseau de cage*, although fed and caressed by a Prince.

I desire my most hearty love to Lady Caroline, and many very kind compliments to Mr. C[ampbell]. I think myself much obliged to him, and so pray assure him. This evening or tomorrow I intend waiting upon Mrs. Bacon and Mrs. Woodhouse. They had received no account of this* before the notice given by me, of Mr. C[ampbell's ?] letter. We have a very good society in this place, so that neither I [n]or Mie Mie feel ourselves much inclined to leave it. Old Mrs. Boscawen, the Duchess of Beaufort's mother, is an admirable companion for such an old story teller as I am. *Je suis ici très Dowagerisé, mais c'est une coterie qui me convient plus qu'aucune autre, et je suis aussi à même de jouir d'une compagnie brillante toutes les fois que je me trouve y être disposé.*

The Duchess of Bedford is in London, Lady Lucan, &c., &c., *environnées de Ducs et de Duchesses fugitifs*. John's play is to be soon exhibited, and one of Mr. Hayley's tonight, as I hear. The Duke may stay, for aught I know, in Scotland till after Xmas, but he is expected home in little more than a fortnight. *Dundass a la commission de lui chercher du trouble en Ecosse, et il s'en charge assez volontiers ;* but I am confident that he will be disappointed, or, as they say, *y perdra la lessive ;* at least I hope so. His M[ajesty] would, in my opinion, have been much better advised if he had put a more favourable construction upon the Duke's conduct than he has.

As to the affairs of France, or tumults in Brabant, I should have some curiosity about them, more than I have at present, if I heard that Caroline was quite well and your Ladyship returned home in perfect ease on her account. I hope to hear soon and often from either you or Lord Carlisle, and then I shall find my *séjour* here more comfortable to me than any other would be.

The weather is very cold, but not this house; and if I find myself in the least indisposed, or Mie Mie, Dundass, *qui vaut bien celui qui porte le même nom*, is at hand, and in my room, at [a] quarter of an hour's notice. Mr. Hamilton, now Lord Abercorn, but *toujours magnifico*, will have one of his cousins a Lady, as if she had been an Earl's daughter, and no other of her sisters. He will himself be Duc de Châtelleraut, to which I know that he has no more pretensions than I should have to an estate that an ancestor of mine had sold a century ago. *Il est fou, ou le Roi n'est pas noble. Oh le pauvre Roi ! à sa place, je serois plus fou que noble ;* but it is said that he amuses himself *dans son illustre prison*, and, as Me de S[évigné] would say, *comme s'il n'y avoit pas un Prince d'Orange dans le monde.*

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* Accident.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Nov. ?] 19, Thursday night, Richmond.—I left London to come here today to dinner, as I have told you that I should, but I did not come away till I had seen Miss Gunning, who told me that she should write to your Ladyship either today or tomorrow. I found her *gaie, fraiche, contente,* and writing a letter, and when I began by saying, "So you persist then in leaving this very pretty room," she smiled. I think that she is perfectly satisfied with the option she has made, and I really think that she has reason to be so, *toutes choses bien considérées.* If I had been a woman, and could not have been my own mistress, I should have preferred subjection to a husband, whom I approved of, to a Queen (*sic*). We talked a great deal of the *ménage,* and I am to take my chair and have my *couvert* there when I please; and it is [a] stipulation that not a *petit pôt* is to be added on my account. She is to be married, I find, at the beginning of the new year, and she is to have immediately four children, three boys and one girl.* I should on her account have liked it as well, if she had begun *sur nouveaux frais;* but, it not being so, I think that the three boys and one girl is a better circumstance than if there had been more girls. He is really, as far as I can judge of him, a very worthy man, and I believe will make her a very good husband, and I have no doubt but that she will receive from his family as much regard and attention as any other woman would have had; but so much for her. . . .†

When I left St. James's, I went in search of Me de Boufflers, and found her at Grenier's Hôtel, which looks to me more like an hospital than anything else. Such rooms, such a crowd of miserable wretches, escaped from plunder and massacre, and Me de Boufflers among them, with I do not know how many beggars in her suite, her *belle fille* (*qui n'est pas belle, par parenthèse*), the Comtesse Emilie, a maid with the little child in her arms, a boy, her grandson, called *Le Chevalier de Cinque minutes,* I cannot explain to you why; a pretty fair child, just inoculated, who does not as yet know so much French as I do, but understood me, and was much pleased with my caresses. It was really altogether a piteous sight. When I saw her last, she was in a handsome *hôtel dans le quartier du Temple*—a splendid supper—Pharaon; I was placed between Monsr. Fayette and his wife. This Fayette is her nephew, and has been the chief instrument of her misfortunes, and I hope, *par la suite,* of his own. I said *tout ce qui m'est venu en tête de plus consolant.*

I would, if I had had time, have gone from her to Me la Duchesse de Biron, but I went to Lady Lucan, with whom I have tried to *ménager* some *petit-petits soupers* for these poor distressed people. That must be, when Lord Lucan returns from Lord Spencer's, after the X'ning.

The Duke of Orléans, they tell me, goes all over the city to borrow immense sums, offering as a security his whole revenue. He cannot get a guinea, or deserves one. He is universally despised and detested. Me Buffon is said *de lui avoir fait le plus grand sacrifice, sans doute, le sacrifice de sa réputation et de son état. Que peut-on demander davantage?*

There are parties among them, I find; la Duchesse de Biron and Me de Cambis for the Etats Généraux; Me de Boufflers [and] M. de Calonne *pour le parti du Roi.* It was right to apprise me of all this, or I should, with my civilities, have made a thousand *qui pro quo's;* but

* Charlotte Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Gunning, Bart., was married to Col. the Hon. Stephen Digby on 3 Jan. 1790. The latter's first wife was Lucy, daughter of Stephen, Earl of Ilchester.

† Remarks on the Hon. William Howard, at Mr. Raikes's school, occur here.

had I known that Lady Derby was in town, I should have gone to her, undoubtedly *par préférence*, as I shall do, the very next time I go to London. I am desired to dine there on Sunday with Lord Brudnell, but really the going, though but nine miles, *par des chemins si bourbeux*, and changing my room and bed at this time, is not to my mind. I shall keep here quietly as much as I can, till I know of your being come to town, but when will that be?

If Lord Jersey cannot keep himself steady neither on his legs [n]or his horse, you may be confined at C[astle] H[oward] the whole winter, which is better than to be at Gainthrop with me, and Hodgsson, that is certain. I did not hear but of one of his falls till yesterday, at Lord Ashburnham's. My respects to them both, I beg. Mie Mie sends hers to your Ladyship, with a thousand kind compliments besides. Caroline will receive both from her and me a letter on her arrival at Stackpole Court, and I shall now make no scruple to write to her often, since I find, what I wished, that it is paying my court to Mr. C[ampbell] expressing my affection to her.

Poor William's watch I found in a sad condition. I brought it to town, as he desired, and have lodged it safely with my watch-maker, against his coming home. Miss Digby, the Dean's* daughter, it is supposed, will be the new Maid of Honour. Hotham has poor Lord Waldgrave's Regiment; the chariot is not yet disposed of; I will bet my money on Lord Winchelsea.

I wish that I could find out, if there were any thoughts of your brother's going Ambassador to France. I have as yet no authority for it, but the papers.

The K[ing] was at the play last night, for the first time. The acclamations, as I am told, were prodigious. Tears of joy were shed in abundance. *Nous savons ce que c'est que la populace, et combien peu il en coute à leurs caprices, ou de pleurer, ou de massacrer, selon l'occasion.*

We are at peace at home, I thank God, *pour le moment.* I hope that it will continue, and that no Lord Stanhope, or a Dr. Priestly, will think a change of Government would make us happier. John is now at the ackma [acme] of Theatrical reputation, and we shall see his name on every rubrick post, I suppose, of all the Booksellers between St. James's and the Temple, with that of Congreve, Otway, &c., &c.

George Selwyn to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Nov. 20, Isleworth,] Friday m[orning].—Since I came home I hear that Miss Feilding is said to be the new Maid of Honour. Miss Gunning supposed, perhaps knew, that it would be the other. . . .

You may be sure that the first thing I do, when I go next to town, will be to see Lady Derby. Neckar, I hear, is in a wretched state of health, his legs swollen and his body emaciated. What a vain, foolish part he has acted! Fayette maintained to the K[ing], and in the presence of the Duke of O[rleans], that his Highness was the sole promoter of the expedition of the Poissardes. Do but think of those Poissardes. We have read *l'esprit de la Ligue, et de la Fronde, et des Barricades.* But *un esprit Poissard est parfaitement néologique.* Miss Keene has the measles; it is the *maladie épidémique* here at present.

Addressed: Isleworth. Novr. twentieth, 1789. To The Countess of Carlisle, Castle Howard, Yorkshire, Malton. Free. George Selwyn.

Seal of arms.

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* William Digby, Dean of Clonfert, 1766–1812.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1789, Nov. 21 ?] Saturday night, Richmond.—I finished my short note of today with saying that I intended to have wrote to you a longer letter, but I sent you all which I had time to write before the post went out. It is, I think, a curious anecdote, and I know it to be a true one; I was surprised to find that the Duke had heard nothing of it, but I suppose that his Highness the D[uke] of O[rleans] does not find it a very pleasant subject to discuss, and if the allegation be true, no one in history can make a more horrid, and at the same time, a more contemptible figure, for I must give him credit for all which *might* have been, as well as for what was certainly the consequence of his enterprise. I hope that, for the future, both he and his friend here will (to use Cardinal Wolsey's expression) "fling away ambition. By that sin fell the angels. How can man then hope to win by it?" And of all men, the least, *a Regent*. If I had not been interrupted by the Duke's coming soon after I received the paper, I should have myself wrote a copy of it for Caroline, because I must not have a Welch Lady left out of the secret of affairs. . . . .

The Duke looks surprisingly well. He came from London on purpose to see us, and intended, I believe, to have stayed, at least to dinner, but H[is] R[oyal] H[ighness] interfered, as he often does with my pleasures; so the Duke dined at Carlton House—I do not say in such an humble, comfortable society, as with us, but what he likes better, *avec des princes, qui sont Princes, sans contredit, mais rien au-dessus. All in good time*, as M^e^ Piozzi says frequently in her book, but what she means by it the Devil knows, nor do I care. I only say, that her book, with all its absurdities, has amused me more than many others have done which have a much better reputation.

I heard the D[uke] say nothing of his affairs in Scotland, of those in France, or indeed hardly of anything else, and I, for my part, am afraid of broaching any subject whatever, because upon all there is some string that jars, and to preserve a perfect unison, I think it best to wait than to seek occasions of offering my poor sentiments. He is going again to Newmarket, to survey his works there I suppose, so that he holds out to us but an uncertain prospect of seeing him much here. *Je l'attens à la remise*, as M^e^ de Sevigné says, and there, after the multiplicity of his rounds and courses, I might expect to see him, if the number of princes, foreign and domestic, were not so great. *Dieu merci, je n'ai pas cette Princimanie*, but can find comfort in a much inferior region.

At Bushy are Mr. Williams, Mr. Storer, and Sir G. Cooper, and in their rides they call upon me, but besides the Harridans of this neighbourhood, the Greenwich's, the Langdales, &c., I have in the Onslows and Darrells an inexhaustible fund of small talk, and, what is best of all, I have made an intimacy, which will last at least for some months, with my own fireside, to which, perhaps, in the course of the next winter I may admit that very popular man, Mr. Thomas Jones, of whom I shall like, when I know him better, to talk with your Ladyship.

I am now going to share with Mrs. Webb a new entertainment, for I am made to expect a great deal from it. It is Dr. White's Bampton Lectures, which they say contain the most agreeable account imaginable of *our* Religion compared with *that* of Mahomet. Mrs. W[ebb] reads them to go to Heaven, and I to go into companies where, when the conversation upon French politics is at a stand, it engrosses the chief of what we have to say. I have a design upon Botany Bay and Cibber's Apology for his own life, which everybody has read, and

which I should have read myself forty years ago, if I had not preferred the reading of men so much to that of books.

I expect you in London on Wednesday sevennight, and there and in Grosvenor Place will you find me, *en descendant de votre carrosse.* I shall *then* begin to renew my attentions to the Boufflers, Birons, &c., and so prepare my thoughts and language for the ensuing winter; but I shall not remove the household from hence till after Christmas. Till then, if you allow me only to pass two or three days in a week with you, I shall be, for the present, contented.

I am glad that this last mail from France brought nothing so horrible as what I was made to expect. Yet I am not at all at ease, in respect to that poor unfortunate family at the Louvre, which, I protest, I think not much more so than that of Calas. Of all those whom I wish to have hanged, I will be so free as to own that I am more disposed in favour of the M. de la Fayette than of any other, because in him I do not see, what is almost universal in those who have pretensions to patriotism, an exclusive consideration of their own benefit, and meaning, at the bottom, no earthly good to any but to themselves and their own dependants. *M. Fayette est entreprenant, hardi, avec un certain point d'honneur, et avec cela, plus conséquent que le reste des Reformateurs, qui, après tout, est un engeance si détestable à mon avis, qu'un pais ne peut avoir un plus grand fléeau.* How often will that poor country regret the splendour of a Court, and that *Lit de Justice, sur lequel le Roi et ses sujets avoient coutume de dormir si tranquillement!* But when I think of ambition, it is not that of all kinds that I condemn. . . .

Horace Walpole to [Lord Carlisle].

1790, April 10, Berkeley Square.—I had sent my servant to the other end of the town to Mr. Pinkerton's bookseller, or I should not have been so late before I acknowledged the great pleasure I received from the beautiful and genteel lines with which your Lordship was so very good as to honour me yesterday. It is very fortunate for Sir Joshua [Reynolds] that the justice you have done to his merit will long survive his works, and will convince posterity that he was the real founder of an English school, if such a school shall continue.

Your Lordship has as justly described his foreign predecessors and the characters of their works; and you have said in few lines what I had attempted in far too many to prove. Yet I am so pleased that, allow me, my Lord, to say that you will be very blameable if with so poetic a talent you do not employ it oftener to vanquish competitors more worthy of you.

P.S. Your Lordship has but half a guinea more to pay for the volume that accompanies this.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790 ?] July [Aug ?] 7, Saturday, Isleworth.—I hope that this letter will reach you before you set out for Cumberland, because I am impatient to tell you that the *Perfection of Nature* is at this instant the Perfection of Health. I came over here in my boat to write my letter from a place where I am sure that your thoughts carry you very often, and to make my letter from that local circumstance more welcome to you. I brought over with me two, almost the last, roses now in bloom, which I could find in the Duke's garden; one of them

would have been for you if you had been here, because I know the complexion in roses which you prefer; so I have desired Lady Caroline to smell to it *sympathiquement*. I found upon my table at Richm[on]d, when I came down, as I expected, Lady Sutherland's letter *envelop*[*p*]*ée à la françoise*, and in my next I will transcribe so many extracts, as it shall be the same as if I sent you the letter; but I am not sure that sending the original itself would not be illicit without a particular permission from her Excellency. I am much obliged to her for it, and shall do my best to obtain more, although France is a country now which, if I could, I would obliterate from my mind.

Had this Revolution happened two thousand years ago, I might have been amused with an account of it, wrote by some good historian, or if it had happened but a few years hence, I should not [have] felt about it as I do; as it is, the event is too near for me not to feel as I do. I do not like to be obliged to renounce my esteem for any individual, much less to think ill of such numbers. The oppression suffered under the former Government, or [and] the desire of giving to mankind the rights which by nature they seem intituled to, are with me no excuse, when a people sets out, in reforming, with acting in direct opposition to all the principles which before they thought respectable, and really were so, and, to become a free people, commence by being freebooters. However, as this savours too much of party zeal, I will have done with it; yet it is not relative to this country, which I hope will be free from these calamities and abominations, and so I need not fear expatiating sometimes upon the subject.

M^e^ de Boufflers, *la Reine des Aristocrates réfugiés en Angleterre*, was to see us yesterday in the evening, and to invite Mie Mie and me to come sometimes to hear her daughter-in-law play upon the harp. I did not expect *melody in their heaviness*, but I shall certainly go, as the recitative part will be in French, and that you know is always some amusement to me.

The Duke, I hear, will be in London tonight, and so may come to Richmond to dine with us tomorrow. If he does, I shall be a little embarrassed between my two Dukes, for the Duke of Newcastle expects me to dine and to lie at his house at Wimbledon. If I can reconcile two such jarring attachments, I will; if not, I believe I shall prefer my neighbour, as loving him very near as much as myself. Well, Mr. C[ampbell] and Lady C[aroline] are going out in their phaeton, so I shall now have done. . . .

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790,] Aug. 12, Thursday m[orning], 8 o'clock, Richmond.—I sit down now to write you with some satisfaction, because that I shall have to tell you, towards the end of my letter, that Caroline is perfectly well, but you must have patience; I have not seen her today. I shall finish my letter at Isleworth. At present, I only know that about 12 o'clock last night she eat plumb cake and drank wine and water in my parlour—she, Mr. Campbell, and Mie Mie, and who besides I have not yet asked. I was in bed when she came; it was an *heure perduë*, but not lost upon me, for I was not asleep, nor could sleep till I heard that those two girls were come home safe.

From what, in the name of God? you will say. From seeing that *étourdi* Lord Barrymore play the fool in three or four different characters upon our Richmond Theatre. Well, but what did that signify? Nothing to me; let him expose himself on as many stages

as he pleases, and wherever the phaeton can transport him, but he comes here, and assembles as many people ten miles around as can squeeze into the Booth. I had every fear that Mrs. Webb's nerves or mine could suggest: heat in the first place; I considered Car's situation; an alarm, what difficulty there might be of egress; but we provided, Mr. Campbell and I, against everything. Mrs. Vanheck, who has a most beautiful place at Roehampton, came and carried Mie Mie into her box. Places were separated in the pit; at first Lady C[aroline] was to have been there with Mrs. Woodhouse, &c.; but, I say, the egress was the point I wished for, and looked to. I got two places, by much interest and eloquence, in the hind row of the front box. A door opened into the lobby, and from the lobby you go directly into the street. So I shall hear, I suppose, today that all went *au mieux.*

I did not expect them to be clear of the House till near 12, so went into my room, and soon after to bed, but I slept well. For I had heard of them. They were all, I tell you, before 12 in my parlour, eating cake and chattering, and talking the whole farce over, *comme à la grille du couvent.* I can at present tell you no more, but I was impatient to begin my letter *à cette heure; j'ai en quelque façon satisfait à mon envie.* I shall embark at eleven for Isleworth, and hope with a fair wind to land at Campbell-ford stairs in ten minutes after. From thence I will finish my letter. I shall there have the whole *en détail.* The Prince and the Duke of Q[ueensbury] were expected, but I heard from my servants nothing of them.

Il fait un bien beau tems; c'est quelque chose. It has come late, and to make us only a short visit I suppose, and to tell us that we shall have a better autumn than we have had a summer; no courtier cajoles one like a fine day. Yesterday was a fine day also, and I *completed,* as they call it, my seventy-first year. I dined at your sister's; Mr. Campbell and Car and Mie Mie were to have been of the party; they had an apology to make, I had none. 71 is not an age to *Barrymoriser.* There were only Mr. Woodcock and his wife. I met on my return their Majesties, *que j'ai salués;* and so ended my day.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790, Aug. 12,] one o'clock, Richmond.—I have been at Isleworth. I found Car very well, and at her painting, with the Italico Anglico artiste of Mr. Campbell's, and Mr. Lewis. Mr. C[ampbell] was gone to London. They were asked to dine today at Fulham Field, that is, I think, the name of the Attorney Gen[era]l's* place. I am not sure if she told me that they intended to go. Lord Barrymore danced the *pas Russe* with Delpini, and then performed Scaramouche in the *petite pièce.* I asked how he danced; Mr. Lewis said very ill. How did he perform the other part? execrably bad. "Do you think," I said, "that he would have known how to snuff the candles?" "I rather think not," says Mr. Lewis. Mie Mie is more satisfied with his talents; she thought him an excellent *Escaramouche; ce seroit quelque chose au moins.* But I am more disposed to think that Mr. Lewis is in the right, and I hope, for the young nobleman's own sake, that *toutes les fois qu'il s'avise de se donner en spectacle, et faire de pareilles folies, il aura manqué à sa vocation. Sa mère ne jouoit pas un beau rôle, mais elle y a mieux réussi.*

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* Sir Archibald Macdonald.

But enough at present of this. No harm of any sort has come from it, but Mie Mie tells me that Mr. Campbell's anxiety the whole time was excessive. After all, she was not in the places which I had provided for the greater security, but went into those which were originally intended for her. The Prince was there, but not the Duke of York, or my friend the Duke of Q[ueensberry].

Now *à d'autres choses.* I have in my last fright forgot one where there were better grounds for it. The day I wrote to you last, as you know, I was at Isleworth. Coming from thence, and when I landed, the first thing I heard was that people with guns were in pursuit of a mad dog, that he had run into the Duke's garden. Mie Mie came the first naturally into my thoughts; she is there sometimes by herself reading. My impatience to get home, and uneasiness till I found that she was safe and in her room, *n'est pas à concevoir.* The dog bit several other dogs, a bluecoat boy, and two children, before he was destroyed. John St. John, who dined with me, had met him in a narrow lane, near Mrs. Boverie's, him and his pursuers. John had for his defence a stick, with a heavy handle. He struck him with this, and for the moment got clear of him; *il l'a culbuté.* It is really dreadful; for ten days to come we shall be in a terror, not knowing what dogs may have been bitten. Some now may have *le cerveau qui commence à se troubler.*

John* has a legacy from Lord Guilford† of 200*l.* a year, the General‡ one of a thousand pounds; Mr. Keene has a hundred. He has left in legacies about 16,000*l.*, as Mr. Williams tells me, but not much ready money besides. His estate was about 12 or 13,000 per annum. It is to be a Peer, I hear, who shall succeed him.

I will write no more today. I will send you the extract from Lady S[utherland's] letter in my next. The President has told me this morning that Mr. Neckar *à failli d'être pendu. Il voulut tirer son épingle du jeu; il fut sur le point de partir; on ne pousse pas la Liberté à ce point en France; il n'avoit pas demandé permission à la Populace; ainsi, sans autre forme de procès, on voulut le conduire du Contrôle à la Lanterne.* I am glad to hear that the brats are well. You set off, I understand, on Tuesday; so this will find you in your *Château antique et romanesque. J'en respecte même les murailles; tout y a un air si respectable.*

I will write to my Lord in a few days, and when I hope to have seen the Dean, but from what his neighbour Mr. Woodcock told me yesterday, I shall have nothing very comfortable to tell him *touchant la santé de son bon précepteur, ni sur la mienne; elle exige un ménagement et une régime que je n'ai pas encore observée avec la rigueur nécessaire.*

Now I expect a troupe of French people whom I met in a boat, as I came this morning from Isleworth—le M. de Choiseul, M^e^ de Choiseul, &c. I have engaged myself to go with them to Mr. Ellis's, because it belonged to Mr. Pope. I said I must go home to finish *mes dépêches,* but I expect them every minute. *Je sers d'entreprète entre le M. de Choiseul et M^e^ sa femme.*

My love to George. I hope that *le Château de ses ancêtres a pour lui des charmes.* I read a great deal of the Howards in Pennant's book.§ It is the only part that gives me pleasure; such an absurd superficial pretender to learning I never met with, and after all of what learning! Then he tries to copy Mr. Walpole's style in his Book of

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* St. John.
‡ Henry St. John?
† Francis North, Earl of Guilford.
§ Thomas Pennant, 1726–98.

Antient Authors; *le tout est pitoyable.* Adieu, dear Lady Carlisle; *si vous pouvez supporter tout ce bavardage, c'est parceque vous aimez votre fille, qui en est en partie la cause.*

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790,] Aug. 16, Monday evening, Richmond.— . . . I have been, as it were, the whole day *démanché.* I am not ill, I am only *unwell*, and a proof of it is, that I have not the least appetite. I did not get off my couch till this evening. . . . I am better this evening, only a little *abbatu*, having conversed today with nobody. I believe Me de Boufflers dined at Mr. Ellis's. Me de Roncherolles is going to make a visit for a week to Lady Dover at Roehampton. No confirmation of Bunbury's news of the D[uke] of O[rleans] and the Comte de Mirabeau. All in good time. But here is a whole day passed and not one word of Car; I shall go there tomorrow certainly. Mr. C[ampbell] is no more surprised to see me walk in than one of the chickens, and he would feed me as often, but I avoid the dining out as much as I can. The Keenes are gone to dine today at Bushy. I do not expect the Duke here till the end of the week. . . .

Mie Mie desires to be most kindly remembered; I think that I never saw her so satisfied and amused as she is here, and at home. If that continues, the purchase of my house here will not have been a bad one, and for my own part I would consent, upon those terms, to have no other. I am here now for some time, only that after October I shall go, for a day or two at a time, to London, to see how things go on. Is Mrs. Moss living? or shall we have Mrs. Barthow? I like the slip slop of the last the best of the two, and what she will have to say of the *fête confédérative* will be delightful. . . . It is not as yet quite right with me, but I had a good night, and am better today, and before eleven I shall be in my boat to go to Isleworth. *Les canards ont bien passé.* I will finish my letter there—Vixen and I together. . . .

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.*

[1790,] Aug. 18, Wednesday, Richmond.—I have but just this moment received your letter of Friday last [from Naworth]. . . . . In October I hope *que nous nous reverrons.* In the meantime I regret my age and infirmities,† which prevent me from following you, as I used to do, and when three hundred miles were not so much to me, as to go now in my carriage from hence to Windsor. . . . If they [Lord C. and George] are out shooting, then there is my letter to con over in an old Castle,‡ which, respectable as it is, has *un air fort sombre*, and wants to be enlivened by some news from the South. . . . Me de Roncherolles came and passed the evening with us, and Mr. Walpole. Me de Boufflers he left at Lord Palmerston's, and the Comtesse Emilie. Me de Roncherolles goes for a week to Lady Egremont's, today to Lady Dover's at Roehampton, so that we shall not see her again till the end of next week. We flatter ourselves with another Revolution, but if there should be one, through how much blood must we wade to arrive at it? It serves for conversation, but nothing essential will be settled for some time, I am persuaded. The National Assembly at present espouses

* This letter begins, "Dear Lady Caroline"—a mistake for Carlisle.

† There is no sign of feebleness in these last letters of Selwyn, the writing being as fluent and firm as ever.

‡ Naworth Castle.

warmly the cause of Mr. Phillip. If he becomes an idol with them, he may be so with the people of the Crown and Anchor. That is the only thing which gives me any apprehension, or from which any mischief to us can arise. What says Lord C[arlisle] ? I am glad that neither he, nor any other with whom he is connected, seems to countenance such proceedings.

You will not forget to let me know the day when you leave Naworth, that I may direct my letters to C[astle] H[oward]. I will trouble you with no more today, having wrote so much yesterday. My love to Lord C[arlisle] and to George, and my compliments to Mr. Howard of Corbie, if you happen to see him, and to as many Dacres as now exist. *S'il en reste un rejetton de cette ancienne maison, je le respecterai comme un aristocrate.*

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790,] Aug. 22, Sunday, Richmond.— . . . I have nothing [more] to tell you of Caroline, than that we saw her yesterday in the afternoon, *en passant*, that is, in her boat, which was full of the company she had had at dinner, and which, as Mie Mie told me, were the Greggs, but, *ayant la vuë courte*, I could not distinguish, myself, who they were.

My garden was as full as it could hold of foreigners and their children —Warenzow's boy and girl, and the Marquis de Cinque minutes, who, of all the infants I ever saw, is the most completely spoiled for the present. His roars and screams, if he has not everything which he wants, and in an instant, are enough to split your head. His menace is, " *Maman, je veux être bien méchant ce soir, je vous le promets.*"

The Duke was in the best humour the whole day I ever saw him, who you know has been at times as *gâté* as the other. He said that my dinner was perfect, and so it was *dans son genre*. The ladies were much pleased with their reception, and the Duke took such a fancy to them, and to the place, that he believes that he shall be more here than anywhere, and he went to town intending to send down all preparatives for residence. Me de Bouf[f]lers told me *que je m'étois menagé une très jolie rétraite*, and indeed at this time it is particularly comfortable to me, and the circumstance of Caroline's having a house so near is not by any means the least of its *agrémens*. . . .

Monday.—Yesterday was a fine day, but neither news [n]or event ; on the Thames *une bourg[e]oisie assez nombreuse*, and in the Gardens. I saw our friends at Isleworth in the morning, before they went out in their phaeton. They were going to Lord Guilford's, and today dine at Mr. Ellis's. I believe that Madame de Roncherolles dines at Mr. Walpole's, for she has sent to me to carry her. I do not dine there myself, but shall go to fix with Mr. Walpole a day for Caroline and Mr. C[ampbell] to see Strawberry Hall. Her journey to Lady Egremont's is put off for a week. Tomorrow I go to Fulham, and from thence to London, from whence I return on Wednesday. Mie Mie and I dine at Isleworth when I return. Mr. Grevil is to be with them this week.

Bunbury is returned from Portsmouth ; his news to me were, that the emigration from France thither increases every day, and that in the provinces, as these people say, who are come last from France, the revolt increases, and a desire for the old Constitution. In Britany and Normandy the party is very formidable. M. de Pontcarré, President of the *Parlement de Rouen*, is in London ; so there is another President for me, if I choose it. The young French people and their wives dined yesterday, as they usually do, at the Castle. . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790, Aug. 23 ?] Monday night, 11 o'clock, Richmond.—I wrote to you this morning, reserving to myself the liberty of lengthening my letter, after I shall have seen Caroline for the last time before her return from Cliveden, where it was her intention to go tomorrow for a week or ten days, *c'est selon ;* but I must begin this appendix tonight, late as it is. I am still waiting till these French Ladies come with Mie Mie from the play. It is Mr. Parsons's benefit, and was expected to be very full. The evening is cold, that is something, but I must see Mie Mie before she goes to bed.

We were today at dinner ten, besides the Duke; Madame de Boufflers, the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, M. de Calonne, The Fish, Thomas, Mie Mie, and myself. I had liked (*sic*) to have forgot Lady E. Forster, *que l'on n'oublie pas souvent, dans cette partie au moins ;* but now *on sonne déja ; le reste donc sera pour demain, et pour quand j'aurai été l'autre côte de la Rivière ;* so, for the present, I wish you a good night, my dear Lady Carlisle.

Tuesday morning, Isleworth.—Now, to begin my letter properly, and in course, it would be to say "Good morrow" to you, or, as they say in Ireland, "Good morrow morning" to you, my dear Madam.

I hastened my coming here lest they should be gone, but they do not set out till after dinner. Caroline is well enough to take a much longer journey than from hence to Cliveden. I came with a commission from the Duke to invite them to dinner, to meet the Princess Chatterriski, whom I suppose you know; I find that she is no favourite of Lady C[aroline], nor is her friend D'Oraison of mine, but he comes too. The Duke left me to go and invite the Boufflers, but whether they will come or not I do not know.

Calonne would have entertained yesterday. You never in your life saw any man so inveterate as he was against the M. de la Fayette, and, to say the truth, he had reason, if all was true which he imputed to him, as I believe it was. But what diverted me the most was, that Fayette had seriously proposed to make him, Calonne, King of Madagascar. Surely there never was, since the Earl of Warwick's time, such a king-maker. I would to God that he had accepted of the diadem, but then perhaps he would not have dined with us yesterday. *Il en contait à Madame la Duchesse,* and sat at dinner between her and Lady E. Forster, *avec qui je faisois la conversation ;* the Duke over against us on the other side of the table, *comme la Statue dans le Festin de Pierre,* never changing a muscle of his face. The Marquis was above, and there *Me la Duchesse lui donna à dîner.* I was determined upon an audience, and found *l'heure du berger.* He received me *avec un sourire le plus gracieux du monde,* and I was obliged to present my address of compliments. But I think that the Nurse is a bad *physiognimiste* if she did not see that what I said, and what I thought, were not *d'accord.* He is like the Duke if he is like anything, but a more uninteresting countenance I never saw—fair, white, *tâté, sans charactère.* In short, *on a beau faire, on a beau dire.* If *un enfant ne vous tient d'une manière ou d'autre,* I cannot admire it as I am expected to do; and what a difference that makes will be seen two months hence. *Toutes mes affections parlent du même principe.* The Duchess offended me much by coming with a *couronne civique,* which is a chaplet of oak leaves. In England they are a symbol of loyalty. *Il n'en* [*est*] *pas de même en France.* I asked if she wore it before the Queen; I was told yes. *Je ne comprens rien à cela.*

The whole behaviour of the Queen, in her present wretched, humiliated state, is *touchante et intéressante au dernier point. Elle ne rit, que quand elle ne songe pas à ses malheurs.* At other times she is, as Polinitz says of K[ing] James's Queen, when he saw her after the Revolution, *une Aréthuse.* M. le M[arquis] de la Fayette comes to the Tuilleries, and although he be really no more or less than the jailer, he is received with graciousness.

But now, *pour les Evangiles du jour.* I had a letter from Warner this morning before I left Richmond, dated last Thursday night. Your brother's courier did not, however, leave Paris till the morning of Friday. Warner's words are these :—"The courier goes to carry the news of the Decree, of fitting out 25 ships of the line, and adhering to the Family Compact in the defensive Articles, which looks so like a war that it frightens us with the apprehension of being sent packing home to you, or rather without packing."

If the consequence of a war is your brother's return to this country, I do not think it a misfortune to him, and I wish no other may happen to us, than the expense at which we must be to support one campaign against these United Powers. Still I am of opinion that peace will follow immediately these preparations. But Calonne alarmed me yesterday, when he said, that he thought that the National Assembly would draw them into a war with us. He had not then received his dispatches. I shall hear a great deal of it today, true or false, from D'Oraison.

Mrs. Bartho is already gone to Lady Lewisham. Caroline stayed to dine in town, and they returned here about six. I think that Mr. C[ampbell] seems today not determined to stay so long at Cliveden as he thought to do. I shall wish them to return, be it only that I may have the more to say to you, and the better security for my letters being well accepted.

I hope that George was amused at the York races. I have seen this morning in Lizy's letter that he was there. Vixen is sitting for his picture, and this is all the news of Isleworth. I may have more to tell Lord C[arlisle] when I write to him, which I shall do by the next post. My love to them all, you know whom I mean.

What does Lord C[arlisle] mean by calling himself alone ? *Peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille?* That was part of an *ariette* which M. de la Fayette's music played the day the K[ing] went to the Hôtel de Ville, as I have been informed by a pamphlet, wrote to abuse Mr. Neckar, and which is incomparably well wrote. I will get it for George if he desires it, and will promise to read it. I am afraid that he is too much of [a] *Démocrate,* but as a lover of justice, and of mankind, and of order and good government, he would not be so long, *s'il vouloit se rendre à mes raisons ; mais il croit que je n'en ai pas, et que je me retranche à dire des invectives, sans avoir des argumens pour soutenir mon systême ; en cela il se trompe.* God bless him ; *je l'aime de tout mon cœur, et je l'estime aussi, qui est encore davantage.*

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790, Aug.] 27, Friday, Richmond.—. . . I was at Devonshire House on Wednesday, before I set out, and the Duke of Devonshire would have had me stay dinner to meet M^e^ de Roncherolles ; whether he meant my friend here or her daughter-in-law, who is in London, I don't know ; I believe the mother, for I thought that I saw Miss Howe come to town as I passed along Piccadilly, and M^e^ de R[oncherolles] might have been in the chaise with her. I am sorry that I did not ask for

Mrs. Bartho; I would, but that I expected her to come here on a visit to Jones; she was, I hear, in Cleveland Court. She is grown lean with constant attendance on the Duchess and her child, but must have been very entertaining with her account of the *Fête confédérative*, and of her audience of the Q[ueen] of France, to whom she presented the child. The Queen kissed his hands twice, as Jones tells me. Now the Marquis has the gripes, as young Marquises have sometimes on their first entrance into life; otherwise his Grace intended to have presented me to him. It was too early in the day, so I did not ask to see the Duchess.

I returned here with the Duke of Q[ueensberry], in his coach, to drink Mie Mie's health *en famille*. He brought his doctor, now one of his Members, with him, and is still so enamoured with this place that when he left us it was with repeated assurances that he should send down immediately all his servants, and come and establish himself with us. He went back in the evening to meet the P[rince] of W[ales]. So, till I hear of his R[oyal] H[ighness] being at some distance, I expect no accomplishment of these resolutions; *aussi les chang*[*e*]*mens subits me sont toujours suspects*. . . .

I have had the letter from Lord C. which you made me expect, and am much pleased and edified by it. I like his account of C. H. and the children, and yours, and am mightily pleased with Frederick's behaviour at the Church service. It is right that the first impressions which he imbibes of Religion should make him grave, but, in process of time, I hope that he will, besides being a very moral and honourable man, be a good Christian, but not a *solemn one, qui rendroit sa piété suspecte*. I think that if I had been at Chapel, I should not have laughed only, as you did, but *j'aurois franchi toutes les barrières de la bienséance*, and have kissed him too. My love to him I beg, and thank him for his kind remembrance of me.

Mrs. B[arthow], I should have told you, expects every moment to be sent for to Lady Lewisham, so I shall not see her probably till I meet her in Berkley Square. There she is to be at all events, which I am glad to hear. But if any unexpected accident happened to prevent her, pray think of the nurse which has attended Lady Boston so often, and which she sent to me. I suppose that unless Lord James Manners marries her, which is the best thing he can do, she would leave his Lordship for a time.

Mr. Grevil is still in Wales; he has sent to me a long account in a letter to Mr. C[ampbell] of the M. de Choiseul's precipitate match with Miss Dawkins, which will involve the happy pair in innumerable difficulties. She is a ward of Chancery, and wanted but six weeks or less of being of age. They could not stay for that period, an eternity in love. He came here with little or nothing, *cherchant fortune, un assez beau garçon; il en a trouvé, avec des embarras sans nombre*. She seems a weak, insipid creature, and that is the character which Mr. G[revil] sends us of her. All his account besides I believe to be very just and exact.

I acquainted Lord C[arlisle] in my last that I had a letter from Warner of the date of last Friday; I expect him in about three weeks. I gave him also an account of the Dean [Ekins]. I am afraid that neither of us shall be soon well. I am sorry that I cannot call upon him oftener, but it will not do; motion and excess of any kind are my mortal foes; for the present I must really be very quiet, and very abstinent, and for a long time *à mon corps défendant*. Lord C[arlisle] will not like to lose his tutor, or his friend, as yet, and I am very necessary, I believe, to one person at least, which is Mie Mie.

The Woodhouses dine at Isleworth on Saturday. When I dine there next I will not return by water; the season for that is past; but I will make Caroline's party at Hopping Commerce, as we did last night, whenever she pleases.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790, Aug. ?] Saturday m[orning], Isleworth.— . . . Mr. C[ampbell] called upon me yesterday. He came to see my two pictures, which I had cleaned by Comyns, and are very pretty, as Mr. C. allows, but he will not assent to Comyns's opinion that they are Cuyp's, although much in his style. Comyns values them at what they cost me, which was 50 gs. or thereabouts. Mie Mie has them in her dressing-room, and is vastly pleased with them. We all dine today at the Castle. Me la Comtesse Balbi chooses to give a dinner *there* to all her friends, the Mesdames Boufflers, the Comte de Boisgelin, M. d'Haveri (?), &c. The Duke, Mie Mie, and I are invited, and the Duke intends to bring Mr. Greive* with him, and as a Member *de la Chambre Basse* he will pass muster, but he is most wretched at the lingo. They will assemble in the evening at the Duke's, where I suppose that there will be tweedle dum, and tweedle dee, for the whole evening, till supper. George will not, after this, call our house a hermitage; if it is, it is a reform of a merry Order, in which neither St. Francis [n]or St. Bruno have any share.

Lady Graham has got her *Duché* (?) very soon. A report was spread here yesterday that Prince Augustus was dead, but it is contradicted in the papers of today. Mr. C[ampbell] is gone to town, but he and Mr. Grevil return to dinner.

I hope that Frederick liked my letter, and that in my letter to Gertrude there was some bad French for her to correct, and then I shall hear from her again. I hope that William will be indulged in staying here a day or two with his sister, and that George will not fly away on his Pegasus to Oxford the instant he comes, although I know that the Muses are impatient to see him, and will set their caps at him the moment he comes. I hope that you approve of my choice of what the colour of his gown is to be. I think a light blue *celeste*, which Lord Stafford had, would be detestable, and scarlet is too glaring. No; it must be a good deep green. I want to know the name of his tutor. I hope that he will have a very good collection of books in his own room, a sufficient allowance, and a hamper of claret, *en cas de besoin*. I think, if there are to be no hounds or horses, we may compound for all the rest. But these I believe the Dean will never suffer to be matriculated. . . .

I have some thought of going to pass a day in town, when Warner comes, and if I do I will certainly go there by Fulham, to see the Dean. I have not heard one syllable about him a great while. You know, perhaps, that Pyrome (?) is discharged, and *relégué à ses terres*. He [has] a *méchante langue*, and to keep himself in place he should cut it out.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790,] Sept. 4, Saturday m[orning], Richmond.— . . . My larder is rich from Mr. C[ampbell's] *chassé*. I had some game the day

* William Grieve, esquire, of London, was returned M.P. for Peebles, &c., 5 July 1790.

after the first hostilities against the partridges commenced. . . . Our foreign connections here increase; le Comte de Suffren and his family are going to establish themselves here in a house above the Bridge, and on the banks of the River. He came to the Duke's yesterday, where we dined, and stayed with us the whole evening. He is an *aristocrate*, and a great sufferer by the troubles in France, but he is a very sober, moderate man, and intelligent. The Duke liked his company very much.

I am loaded now with pamphlets upon this great and extraordinary event; some entertain me, some not. I like much what I have just been reading, which is the opinion of the Abbé Maury, delivered in the National Assembly, upon the *exécutif* and *législatif* power, in regard to declaring war, and concluding treaties of commerce and alliance. There is a great deal of good sense in it, and comes the nearest to my own opinion of what has passed. I suppose that Lord C[arlisle] has read it. I hope that George will read it too. If I was sure that the speech was not at Castle H[oward] I would transcribe some passages out of it, *à sa considération.*

I desire very much to be of his mind about everything, but, if he is a Republican, I have done with him. If he will in his Republican system throw in a little royal authority as ballast, we shall soon come to an agreement. I wish him to come *neuf* to all those great and important questions, and examine them *sans l'esprit de système*, without prejudice, and strong inclination to be of either side, but to investigate the truth, and adopt it. *Il est fait pour raisonner; il commence être d'un âge où le jugement acquerera tous les jours de la maturité.* My love to him, I beg.

I think Lady Derby mends in appearance; the Duke and I go often to her. I would cross the water and make the Duchess a visit, but that I think it right to forbear going in a carriage as long as I can; and then, perhaps, I may go with safety to London, from time to time to see Caroline, when she removes thither. . . .

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790,] September 7, Tuesday, 8 o'clock, Richmond.— . . . I was surprised in the evening with a visit from Mr. Campbell. We were *au dessert*, that is, the party which dined here after they returned from Egham. . . . His visit put out of my head, in a minute, all the pretty French phrases which I was brewing. . . . Mr. C. stayed to converse with the Welch heiress, to talk with Me de Choiseul upon Greece and the Archipele, and of his uncle's *voyage pittoresque*, and he spoke a great while in Italian with Me la Comtesse de Suffren. I long to hear, as I shall this morning, his opinion of the party. I asked them [a] few questions about their day's sport; it was a novelty with which I know that they would be pleased.

So Me de Choiseul has obtained leave of her husband, I believe without much difficulty, to stay here one day more. I shall, for my part, make no efforts to detain them. Me de R. has explained to me sufficiently *en quoi consiste la mauvaise conduite du Marquis.* But young people *ne regardent que le surface.* The Duke did not return; I believe that he dined and lay at Oatlands. His horse had a violent fall; but I heard of no other event. I suppose he may have lost by that accident.

I know as yet no more of Mr. C[ampbell's] motions than that he and Lady C[aroline] go to town this morning, but return to dinner. We shall dine with them, when these Races are over; they finish tomorrow.

I sat yesterday morning a great while with the Fish's friend, Me de Roncherolles. *Entre nous*, I like her much more than any of the whole set. She has neither *du brillant dans son esprit, ni une infinité de grace dans ses manières, je l'avoue, mais, elle est sans prétensions, et avec beaucoup de bon sens, même de la solidité, et elle est instruite suffisamment.* Mr. Walpole *ne lui donne pas la préférence.* He must have something *de l'esprit de l'Académie,* &c., something of a *charactère marqué. Je ne cherche rien de tout cela; je suis content du naturel, et de trouver une personne raisonnable, honnête, et de bonne conversation.* She is going today for a week or more to Lady Spencer's at St. Alban's. I am sure that it is not *there, que je trouverois cette simplicité qui me plaît.* But *this,* till it is time to embark for Isleworth, when I shall have something more interesting to talk of than the perfections of Me de Roncherolles. . . .

Incomplete.

[George Selwyn to Lady Carlisle.]

[1790, Sept.]— . . . I had a letter today from Mr. Williams, *qui me donneroit de l'humeur,* if I could be angry with people that they have the disposition that they are born with. He thinks that my health would be no impediment to my going to Ashburnham, if my attention to Caroline and to her present situation did not engross my thoughts. Let him think so. *Je ne m'en cache pas.* Hear what he says, I beg of you:—"Heaven is remarkably indulgent to you, to secure you a nursery *in perpetuo.* The moment the old one is fledged, and takes to wing, you have another, with clouts, and a pap-spoon, to which you are equally attentive." What stuff is this? He and that Gobo his friend Cadogan encourage one another in this way of thinking and talking. I have loved you and Lord C. *passionnément* for above twenty years. *J'ai vu naître tous vos enfans. Quand ceux-ci n'eussent point été aimables comme ils sont,* how was it possible that I should not love *them too?* and can it be supposed that I shall be indifferent to what will be an object of such tenderness to Caroline? . . .

I have had also a very short letter from Warner, this morning, who cannot leave the Hôtel de Monaco till the 20th instant; *elle a un air fort chagrin.* It is dated last Friday. He says there is a *bruit sourd* of something violent having passed last night, that is, on Thursday the 2nd, in the *Assemblée Nationale.* That there was *bruit* enough there I make no doubt, by why he calls it *sourd* I do not know: it was relative to the dismission of the Ministers. This part of my letter may be for Lord Carlisle. He will comprehend that Ministers may be dismissed in one country as well as another.

They are gone to the Races. Mie Mie brings back *le Comte et M la Comtesse de Suffren* to dinner. Mrs. Webb and I shall dine *tout tranquillement* upon some boiled mutton at three. The weather is fine, but very sharp. It will not be long that I shall be able to go in my boat to Isleworth. I must, for that little way, go and return in my coach. I used it yesterday to bring me back from visiting Me de Roncherolles at Twit'nam. I am so well that I have been with them to breakfast, but they went away so soon after they had finished it, that I have returned hither to write the rest of my letter. Caroline is perfectly well. Then why need I say any more? yet I cannot help, with the pen in my hand, and a good one too, going on. They dine in

town, but return here after dinner, and tomorrow I shall dine with them, for I suppose that Mie Mie will not be satisfied with two days only of these Races. Caroline, such is her excessive good nature, pressed me to bring with me Mrs. Webb. But, poor woman! she is not well enough. They have been at Cliveden quite alone. Mr. Simmonds, as I understand, was not there. . . .

Incomplete at beginning and end.

[George Selwyn] to Lady C[arlisle].

[1790, Sept. ?]—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . . That people [the French?] does not seem much at leisure to attend to broils between other nations.

I long to hear of George's admittance at Oxford, and how he likes it.* Feilder and his wife form his household, but who his two tutors are I do not yet know. I hear that the Dean [Ekins] does not recommend an allowance. I hope that Lord Carlisle will exercise his own judgment in that particular.

Now I have another match for you; Lord Stopford with a sister of the Duke of Buccleugh's; Lady C. Peachy has had it announced in form.† For disasters, Mr. Ogilvy, the D[uches]s of Leinster's husband, has had a personal quarrel with a stag in the Duke of Richmond's Park at Goodwood. It was a season when stags grow jealous, and Mr. Ogilvy approached him under suspicious circumstances. He has, I hear, as many wounds as the man in the Almanack, and [is] not yet out of danger. *Le cerf est connu par ses abatures*, so poor Ogilvy had like to have lost his life, and by such weapons as my Lady Duchess herself never thought could do any mischief.

I think that I see M^e^ de Cambis, *qui en rit à gorge deployée comme ceux qui trouvent dans le malheur de ses amis toujours quelque petite circonstance qui ne leur deplaît pas.* I told you how she felt for the poor Marquis d'Olan, and in this *rencontre* she will perhaps see something *de plus comique.*

Mr. Williams writes me word that he shall be in London next week, when he expects to find me pouring out my curses upon Eve for her disobedience, and the consequences of it. I own that I wish the first bite of that apple had choked her, but, I thank God, there is less reason for anxiety on the present than on any other the like occasion.

For Richmond news, *les voici.* Snow had his concert at the Castle the night before last, and when it was over a string of his harpsicord burst, for the poor man was arrested. Mr. and Mrs. Darrell, on the Hill, are cousins to the Darrells of the Vale. They live in the house that was built for the Duke of Ancaster. They are very good kind of people; they have an *assemblée* and a bread and butter ball, once a week, on a Friday. It begins soon after seven, and ends soon after eleven; French and English, old and young.

The Duke is here; he dines with me every day, and seems more and more delighted with Richmond. We went together last night, and sate an hour at Lady Di's with Mr. and Mrs. Boverie. Lord Robert was there, who does not want a relish for rural amusements. Peg Jeffryes *en est peu édifiée;* she keeps at home as if there was a plague in one part of the town, not knowing how free she herself is from infection.

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* He matriculated 19 October 1790.

† The marriage took place in 1791.

[George Selwyn to Lady Carlisle.]

[1790, Sept. ?]—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . . . . shall be able to go soon to Fulham to enquire after the poor Dean [Ekins], and what probability there is of his recovering. His case seems more desperate than mine; but neither of us shall have the health which we have had.*

Now I will begin a letter to William. A trait of the little Emanuel's, the Comtesse Emilie's boy, called another to my mind of him. But they are not to be compared; one proceeding from nature, the other from imitation. The little Chevalier went to his mother to take leave of her before he went to bed. She gave him her hand to kiss. He took up the other to kiss also, and said, "*Maman, que je n'abuse pas de votre bonté.*" How strongly this marks the character of that nation! . . .

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790, Nov. ?] Thursday, Richmond.—You are so good, when you do not see me or hear of me, to be desirous of having some information of my state of health and existence. Now I must let you know that I have at this moment every distress, negative and positive, that I can have, *et les voici.* My negative one is, being for the moment in an impossibility of going to town to see you, Caroline, and the *bambino*, and that is enough, for it would be a great pleasure to me, as you must imagine. Then, I am, in a manner, here with one single servant. Pierre has left this house to go to his own, where he is very well looked after by his wife, and is [as] comfortably lodged as it is possible to be; but he is, as Mr. Dundas tells me, in a very perilous situation, and yet, by excessive care, may recover.

He has been my doctor lately instead of his own, and given me, daily, powders which he said were the bark, and which I was to take. No such thing; they were powders of a different sort, which, it is fortunate, have done me no mischief. They were in the drawer, and so brought to me as bark. Dundas thought I neglected myself, and rejected the prescription. I maintained that I had missed taking the bark but one day. He knew the contrary from his shop book, and today only the mystery was cleared up.

My next grievance is, that *je péris de froid; j'en suis penétré au pied de la lettre*, and the reason is plain, but why I did not discover it myself is hardly to be conceived. I have no clothes; my stockings are of a fine thin thread, half of them full of holes; I have no flannel waistcoat, which everybody else wears; in short, I have been shivering in the warmest room *sans sçavoir pourquoi.* But yesterday there was a committee at the Duke's upon my drapery, and today a tailor is sent for. I am to be flannelled and cottoned, and kept alive if possible; but if that cannot be done, I must be embalmed, with my face, mummy like, only bare, to converse through my cerements.

Then, my other footman, the Bruiser, is that, and all things bad besides; he is not an hour in the day at home, and is gaming at alehouses till 12 at night; so the moment that I can get any servant that is tolerable to supply his place I shall send him out of the house, *sans autre forme de procès;* but, till he is gone, my whole family lives in terror of him.

It is amazing to what a degree I am become helpless; nothing can account for it but extreme dotage, or extreme infancy. I wish Barthow had left Lady Caroline, and was here only to dress me in warmer

* Dr. Ekins, Dean of Carlisle, died 1792.

clothes, but she goes from here, I hear, to Lady Ailesford, so that I must not think of lying in, and being nursed, for some time.

The Duke's passion for Richmond does not as yet abate, and I am afraid that H.R.H. the D[uke] of Clarence will rather keep it alive; he talks of being a great deal at his house. I hope he means his own, but I was informed that he asked a most tremendous question, which was, *how I lived*, and the Duke was so imprudent as to say, nobody better. He supped at the D[uke's] the night before last. *Il tient des propos trop indécentes*—thinks that sort of discourse will give him the reputation of wit. It may, on the forecastle deck, but our Richmond ladies do not relish it. The Duke had not heard of Lady C[aroline] being brought to bed, but as soon as I told him of it, he begged me to write down for (*sic*) all the kind and civil things possible, which I sent to town by my waterman. I hope that George has wrote, with a handsome apology to Mr. C[ampbell]. If the Muses are not well bred, they are a pack of sluts; I would not give a farthing for them.

[George Selwyn] to Lady Carlisle.

[1790,] Dec. 8, Wednesday, Richmond.—You have been at C[astle] H[oward] ever since Monday sevennight, and not one single word have you received from your humble slave and beadsman. . . . Here is now come a snip-snap letter of reproach from Lady Ossory for not having answered her letter of compliments upon Lady C[aroline's] delivery. I received yours on Sunday. That was no post day, so I resolved to answer it in Berkley Square on Monday. But I did not set out till three o'clock, lost all the fine part of the morning, and did not get to town till five in the afternoon—dragged for two hours, two whole hours, through mud, and cold, and mist, till I was perishing; so that when I had eat some dinner I was fit for nothing but to go to bed, and therefore did not go to Berkley Square till yesterday at noon. . . . I saw Caroline and her *bambino*. . . . The christening is to be, as I understand, tomorrow. I hope in God that I shall be well enough to assist, and name the child, and eat cake, and go through all the functions of a good gossip. If I am obliged to give up that which seems to have been my vocation, *c'est fait de moi;* I must declare myself good for nothing. I carried yesterday the regalia. The cup has been new boiled, and looks quite royal.

Sir L[ucas] Pepys was with me in the morning, and thought my pulse very quiet, which could only have been from the fatigue of the day before—*juste Dieu!* fatigue, of going 8 or 9 miles, my legs on the foreseat, and reposing my head on Jones's shoulder. The Duke would make her go, and everybody. He thinks that I am now the most helpless creature in the world, when, from infirmity, I want ten times more aid than I ever did. Sir Lucas pronounced no immediate end of myself, but that I should continue the bark, with hemlock. I'll do anything for some time longer, but my patience will, I see, after a certain time, be exhausted. As to poor Pierre, it is over with him. Sir Lucas says the disorder is past all remedy. This is a most distressful story to me, and how to supply his place I do not know. . . .*

The Marquise Fagnani to Lord [Carlisle].

1791, March 5, Milan.—Je viens d'apprendre par une lettre des 11 Fevrier 1791, de Mademoiselle Fagnani ma Fille, que Mr. Selwin est

* Some extracts from Selwyn's Will are in Case 147.

mort, et qu'elle s'est retirée chez vous, encouragée sans doute par les bontés que vous lui avez temoigné, et dont je dois moiméme vous remercier jusq'a ce moment ci: mais dorenavant il me faudra profitter de vos vertueux sentimens d'une maniere bien differente de celle que peut-etre ma Fille avoit immaginé.

Malgré la haute opinion que jay de vous et de votre respectable Famille, vous sentez bien que je ne puis pas permettre ni approuver, tandis que je suis vivante, que ma Fille reste eloignée de moi sans étre mariée, et je ne puis m'empecher de faire ce que la nature et le devoir exigent de moi, et ce que vous feriez vous méme dans une pareille situation.

Je me suis toujours opposée autant qu'il m'a été possible a l'eloignement de ma Fille, mais tandis que le Marquis Fagnani son Pere a vecû, c'est en vain que j'ay souahité de la retenir dans ce Pays ci et dans le sein de sa Famille aussi bien que mes autres enfants, que restoient auprés de moi.

Aussi tôt que le Marquis Fagnani est mort, et je suis restée à l'administration de sa Famille, je n'ay jamais cessé d'écrire a Mr. Selwin et a ma Fille, et de faire tout mon possible pour la rappeller auprés de moi, mais l'opiniâtreté et les détours de Mr. Selwin, et peut-etre les égards que Mademoiselle Fagnani avoit pour lui, ont rendu inutils tous mes efforts la dessus. Je sais méme que Mr. Selwin a enlevé souvent des lettres que j'avois écrites à ma Fille, et qu'on a fait de tout pour me calomnier auprés d'elle, et pour lui faire croire que je l'avois oubliée, et qu'ell' étoit abbandonnée de ses Parents. Il est vray que de temps en temps j'ay reçû quelque lettre de ma Fille, mais on s'appercevoit aisement méme par ces lettres qu'ell' étoit dans la supposition que je viens de vous dire. Maintenant que Mr. Selwin est mort, c'est a vous, Mylord, et a vôtre probité que j'ose m'adresser, afin que je puisse avoir ma Fille auprés de moi par des conseils dignes de vous, que vous pouvez lui donner, et qui peut-etre seront ecoutés plus que le[s] miens. C'est vous, Mylord, que j'implore pour advocat de ma tendresse maternelle, et j'ay tell' opinion, et telle confiance en vous, que j'espere que j'obtiendray de vôtre probité et de vôtre eloquence ce que je n'ay pû jusqu' ici obtenir de la voix de la nature méme. Je vous promets saintement que ma Fille sera toujours maitresse de son bien, et de se choisir un etablissement qui lui convienne ; je n'auray jamais l'envie ni le courage de lui causer le moindre chagrin lorsque j'auray la consolation de la revoir aprés si long temps, et tant d'amertume que j'ay souffert pour elle. Je lui ay parlé toujours de la sorte, mais on lui a fait craindre que ce n'étoit que pour la flatter, et pour la tromper. Ce n'est pas mon caractére de tromper personne, mais bien moins de tromper mes enfans. Est-il possible, Mylord, qu'une Mere veuille revoir sa Fille pour la rendre malheureuse ? Je vous assure, Milord, qu'elle pourra vivre, et disposer de soi moime (*sic*) chez moi comm'elle pourroit le faire en Angleterre chez vous, mais jusqu' a ce qu'elle ne se trouve un etablissement convenable, je n'auray jamais de tranquillité, ni de consolation a moins que j'n'aye cette Demoiselle auprés de moi.

Encor' une fois, Mylord, j'implore en ma faveur vôtre vertu, et la haute reputation dont vous jouissez ; consolez une pauvre Mere qui n'a d'autre esperance d'étre consolée qu'autant qu'il vous plaira de vous souvenir de ses larmes, et de ses prieres.

Je suis, avec la plus grande consideration, Mylord,

Votre tres humble servante,

La Marquise Fagnani.

Lord Cornwallis to [Lord Carlisle].

1792, May 13, Camp at Vincatagherry.—I am now returning to the Carnatic after having made what I think a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with Tippoo. How far it may be generally approved in England I will not presume to guess, although I shall rather be inclined to believe that the people will be wise enough to like to get something more than blood for their money. . . .

[Charles James Fox] to Lord Carlisle.

[1792, July 25th.]—I can have no difficulty in telling you my opinion upon the point you mention, but I have been too much out of the way of seeing people lately to speak as confidently for others, as I can for myself. I do *not* consider the Associators as separated from the Party, and think that it ought to be our object to prevent such a separation, if possible.

With respect to the weakness of Government at present, I think as you do that the public may feel very bad effects from it, and if an opportunity were to offer (of which, however, I see no prospect) I should not hesitate to make myself and to advise others to make every sacrifice consistent with honour for the purpose of forming a strong and comprehensive Administration. That some of the supporters of the present Ministry admit the want of a stronger Government is, I believe, true, and I believe further that many of them are ingenuous enough to confess that the weakness which they lament is the natural effect of the system upon which this Ministry was formed; but whether they are ready to admit what I think the fair inference from these premises, viz., that there should be a really new Administration, in which pretensions are not to be considered by the criterion of present possession, I very much doubt.

Copy, omitting the signature and date; endorsed: Copy of Mr. Fox's letter, July 25th 1792.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1792, Aug. 1, Norwich.—I think your question would receive no explicit answer, because it is not a little difficult to express in writing what I take to be the real case. No arrangement would be satisfactory to F[ox] that does not put it in his power to distinguish men as he pleases, and if he had the power he could not avoid using it in favour of those who have professed an exclusive attachment to him, and at the expense of those who do not assume that merit. There is no room for the doubt expressed in the close of his letter. The Administration cannot, in common sense, admit that present possession is no criterion of pretensions in forming an arrangement, for they must that moment resign, and I think it is a great error to suppose that they are conscious of such a weakness as should incline them to an arrangement on unfavourable terms.

Administration as a Party never was so strong both in itself and in the certain divisions of Opposition. Even in the House of Lords they are stronger by the removal of Lord M., in whatever way he is replaced. Recollect how much better Lord North's Administration stood in the House of Lords, in spite of the imbecility of Lord B., than it did after Lord M. took his place. The Administration possesses a singular strength at present from this single consideration, that although all men think it would be for the public service to enlarge the system, yet the

better part of the kingdom is convinced that it could not be overturned without great public distress, and few wish to unsettle it but those who wish also for the confusion that would ensue.

That F[ox] and P[itt] should be upon an exact parity in the House of Commons is impossible by an arrangement of office. It was in the power of F. to have raised himself above P. merely by acting in the same line with the better part of the Opposition. On every occasion where he has given P. the advantage-ground, he has at the same time quitted that ground on which his own Party stood, and he has on more than one subject followed P. in opposition to his friends. He has himself to blame for the disunion of Opposition, for the Association, though not favoured by him at the moment it erected its standard, was encouraged by his conduct and began to muster from the period of his dissension with Burke. With all these disadvantages, which he is not willing to see, and which are much more likely to increase than diminish, it seems evident to me that his interest is more deeply concerned than any other person's in the success of an arrangement on moderate terms suited to the circumstances of the times.

I have tired you with these unavailing reflections. In a very few days I hope to discuss with you this subject in all its views. I shall be in Town on Monday at furthest.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1792, Oct. 26, Hampstead.—I found our friend under a recent alarm from a festival which had been made in his neighbourhood to celebrate the success of the French with an appearance of somewhat more cost than the sixpenny contributions of the company. No man has a more entire abhorrence of such proceedings, and few I think have so strong a dread of the dangerous tendency of them. These feelings are much warmer in his mind than when you last saw him, but I do not think his resolution is yet formed to act up to them. I could not have any particular conversation with him till the last day that I passed at his house. A detail of those incidents which had passed since he left Town, and of which he had been very imperfectly informed, naturally led to a discussion of the present state of Party, from whence I clearly collect that his apprehensions for the public safety will never suffer him to take any part that can endanger it, but he does not see the necessity of active support. Whether it was mere indecision or real reserve, the conversation on the measures which it might be fit to take was very embarrassed, and as it had all the effect of reserve upon me, it was short and unsatisfactory. He has a notion that the Administration is become unpopular in the country, which I am persuaded is not the case, except amongst those with whom no Administration can be popular; and it is of the less consequence as there can be no ground to imagine that any share of their popularity has been transferred to others.

I have had very little conversation with any person since my return to the neighbourhood of London, except foreigners, amongst whom there is a general outcry against the conduct of Prussia, and a prevailing opinion that the retreat of the Prussian force is owing to the management of the British Ministry. Though I treat the idea as perfectly false and absurd, I cannot help being astonished at the variety of quarters from whence it is repeated. I know that it has been conveyed in letters from Brussels and from the Hague of persons who are entitled to credit for their information and judgment. I was at Court

on Thursday, which was but thinly attended, the Prince not there though in Town, and, as the newspapers say, in conference with Lord Thurlow. I answered the letter you was so good as to send me, the contents of which were exactly what Sir Ralph supposed. The communication was so stated that it was impossible for me to avoid giving some opinion upon the Measure, which I fancy has not been favourably received, for I have had no farther communication upon the subject.

I shall not be in Bedford Square till about the time of your return to Town, for it is less irksome to hear nothing than to be always in the way of hearing everything that is distressing and uncomfortable.

[Lord Fitzwilliam] to Lord Carlisle.

1792, Oct. 31, Wentworth.—I am ashamed to look back to the date of your letter, and to see how long it has passed without an answer; but in truth it was not a subject to be writ upon in the buzz of a drawing-room, and there has been such a succession of company here down to this time, that I have not known how to catch time enough to write: here then is my apology at the mercy of your candour, and if it does not merit indulgence from that, I throw myself upon your good nature, which I know will stand my friend.

It is true, as a party, we stand in an awkward predicament: circumstances have arisen to mark great difference of opinion and views in what was hitherto a strong, well compacted, and therefore respectable party, supposing it had not possessed the many other claims to respect and consideration which its worst enemies knew not how to deny it—it is no less true that the late unfortunate differences have taken their rise from what would seem to render all party connection void; nothing less than a desire of difference, with a view to supplant. You and I, who may have some tolerable guess at the principles and private opinions of the leaders of the Friends of the People, cannot give much credit to the sincerity of those who proposed Parliamentary reform: we must look upon their conduct as originating from a desire of a speedy pre-eminence, and that in that view they proposed what they knew would be resisted by the person we have accustomed ourselves to look up to, and to call our *head*, on the principle of a great aristocratical party; for however we might look to Charles [Fox] as a great leading, necessary spring in the machine, still there were some requisites wanting in him, to be the representing head of the party; and finding these in the Duke of Portland, he has, from the beginning, filled the office (if I may so call it), and has performed its functions with credit to himself and advantage to the party.

The views of these gentlemen were to supersede him, and to do so they proposed that to which they knew he would not accede, but which they were not aware he would resist in the manly manner he did, nor that he would receive so distinguished and decisive a support as he did; they relied upon his forbearance, which they meant to construe into an acquiescence; but in the event they have sunk under the pressure of his decision, I trust to rise no more in the characters they wished to have assumed. Nothing short of events which they cannot command, happening *very speedily*, can raise them again in that point of view: uncountenanced, unsupported by the public, their wings are clipt, perhaps never to rise again beyond their proper level; and in the event, it may happen, that their premature attempt may produce the good of rendering any future attempt of the sort more difficult, even for others. The question, then, respecting them is this—is the path of return to be

left open to their repentance, in case of it, or is it to be for ever shut against them ? Bad and treacherous as I had almost called their conduct, prudence and policy may perhaps dictate a considerable degree of consideration before we decide upon the latter: it may be well, first, to weigh in the scale the extent of their abilities, their names, rank, and other subjects of consideration; they are certainly not unimportant men; and perhaps it may appear desirable that such men should not be irretrievably driven into the hands of the professed Levellers, and forced to act as their primary instruments, unless we are assured, by the step we take, we shall effect some great and important public good. But if there can be cause for a moment's consideration in deciding upon our line of conduct towards these men, what must there be when the question in agitation respects C. F. [Charles Fox] ? Putting aside all personal predilection in his favour, all affection and friendship, without bringing into consideration one private motive, is he to be shaken off from his connection with sound constitutional men, and forced into the army of the Tookes and Paines? We must be sure that the Colossus is theirs before we take a step to make him so.

When Burke first stood forth to stem the torrent of popular and general admiration of the French Revolution, it marked in him the greatest depth of foresight and philosophy, and was an effort of the purest patriotism; but the mode of doing it was unfortunately chosen. An attack upon C. without notice (nay, even had it been with notice) could not prove the means of reclaiming him, nor of reforming public opinion: it was sure to produce the contrary effects. By pinning the words upon him, it pinned him to the sentiment, whether he would or not, and by interesting many for the individual, it riveted them to the opinion; nay, perhaps it made many proselytes the other way, by engaging them to profess publicly what they were doubting about, and what they would since have been glad to have rejected, had they never been led to profess. The repetition on all the subsequent occasions produced always bad effects, for the same reasons—nay, even now, while Ch. is deprecating generally the Revolution, he holds fast to his original sentiment, which, had it not been so much marked, would have passed bye (*sic*) very little noticed by others, and no more thought of by himself, but as the flourish of the period.

I report this account of C.'s sentiments as I hear it, but then I hear it from the best authority. The last time I saw him, his mind seemed anxiously bent upon a coalition: it was pending Lord L.'s negotiation with Dundas, and previous to Pitt's saying, that the mentioning C.'s name was a bar to such an event. Without him, I should doubt much whether any accession of strength from Opposition would invigorate Government, so as to induce them to hazard systems of Resolution; nor do I know, that if they do not now act through sentiments of timidity they would have reason to be emboldened by a partial accession of strength. I see no symptoms of vigour in them, certainly none of perseverance. Had vigour or perseverance been in their composition, how came they to abandon their Russian system on the first trembling of the vane ? for whether the policy of the system was, or was not, sound and useful, indisputably they thought it was so, and firm men would have seen it through; and persons who had not more consideration for themselves and their situations than for the honour of the nation, would not have risked its interests and sacrificed its honour for their own preservation.

And this, my dear Carlisle, leads me to doubt Pitt's sincerity from beginning to end, in his professed desire of a coalition: if he is in earnest, sacrifices must be made on his part: if he thinks public safety

requires an universal junction of everything considerable in the country, he must submit to those circumstances which may bring that about. In my opinion he ought not to hesitate about putting the Treasury in the D. of P.'s [Duke of Portland's] hands, to erect in them the standard of union, and by doing so, enable him to carry the generality of Opposition with him. In my opinion Pitt wishes to detach, and I take that to be the *utmost extent* of his aim. However relaxed, nay even broken, one may say, the ties of Opposition to each other may appear to be, however weak and inefficient we must therefore stand as an Opposition, I do not see that anything as yet held out by Pitt to us, could induce us to think that we shall render the public more useful service, by taking part in his Administration, than by keeping aloof. Let us know what measures of vigour, what measures for the security of the Constitution he has in contemplation, and to carry which into execution he feels the necessity of additional strength: then let us weigh the wisdom of those measures, and no less so let us calculate what strength can be carried to facilitate their execution. But I do not understand there is so much as an opening in the present moment: all negotiation closed long since, and as it does not seem possible that it should be renewed on our parts, we must at all events wait his pleasure.

You cannot think more seriously or with greater anxiety than I do upon the events that daily happen in Europe: I am one of those who feel that one country has a self-interest in the events of another, and therefore, for its own sake, it is entitled to watch over them. If this maxim is always true, at no period has its policy been so demonstrable as in the present. France ought to be watched, not altogether on account of the spirit of universal interference and conquest which she manifests, but on account of the weapons she uses to effect that conquest: it is not the red-hot balls of her cannon, that are to be dreaded, but the red-hot principles with which she charges them. An invasion from these is what you and I dread; and if we feel that an universal junction is necessary in order to repel them, the foundation of that junction must not be founded in exclusion. Upon that principle it will be proposed, but with a bad grace, and the extent of good or mischief by acceding to it, will perhaps be very problematical. However, let us hope and flatter ourselves with the expectation that no distant period will produce new propositions: it must be so, if those upon whom they depend are sincerely in earnest. My dear Carlisle, can you have had patience to get to this end? I am ashamed to look at its length, but you wished for my sentiments, and they have run on without my being able to curtail them.

P.S. If exclusions are to be made against the members of Opposition, Opposition must be the judge of the persons to be excluded—and sure enough we shall scrutinise each other's sentiments upon the critical points now in agitation.

Holograph, signed: W.F.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1793, Jan. 21.—I am extremely flattered by the kindness of your reproach, though I really have not incurred it. Nothing has passed since I saw you that tends in the least to retard or vary the subject you so kindly interest yourself in. I had yesterday a conversation with Mr. P., but the greater part of it regarded general measures and was to me very satisfactory. Your name, however, occurred in it naturally, and in a way that was also very satisfactory. I am to see him again

tomorrow for a much fuller discussion. I have not myself the least idea of managing any support or requiring any defence. I hold that those whose censure alone could give me pain because I respect and love them, judge ill for themselves if they do not testify an approbation of my conduct, and as far as one can express that idea with civility, I mean to state it to them, and expect with confidence that the public will agree in that idea. After the scene of last Saturday at the Crown and Anchor there is no excuse left for their conduct, and mine requires none. There must be a little delay, and but a very little, for professional reasons. My conversation tomorrow is to be in the country, and I shall not return till Wednesday morning, when I shall hope to come to you.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Carlisle.

[1793, Feb. 21,] Thursday morning.—I have literally had no moment but this, which I snatch in the House of Lords, since I received your note, to express to you the distress I feel that you should suppose me indifferent or cold in any matter which concerns you in any degree. My last words on Monday were really all I could say, for I had heard nothing on the subject for some time, and was mortified that I had not, to the degree that I was not disposed to make allowance for the great agitation of the moment as a reason for setting aside the care of that subject. I am convinced Mr. P. is very sincere in his intention; I have spoke to him upon it yesterday, and found no reason to doubt it. The fact is that he has never yet mentioned it, and I have no reason to think the neglect, for such I think it, proceeds from any embarrassment, much less any other view of the subject. The conversations he has had for some time I can conceive to have been very much filled up by topics very urgent indeed.

I am persuaded it will terminate as you wish, and I will omit no means to bring it to a speedy termination, as I trust you will be persuaded that it can never be indifferent to me.

Endorsed: Lord Chancellor, Feb. 20th,* 1793.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

[1793, May,] Saturday morning.—You may naturally suppose from my silence that I partake of the same torpor which appeared to have seized others, but in truth I had no opportunity till this morning of any conversation. The conversation I had was an excuse for the delay; which, though not sufficient, was, however, very kind and, I believe, sincere and very far from discouraging.

If I had not been mistaken before I should now say with confidence that in the course of the next week all doubt would be removed.

Endorsed: Lord Chancr., May '93.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Carlisle.

1793, June 5th, Downing Street.—Your Lordship has, I believe, understood from the Lord Chancellor that nothing but the consideration of what many circumstances rendered due on my part to the Duke of Buccleugh could prevent my having the honour of recommending your Lordship to succeed to one of the Blue Ribbands now vacant.† A

* February 21 was a Thursday in 1793.

† Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, was made Knight of the Garter 14 June 1793.

conversation which I have just had with his Grace having relieved me from any difficulty on his account, I shall take the first opportunity of receiving his Majesty's commands, and I have already the satisfaction of knowing how much his Majesty desires to have an opportunity of giving a mark of personal attention to your Lordship.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

[1793, July 3 ?] Wednesday morning.—I am much obliged to you for the wine, which will make its appearance today in competition with another of which I shall make a report to you.

The Lieutenancy of Hants was taken from the possessor on account of some manœuvres about the Militia, but the intention is to preserve it to his family, and with that view it is to be put in Commission; the future Marquis of Winchester and the two Members for the county to be the Commissioners.* The first idea was to offer it to Lord P., but it was thought that he would not like to take it in trust. There never was any foundation for the report that it was destined for Orde.

The public, I think, is more indulgent than we had a right to expect on the subject of the French fleet, which ought not to have been suffered to put to sea. Luckily the relief of Holland will keep up the general good humour.

Endorsed: Lord Chancellor, July 3 (?), 1793.

Refutation [by Lord Carlisle] of the accusation of deserting the party of Opposition.

1793.—The political schism which took place this year would never have had the consequence of such dispersion of the party, had Mr. Fox taken a decided part in stopping those who went such lengths by their propositions in Parliament, and at their meetings at Freemasons' Hall and elsewhere. It was the first time I ever knew him to adopt a conduct of little cunning (?), but he evidently in this instance did not think fit to place himself at the head of the moderate, who saw real mischief in these proceedings, but without openly approving the violent, did nothing to disqualify himself from a subsequent union with them, had that been convenient, by their becoming powerful by success.

Between the two stools he has had an unlucky tumble. By a steady attachment to the respectable division of the party, the rash and intemperate would have soon fallen back into the ranks, and we should have proceeded as usual. But that upon which the whole hinged lies deeper. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the times, it was thought indispensable by many to relax in the vexatious mode of carrying on Opposition to Government. Fox immediately perceived, and indeed confessed, that the strength afforded to his rival would be most important, and consequently impossible for him to confer. It is said that even civil war has ceased when the common enemy has been at the door.

Few, I conceive, will still deny that the attempt of disseminating French principles into this country was a concerted project. [*In the margin.*—But Fox would have continued the political war without abatement.] To resist this attempt, those who deemed there should be a suspension of hostilities to Government in order it might act with more confidence and energy, found no support or encouragement from

* George Powlett, Sir William Heathcote, Bart., and William Chute. (Haydn.)

Mr. Fox. His dilemma was a cruel one. He could not say to men he was bound to respect from every public and private motive—thinking as you do the country in danger, you do wrong in strengthening the hands of Government. He could not bring himself to say—you do right in contributing to its force, because he felt himself flung at a greater distance from the condition of power he aimed at.

What was to be done? Nothing was left him but to deny most arrogantly, that all our fears were groundless, all attempts from France unfounded and visionary, all our observation erroneous; and he perempto[ril]y decided, the Government wanted no more assistance at this juncture than at any other time.

Draft, in Lord Carlisle's hand.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Carlisle.

1794, April 17, Downing Street.—I ought to make many apologies for not having sooner informed your Lordship that the warrants are directed to be made out for the pensions of 50*l.* per annum to each of the three children of Captain Byron,* and that the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company have undertaken to recommend to the Company to grant them further pensions to an equal amount. . . .

[Lord Carlisle] to Lord Fitzwilliam.

1795, Feb. 27.—The critical situation in which we conceive you are now standing, both as to your own reputation, and the general well-being of the two countries, cannot fail of giving those interested as I am for everything that concerns you, the most serious alarm.

We fear things are come to that extremity that the stopping short or abandoning a system perhaps too hastily adopted, may, from the quickness of your feelings, become a difficulty not easy for you to surmount; and yet, with a mind as pure as yours, we cannot reconcile your persisting in those measures, which the nearest of your political connexions consider as most fatal to the interests of both England and Ireland; or that, sooner than renounce them, you would quit the condition which the public so much rejoiced you undertook.

Before you decide upon this last step, of such serious importance to yourself, and to us all, 'tis an honest duty I discharge, when I boldly expose to you that opinion which I think prevails generally in the world as to your actual situation.

It has become a general belief, perhaps because it was a general hope, amongst all your friends, that no material measures, as to *things* or *persons*, were to be concerted or done without the concurrence of Mr. Pitt, always looking towards him as the *Prime Minister*, and that the project of hastily removing men who had not sinned against your Administration had been abandoned, as founded neither in policy nor justice. This belief has obtained to that degree in the public mind, so as to make it everywhere publicly asserted, that it was upon these *arranged points* you took your decision to embark. Of this you must know the truth. If the world is in an error, I must pepare you to meet that error.

Under these impressions, you will not wonder at our surprise and dismay at seeing your list of dismissions, for offences, if committed, not marked at the time by those against whose Government they were committed, with the punishment they might be supposed to merit. But

* George Anson Byron, captain R.N., died in 1793.

it is with something more than surprise when we perceive those most connected with the Castle (before you have had time to judge with your own understanding) precipitately open measures, which I protest to God, knowing something of Ireland, I cannot a moment contemplate without terror, nor indeed pretend to pursue their enormous consequences.

All this seems so contradictory to that plan which we were taught to believe was to obtain for the good understanding between the Governments of both countries, and without which, most serious calamities, at this hour particularly, may arise to both, that in truth we are lost in affliction and consternation.

If you cannot recede, which God forbid, you must prepare to meet a very general opinion on this side the water, that your advisers have been hasty, violent, and precipitate; that they have hurried you to the adoption of measures which could not have had the previous approbation of the Ministers here, or subsequently obtain their concurrence. And yet there is another opinion, equally general, that, from your known integrity and honour, your first consideration will be, whatever it may cost your feelings, to embarrass as little as possible the present Government at home, and if you should entertain thoughts of return, you could personally omit no sacrifice that might tend to the ease and practicable rule of your successor.*

Copy by Dr. Coombe, omitting signature, endorsed: Copy of my letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 27 Feb. 1795.

Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Carlisle.

1795, March 6, Dublin Castle.—I thank you for your letter, and for the motives that induced you to write it. I know the warmth and truth of your friendship for me, and feel the sincerity of it, when you apprise me of all the calumnies, all the aspersions, all the false charges and insinuations that are levelled against my devoted head: but standing, as I find I do, single, naked, and unsupported, I tremble not; I am not dismayed. I feel an inward consciousness that against whatever part of my conduct, whether as to measures or arrangements, the attack is principally to be levelled, I am able to defend its justice, wisdom, and propriety. As yet, my dear Carlisle, but one side of the question has been heard—it has been heard only through the medium of insinuations and suspicions; through that of calumny and aspersion under the mask of pretended regret, and of friendly concern for me and for my character. Perhaps you yourself may have received your information and taken your opinions from the very persons who have grossly betrayed, and unfeelingly abandoned me; whose counsels, maxims, and measures I have been pursuing, and for having pursued I am now given up to every sort of obloquy, to every extent of disgrace.

You tell me you have heard of the list of my dismissals with surprise and dismay. I long to know what dismissals they are that have produced this wonderful effect.

I removed two clerks from office, placed in situations that required a certain degree of confidence, but perfectly subordinate, and of no ostensibility; it might be sufficient for me to say, that neither I nor my Chief Secretary,† with whom they were in hourly intercourse, felt

* William Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 10 Dec. 1794, and recalled in March 1795. His successor John Jeffreys, Earl Camden, was appointed 11 March. (Haydn.)

† The Hon. George Damer, Viscount Milton. (Haydn.)

inclined to give them that confidence, or to suffer the business of their respective offices to be conducted on the system which we found had been lately introduced there. In your days they were clerks; in mine I found them ministers. Other Governments might have been managed upon such a system; mine could not. One of my objects, and that a principal one, was to bring back consequence and dignity to English Government; to restore to the Castle its proper ministers; to have in every subordinate office persons content to manage it as such, and to show that the Government, as well in its patronage as in all its various official details, was in no other hands but mine and Lord Milton's. Whether I left these persons the pens and ink of their office, with their usual salaries, or, removing them, made them compensation adequate to their services and pretensions, can never appear to me matter of such magnitude as to spread dismay through the British Cabinet. In this light it is really too ridiculous. But to take care of them was an act not only of propriety, but of justice. The thanks of one of them conveyed in writing, and expressed in personal conference with myself, within these two days, justify my attention to him. Mr. Cooke indeed, whose tone and style rendered his approach to a superior not to be supported, rejects my proposals in his favour, and thinks a retreat upon 1,200*l.* a year an inadequate recompense for the magnitude and importance of his services.

I made proposals to the British Minister for the removal of the Attorney* and Solicitor General.† Are these proposals, with the terms and stipulations on which I suggested the adoption of them, among the causes that have spread this consternation? Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland knew perfectly well that the men whom I found possessed of these ministerial offices were not the men in whom I meant to confide in the arduous measures I had to undertake. Was I then to have two sets of men, one possessing confidence without office, the other office without confidence? The absurdity must strike you and everybody; and the delay of perfecting in England the arrangements I proposed in order to avoid this absurdity, exposed Lord Milton to a situation perfectly awkward, and which might have been highly embarrassing. But I can take my ground on the fact itself, independent of every other consideration: without meaning to depreciate the characters of the gentlemen still in those offices with respect to their professional merits, indisputably they were not men of Parliamentary abilities. You know it is principally upon the persons in these offices that Government relies both for the defence and the display of their measures. I had a right therefore to look for Parliamentary abilities in the persons who filled those offices and were to sit upon the Treasury Bench; in them I did not find that qualification; in Mr. Ponsonby I found it was in an eminent degree; his appointment the Duke of Portland at all times considered as a thing to be done: it was the situation for which he had always designed him, as that for which he was most peculiarly qualified, as well by his professional knowledge and talents, as by his Parliamentary eloquence; and it was the only one, in which he could serve me confidentially and ostensibly: that he should do so was as much the Duke of Portland's recommendation as it was my desire. If it had not been so, why did the D. of P. desire me to send for him to England, to consult upon the general arrangement and plan of my Government? Why did Mr. Pitt admit him to consultations upon our arrangements and measures? The only objection that I ever remember Mr. P. to

* Arthur Wolfe, Attorney General for Ireland, 1789–98.

† John Toler, Solicitor General for Ireland, 1789–98.

have suggested was, that he wished him first to be Solicitor General, in order that he might not jump at once into the elevated station of Attorney General, but rise by a regular gradation; but I never once concurred in this objection, because I knew that Mr. Ponsonby had always fairly stated, both to the Duke of Portland and to me, that he had another person in view for Solicitor General, to whom he and all his political connections were under an absolute engagement, the only one to which they were pledged.

The great question then was to make an easy and honourable retreat for the person, who actually possessed the office of Attorney General. That retreat was secured to him in the full meaning and intent of these expressions, unless it can be said that a reversion for himself and his son of 2,300*l.* per annum (and that daily augmenting), a peerage for his family, and an assurance on my part, that although removed from the immediate pretensions of his office, he *still* remained the person in my contemplation to fill the first vacancy of a Chief's seat on the Bench, was not an easy an[d] honourable retreat, "but a punishment for sins not committed against my Administration."

With respect to the Solicitor General, considering his pretensions, I conceive that had my proposals been carried into effect, I should have done equally well by him. The world thinks so, and judging from his manner towards Lord Milton and me, I have every reason to believe he joins in the common opinion.

And now for the grand question about Mr. Beresford. In a letter of mine to Mr. Pitt on this subject I reminded him of a conversation in which I had expressed to him (in answer to the question put by him to me) my apprehensions that it would be necessary to remove that gentleman, and that he did not offer the slightest objection, or say a single word in favour of Mr. Beresford: this alone would have made me suppose that I should be exempt from every imputation of breach of agreement if I determined to remove him. But when on my arrival here I found all those apprehensions of his dangerous power, which Mr. Pitt admits I had often represented to him, were fully justified; when he was filling a situation greater than that of the Lord Lieutenant, and when I clearly saw that if I had connected myself with him it would have been connecting myself with a person labouring under universal heavy suspicions, and subjecting my Government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his maladministration; what was then to be my choice? what the decision I had to form? I could not hesitate a moment. I decided at once not to cloud the dawn of my Administration by leaving in such power and authority so much imputed malversation; but in doing this I determined, while I meant to curtail him of his power, and to show to the nation that he did not belong to my Administration, to let him remain in point of income as well to the full as he had ever been; I did not touch, and he knew that I had determined not to touch, a hair of the head of any one of his family or friends, and they are still left in the full enjoyment of more emolument than ever was accumulated in any country on any one family.

This then is the list of my dismissions: by these I have "punished sins not committed against me," and by these I have drawn down upon my head the censure of my Sovereign, even at the risque of the peace of this kingdom; and have deserved to be abandoned and sacrificed by those in whom I most trusted, and whose support I had every right that the most sincere affection, the most implicit confidence, unbounded reliance, and invariable attachment could give, to depend on.

But one more short word on this part of the subject, the dismissals. When were these dismissals made, and when announced to the British Cabinet? Before the meeting of Parliament. When did their criminality and the enormity of their offence first commence? When, under the credit of my Administration, perhaps derived in part from these very causes, the Parliament had submitted to unparalleled burdens, not for the purpose alone of providing for the internal security of this kingdom by the most ample and formidable military establishment, but of lending its assistance to the Empire at large in the hour of its greatest distress, by aids great and munificent beyond all example: then commenced the breach of all faith and agreement on my part; then, and not till then, did these dismissals assume the character of "heinous, unpardonable criminality." Then did my Administration become mischievous and ruinous to this kingdom, dangerous to his Majesty's service, and subversive of the supremacy of English Government in Ireland.

But it appears that not only my arrangements, but my measures also have created the most "universal surprise and dismay;" persons, it seems, the most connected with me, have precipitately opened measures "which cannot be contemplated without terror:" and all this I have permitted to be done "before I had time to judge with my own understanding." Am I then that light, weak, and easy man, that in matters of the highest import to the service with which I have been entrusted, I should have abandoned my judgment, and committed my decisions to others without consulting my own understanding? If so, it were much to be wished the discovery had been made before last July, before I had been compelled by incessant solicitations and the most urgent importunities, to undertake the arduous task for which I and mine have relinquished all our comforts. Egregiously indeed must you have been misled, my dear Carlisle, if such has been the light in which my proceedings on the Catholic question have been represented to you. My correspondence with the Secretary of State for this department will give you very different impressions, and as my friend I desire you will apply to see it.

I will not enter with you into the policy of this great question, as I have referred you to a correspondence, where I trust you will find the reasons on which I grounded the measures which I proposed to be adopted in the progress of it. The chief cause of discontent with me on this head you represent to be the precipitancy with which these measures were opened, and to that I shall confine myself. In answer to it, you will recollect that the measure of emancipation to the Catholics was originally the measure of Mr. Pitt and of the Westmoreland* Administration. The most strenuous and zealous friends of my predecessor claim the credit of it for their patron in terms of the highest compliment: they did [it] in the debate on the motion for voting a short money bill; they did it in the House of Lords last night. The persons whom Lord Westmoreland then principally consulted, opposed it; but the open interference of Lord Hobart and the avowed determination of the British Cabinet, communicated as well to the Catholic agents on the spot, as through the medium of confidential persons sent over to England for that purpose, bore down their opposition. The declarations both of Mr. Pitt and of Mr. Dundas on the occasion are well known in this country, and are often quoted—"They would not risque a rebellion in Ireland on such a question." But what they would not

* John, Earl of Westmorland, was Lord Lieutentant of Ireland from 1790 to 1794.

risque under Lord Westmoreland's administration, they are not afraid to risque under mine, when the jealousy and alarm, which certainly at the first period pervaded the minds of the Protestant body, exist no longer; when not one Protestant corporation, scarcely an individual, has come forward to deprecate and oppose the indulgences claimed by the higher orders of Catholics; when even some of those who were most alarmed in 1793, and were then the most violent opposers, declare the indulgences now asked to be only the necessary consequences of those granted at that time, and positively essential to secure the well-being of the two countries.

But after all, why did not Mr. Pitt warn me of those horrid consequences previous to my departure for Ireland, if he really felt them? Why was the subject left open for my judgment and discretion? It was because he himself approved the principle, and he knew that I would not have undertaken the mission unless I had been left so unrestrained. How then stands the question? Doubtless if I had not found on my arrival that the subject was in actual agitation, and that there was a certainty of its being brought immediately forward before Parliament, I should not at this critical moment have stirred it. There was a possibility that it might provoke some Protestant discontent, and this I conceived to be a circumstance that ought most cautiously to be avoided, provided the considerations that had been discussed between my colleagues and me in England, did not appear to me to outweigh it.

The points to be considered therefore are these:—If the *general principle* of conceding to the Catholics was only taken up by me, on my arrival here, without previous agreement on the part of the British Ministers, and without my having reason to expect their subsequent concurrence; if the only point reserved for consideration was not the time and manner of bringing forward the measure, and if it was not left implicitly to my discretion to judge of that time and manner; if I did not take every proper precaution to exercise that discretion, and obtain that information by every means within my reach; if I yielded to the necessity of giving way to the measure before I had thoroughly examined into the practicability and policy of putting it off: if these things are so, then I stand convicted; then I must be content to have laid at my door the ferment and distraction which resistance to the Catholic pretensions, and my recall from the Government, have raised. But if the converse of this be true, then the verdict must be given in my favour, and to the events that may hereafter confirm that verdict I too look forward with as much terror and dismay as you or any other person whatever, perhaps with more, because I am at hand to see how great and imminent the danger is.

But to recur to the transaction: I arrived here with the recommendations of the Cabinet, and the points committed by them to my decision, strongly impressed upon my mind. I had conversations with most respectable persons upon this important subject, and at first I entertained hopes that the question might lay dormant for the present Session, as my first letters will evince, but a few days showed me that these hopes would prove nugatory. I found that the business was already on foot, and I have now the best grounds for believing that on the day of the Duke of Portland's kissing hands* it was determined to bring it forward this Session. All the old friends with whom he had acted when he was here as Lord Lieutenant, and whom it was concluded he would again call to his councils on taking to himself the government of this country, of which there was at that time a general expectation,

* The Duke of Portland was appointed Secretary of State 11 July 1794.

were known from their public declarations, and from their proceedings in Parliament, to intend a full and complete emancipation. His own opinions were universally believed to coincide with those of his Irish friends, as to my knowledge they certainly did. Immediate measures were therefore taken by the Catholics preparatory to the expected change of Administration here, and by the time of my arrival the petitions which have been since laid before the House of Commons were in complete readiness.

When I had fully satisfied myself by every information that I could gain, that this was the real state of the business, and when I found that any attempt of mine to stop the business for the present would be useless, it gave me great satisfaction to find that business had been put into the hands of my friend Mr. Grattan by the Catholics, as it gave me the opportunity of knowing everything that was intended, and of consulting upon it with the Cabinet in London, previous to its being publicly known. When once the Catholics had positively decided to bring forward this question, even if I had not had previous consultation with my colleagues on the business, under such circumstances I should have thought it right and expedient to gain credit and strength to the Administration by yielding to the general wish; but the fact is that whilst I was following my own opinions and inclinations, I was following their directions, and I strictly complied with them, when finding that the general disposition was not to be resisted, I resolved to give the measure a handsome and cordial support on the part of Government. The happy effect of this determination I fully experienced.

You have been told, I perceive, that the Bill was brought in precipitately. This is not the fact. Leave to bring in a Bill has certainly been moved for by Mr. Grattan, but not a line of the Bill itself ever produced. There appeared a rising impatience among the Catholics after the delivery of their petitions, which made me apprehend that the measure might be transferred from the hands of Mr. Grattan to those of another, with whom I might have no connection, and consequently could have no hopes of control or communication, however much I might wish it. There was no want of candidates for this honour; there were enough greedy to seize upon it. I therefore desired Mr. Grattan to take possession of the business, that he might be sure of having the management of the Bill.

By this means the plan and extent of the measure is now known only to the British Cabinet, to whom I have submitted it, and it remains a profound secret to every Roman Catholic and to every Protestant, except to the very few of the latter description to whom I have thought proper to confide it. Of these the Primate was the first, and Ministers are already possessed of his opinions on the subject. They are equally in possession of every information respecting men's minds and tempers which I am able to give. With respect to the merits of the case, abstracted from the local circumstances, surely it would be presumption in me to pretend to dictate to them; I have represented clearly and distinctly my own opinions, but they are capable of deciding and judging for themselves; and in the way I have managed, they have an opportunity of doing it before the Bill is introduced, that if they do not agree with Mr. Grattan's proposal, in which I heartily concur, and if they do not come up to the extent claimed and expected by the Catholics, they have had time, previous to the introduction of the Bill, to suggest any expedients, modifications, or limitations they may think proper to introduce; so that Government will do this without incurring the odium of narrowing an original proposition, and defeating hopes once realised.

Thus then I made myself master as well of the time for bringing the measure forward as for consulting on the points to be conceded, for as to resisting altogether I should have belied my own conviction and betrayed my situation, if I did not represent, as I have repeatedly done, that it would not only defeat every hope I had formed for the general security and defence of the country, but be attended with a certainty of the most alarming and fatal consequences. Of this, as I have already observed to you, every day presented me with additional indisputable proofs. The alarm that has been universally spread by the rumour of the measures being to be resisted; the language of every person with whom I converse, even of the boldest of its former opposers; the resolutions and addresses from the City, echoed already from the cities of Cork [and] Londonderry, and the County of Kildare, and actually adopted through every part of the kingdom; the debates of these last days in the House of Commons; all these must prove to you that my representations were, at least, nothing short of the truth.

I trust that the evil genius of England will not so far infatuate its Ministers as to induce them to wait for more decisive corroborations of the faithfulness and honesty with which I have warned them of the danger of persisting in their fatal change of opinion on this momentous question. I trust that they will perceive before it be too late, that the measures which I thought it my duty to suggest, are the only measures that can secure the good understanding between the two countries, which, as you observe, it was our plan to obtain by the best means we could, and without which the most serious calamities may arise to both nations. The prospect of having this plan defeated may well plunge you and every well-wisher to his county "into that affliction and consternation" in which, you say, you are lost.

But let those be answerable to whose councils alone that misfortune must be attributed—those who rashly, precipitately, taking their opinions from secret, unavowed, insidious informations, and in direct and open contempt of the official communications of the person entrusted by his Majesty with the Government of this kingdom, in the very midst of a very critical Session of Parliament, and while the measures were yet pending which were to provide for the safety and perhaps for the very existence of the country, formed the desperate resolution to change the whole of their system on a question which they knew, and admit, would involve in its decision that safety and that existence; and then (while in fact the whole proceeding is to be traced to the Minister who, imposing on his colleagues, risques all rather than not extend his protection to those whom he considers as his own exclusive friends) screen themselves by endeavouring to throw upon me the censure of having "changed the decided points on which I had "taken my decision to embark, and of having been hurried into the "adoption of measures here, which could not have had the previous "approbation of Ministers in England, or subsequently obtained their "concurrence."

You have already seen how false and how groundless that accusation is with respect to the Catholic question. It is equally so in every other respect. The measure of arranging the Treasury Bench, the bare outline or rather the principle of which has been stated in the House preparatory to its introduction, was fully agreed on between Sir John Parnell and Mr. Pitt. Nothing was left unsettled but the detail, and this would have been submitted to the British Cabinet, as the detail of the Catholic business has been submitted to them, previous to its discussion in the House.

These are the only measures that I have attempted in Parliament, except the supplies and the defence of the country. Are these the measures on which I am to be accused? Am I to expect to be arraigned from a general opinion, that I had not obtained the previous concurrence of Ministers, when, on the faith of my Government, the reputation of the persons whom I had called to my councils, and principally because I was known to stand unconnected with those for whom my Government is now subverted, the House of Commons of Ireland had unanimously granted me the largest supplies that have ever been demanded—when I procured an army infinitely superior in numbers to whatever had been voted before in this kingdom—when I laid a foundation for increasing the established force of the country, and procured a vote of two hundred thousand pounds towards the general defence of the Empire? Will my friends enquire why, in all the correspondence of the British Ministry, I have never received a line to express the least satisfaction, the least approbation of these my successful exertions in his Majesty's service? why to the eve of my recall they never deigned even to notice, or to give a word of answer, while I repeatedly called for instructions, how I should proceed in giving these measures their best effect, towards the general service? and why, at the very moment when I was going on with the united confidence and support of Parliament and people, in rapidly promoting internal tranquillity, and successfully providing for foreign defence, the Ministry of England, instead of co-operating with my zeal or forwarding my instructions, were, through one channel, cavilling with me on petty arrangements, and the jobs of intriguing individuals, and, through another (the channel of my friends!) abandoning and betraying me?

You express an earnest wish that I may yet be able to recede. I certainly cannot, but I certainly am prepared to meet, confute, and retort that criminating opinion, however general you may represent it to be on your side the water, that I and my advisers have been hasty and precipitate. There is indeed another opinion, which you say is equally general, that I shall be most anxious to confirm. Whatever it may cost my feelings, I shall not forget the duty I owe to his Majesty, or neglect the trust he has been graciously pleased to repose in me. A sense of my own honour, and of what I owe to myself, will unite with whatever my country has a right to expect from me, in imposing upon me this care. I shall omit no "personal sacrifice that may tend to the ease of his Majesty's Government or the advancement of his service," as far as depends on my influence during the short period of my retaining the authority with which he so lately condescended to invest me. If in the hands of those to whom I have been directed to transmit that authority, his Majesty's Government shall feel embarrassments that may affect the general administration, I have the unanimous testimony of both his Houses of Parliament here, I have their unanimous proceedings to prove that no such embarassments existed in my days, and that I had no such to fear.

I had resolved never to enter, in the most distant degree, on any defence of my conduct, until I should be admitted into his Majesty's closet, where alone I should deign to answer the unjust charges that are urged against me. The desire of satisfying a friend, who I know is interested in my reputation and happiness, has imperceptibly led me into this rapid sketch of all my proceedings since my arrival here. As I have done it, I not only have no objection, but I even wish that you will shew it to as many persons as you shall think proper.

Original, signed.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1795, March 15.—It is difficult to express the concern I feel from Lord F[itzwilliam]'s letter; having laboured with the truest zeal to remove the obstacles to his appointment, and confident in the apparent success of my endeavours, the disappointment affects me more peculiarly. All subjects of dissension I thought were removed by the explanation which took place at the meeting between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Burke and myself, and was afterwards confirmed by Lord F. The copy of the note made at the time will shew how far my expectation was well founded, that as to the arrangement of places at least there could not be much embarrassment, after the principles which were to govern that arrangement had been so fully admitted.

What passed here as to the detail of offices I am totally ignorant; from the apparent good humours on all sides, I had no doubt that it was all settled by an amicable concert, and it was indifferent to me how it was settled. But upon the statement in Lord F.'s letter, I am obliged to say that he has not kept in his view the terms of his explanation. If he, in Ireland, was to make an Attorney-General against Mr. Pitt's consent, and a Solicitor-General without his knowledge, there could be nothing more opposite to the idea of settling offices here by amicable concert, or of Mr. Pitt's being considered as the Minister, or of supporting in Ireland the English Administration.

As to the subject of Beresford's place,* which has acquired an importance that I am sure your Lordship must think does not belong to it; the mode of conducting that and some other removals seemed to mark, and by Lord F.'s letter was intended to mark, to the public, a reprobation of the late Government of Ireland, which surely could never be supposed to be the result of an amicable concert here without disgracing the English Administration, and destroying all future confidence amongst its supporters in Ireland.

The Catholic question, which is of far greater moment than all the rest, was never discussed upon its merits at any meeting where I was present. I could almost venture to say that it never was mentioned at all. I clearly understood that it was not to be agitated this year at least, and concluded there would be no difficulty, notwithstanding the petitions, in laying it aside. Unfortunately Lord F. had taken up an opinion that the adoption of the Bill of 1793 implied that there could be no objection in the Cabinet to the Measure now attempted. I regret most sincerely that he had not stated that opinion when he was here, because it would not have been difficult to have pointed out to him the vast difference between the two measures. The Act of 1793 was framed upon the English Act of 1791, and marked distinctly the limits of that concession which an Established Constitution can allow to those who are not members of the national Church, admitting them to a participation of all offices but those which form the executive Government. All beyond this line has ever appeared to me to tend directly, and under the present circumstances most rapidly, to the subversion of the Constitution. The Duke of Portland, to my knowledge, has ever held this opinion even to the greater degree of rigour, for I remember he was uneasy at the extent of the concessions made by the Act of 1791, and thought they would excite further demands that must be refused.

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* The Hon. J. Beresford, Commissioner of the Treasury, Ireland, 1793–5; Commissioner of Customs and Excise, Ireland, 1780–1802; Member of the Board of Trade, England, 1802. (Haydn.)

How this unfortunate business may end I cannot conjecture, especially as it appears that Lord F. is yet too warm to discuss it fairly, and no pains will be spared to keep him in this temper.

George III. to Lord Carlisle.

1795, March 22, Queen's House.—On returning to the Earl of Carlisle the copy of his letter to Earl Fitzwilliam and the answer he received, I cannot help thanking him for the communication, and cannot help wishing Earl Fitzwilliam may have regained a little more temper when he returns than appears in his letter. I have not the smallest doubt that the same good intentions that dictated the Earl of Carlisle's letter will point out the propriety of trying to set an honourable man right, whose heat certainly has prevented him from attending to the false reasoning that prevails in the whole statement* of his narrative.—George R.

Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Carlisle.

1795, March 23, Dublin Castle.—As I find that the several subjects of crimination that have been urged against me, are settling all into one point, and that if I am to judge from the declarations and proceedings of Mr. Pitt's friends here, or from the English newspapers generally known to speak the language of Government, the grand head of attack is to be the mischief I have caused by agitating the Catholic Question, I think it essential to trouble you once more and to submit some observations on the subject, which did not appear so essential to me at the time I was writing to you last. I then contented myself with referring you to my correspondence with the Cabinet of England on the Catholic measure. I shall now myself enter into a review of that correspondence. It contains a full and adequate vindication of my conduct, and will prove two things: first, that the Catholic Question entered for nothing into the real cause of my recall; and secondly, that from the very beginning, as well as through the whole progress of that fatal business—for fatal, I fear, I must call it—I acted in perfect conformity with the original outline settled between me and his Majesty's Ministers previous to my departure from London.

From a full consideration of the real merits of the case as well as from every information I had been able to collect of the state and temper of Ireland from the year 1793, I was decidedly of opinion that not only sound policy but justice required on the part of Great Britain that the work which was left imperfect at that period ought to be completed, and the Catholics relieved from every remaining disqualification. In this opinion the Duke of Portland uniformly concurred with me, and when this question came under discussion previous to my departure for Ireland, I found the great majority of the Cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, strongly impressed with the same conviction. Had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the Government. I at first proposed that the additional indulgences should be offered from the Throne. The very best effects would be secured by this Act of unsolicited graciousness, and the embarrassing consequences which, it was natural to foresee, must result from the Measure's being left open for any volunteer to bring forward would be timely and happily avoided. But to this proposal objections were started that appeared of sufficient

* "Statement" has been substituted for "entire" by another hand.

weight to induce the adoption of another plan. I consented not to bring the question forward on the part of Government but rather to endeavour to keep it back, until a period of more general tranquillity, when so many material objects might not press upon the Government; but as the principle was agreed on, and the necessity of its being brought into full effect was universally allowed, it was at the same time resolved that if the Catholics should appear determined to stir the business and to bring it before Parliament, I was to give an handsome support on the part of Government.

I was no sooner landed and informed of the real state of things here than I found that this question would force itself upon my *immediate* consideration. Faithful to the system that had been agreed on, and anxious to attain the object that had been committed to my discretion, I lost not a moment in gaining every necessary information, or in transmitting the result to the British Cabinet. As early as the 8th of January I wrote to the Secretary of State on the subject. I told him that I trembled about the R. Catholics—that I had great fears about keeping them quiet for the Session—that I found the Question already in agitation—that a Committee was appointed to bring forward a Petition to Parliament praying for a Repeal of all remaining disqualifications. I mentioned my intentions of immediately using what efforts I could to stop the progress of it, and to bring the Catholics back to a confidence in Government. I stated the substance of some conversations I had on the subject with some of the principal persons of the country. It was the opinion of one of these that, if the postponing of the Question could not be *negotiated on grounds of expediency, it ought* NOT *to be resisted by Government.*

That it should be put off for some time was allowed by another to be a desirable thing, but the *principle of extension* was at the same time strongly insisted on and forcibly inculcated as a matter not only wise, but necessary to the public tranquillity.

From the day of the date of this letter I unremittingly applied myself to the collecting of further information. I had heard that the Committee had prepared an Address for me. Before I should receive it, I wished to know the opinions of those whom the Committee called the Seceders, the noblemen and principal landed gentlemen of that persuasion.

In a letter of the 15th of January I acquainted the Secretary of State of the result of these enquiries and of the progress of the business subsequent to my former letter. I told him that in the absence of the nobleman who was considered as the head of the Seceders, I had sent for a person of the most tried and acknowledged moderation amongst them and of the first consequence and property. I found by him (what the nobleman above alluded to afterwards confirmed) that he and every person of his description were in perfect unison with the Committee; that they all decidedly looked to the same object; that they were determined never to lose sight of it; that, provided it should be attained, they had no objection that Mr. Bryne or any other member of the Committee should have the honour of taking the lead in it. I mentioned my having, after this conversation, received the Address; that in my Answer which I had transmitted, I had endeavoured to keep clear of all specific engagements whatever, though at the same time I had avoided everything that could be construed into a rejection of what they were *all* looking to—the Repeal of the remaining restrictions; and (what comes immediately to the point) I concluded by declaring that I should not do my duty, if I did not distinctly relate it as my opinion, that not to grant cheerfully on the part of Government *all* the Catholics wished for, would not only be

exceedingly impolitic, but perhaps dangerous; that in doing this *no time was to be lost;* that the business would be *presently* at hand, and that the first step I took would be of infinite importance; that, if *I received no very peremptory* directions to the contrary, *I should acquiesce.* Acquiesce, I meant, in the *time* and in the *mode of proceeding*, and in the *extent of the demands.* For as to the *Measure* considered generally, I could conceive no necessity to wait for any new *Instructions*, on which to decide. Of this I reminded the Secretary of State—"Convinced," I said, "as we all were of the necessity, as well as fitness of the Measure taking place at no distant period," I was decidedly of opinion that "to attempt to defer it would be useless, if not dangerous." The state of the country required this, and the dispositions of the Catholics, among whom the appearance of hesitation on the part of the Government might produce mischiefs to a degree beyond calculation.

You will not forget that all this passed within the first fortnight after my arrival, and *before* the meeting of Parliament. Thus early were Ministers in possession of the opinions and determinations, which, in the exercise of my discretionary power, I had formed on the subject. They knew that the Question was in agitation; that a Petition to Parliament had been determined on, and was to be immediately presented. They were acquainted with the extent of the Catholic demands. They knew that it could not be kept back; that no time was to be lost, and that if I did not receive their Instructions to the contrary, I should, in the spirit of the system that had been agreed on, immediately acquiesce to the full extent of the Catholic expectations.

This then was the time for his Majesty's Ministers to come forward with their fears and their alarms. If they had so suddenly changed their minds on the subject, and if they had at length *discovered* that this, which was to be, both with their knowledge and consent, a leading Measure of my Administration, led to consequences "that could not be contemplated without horror and dismay," this was the time for them to warn me of this change. They knew that it was my opinion that not a moment was to be lost, and consequently that if I should not receive peremptory directions to the contrary, I was prepared to consent, without an appearance of hesitation, that the Measure should go forward. Did they send me those peremptory directions? Did they state to me, as they afterwards did state, that it was the *unanimous opinion* of the Cabinet that I should stop short, that I should *abstain from all engagements*, or even *encouraging language* on the Question, until I should receive their further directions? Not a word of the kind. My regular correspondence went on. I received frequent letters from the Secretary of State, and not even a hint was thrown out on the subject.

In a letter of the 7th of January I proposed the removal of Mr. Wolfe, on certain terms of accommodation, in order to make room for Mr. G. Ponsonby to act as my Attorney-General. This letter went by the same mail with my letter of the 8th to which I have alluded above. On the 13th of January the Secretary of State* writes me an answer to this very letter. He informs me that the King had consented to Mrs. (*sic*) Wolfe's Peerage, which was one of the terms I had there proposed, and touches lightly upon an objection to another (that of holding out to Mr. Wolfe the promise of succeeding to a Chief Justice's place), on the supposition that he was to quit his practice at the Bar; a supposition by the way that never had the smallest foundation. But not a word on the Catholic Question—not a single observation on what

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* For the Home Department—the Duke of Portland.

I stated so strongly respecting my fears of not being able to keep it quiet during the Session.

The 2nd of February came, and of that date I find a second and more detailed letter from the Secretary of State on the subject of Mr. Wolfe; but here again he confined himself to that subject alone; and my letter of the 15th of January, which must have been so many days in his hands was not even noticed—that letter, in which I so earnestly pressed, and which in itself called for an explicit, an immediate, and a peremptory answer; that letter, from which he knew, that, if not *timely* instructed and *timely* checked, the Catholic Question would *presently* receive from me a cheerful acquiescence; yet, in the interval from the receipt of it, till the 2nd of February, although he wrote twice on other subjects, he says not a word "of the precipitancy with which I "was plunging into a matter so big with danger to the Empire;" not even a hint, that I should proceed with more caution or circumspection in a Measure that was to subvert the Constitution and Establishment in this kingdom. The fact was that neither he nor the Cabinet entertained at that time any such fears. They then apprehended no such danger. It was another business that opened their eyes to all the mischief of my councils; a business that soon rang such an alarm, as brought down upon me that tempest of fears and terrors and remonstrances, under which I have sunk.

At the close of the letter of the 15th of January alluded to above, I had mentioned the dismissal of Mr. Beresford. This intelligence does not seem to have caused the smallest degree of alarm in the breast of the Secretary of State. In his letter of the 2nd of February, when it appears that he must have received the information for several days, he takes not the least notice of it; and it further appears from a letter of Mr. Windham's* to Lord Milton, that his Grace was equally unacquainted with the alarm which the intelligence of the transaction, conveyed indirectly to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Beresford himself, had caused in that quarter. However this may have been, the attack upon me was in the mean time meditating, although perhaps unknown to his Grace.

This letter of Mr. Windham's was the first intimation I received of the least discontent among my colleagues in England at my conduct since my arrival. The Duke of Portland had indeed in one letter stated some objections about the terms of Mr. Wolfe's removal, and in another about Mr. G. Ponsonby's appointment, but nothing that could indicate discontent. But Mr. Windham's letter of the 26th January was followed by one from Mr. Pitt. On the 9th of February, and not before, that gentleman wrote to me to expostulate on the dismissal of Mr. B. and on the negociations with Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Toler. This formed the whole matter of his letter, and to this alone he confined his remonstrances. Yet he had a fair opportunity of touching on the *measures* of my Government, for he concluded his letter by making an apology "for interrupting my attention from the many important "considerations of a different nature to which all our minds ought to "be directed."

The task of bringing forward the Catholic Question he had, it seems, committed to another. By the same mail and in a letter dated the 8th of February, *the very day before* Mr. Pitt had written to me, came a letter from the Secretary of State touching *at length* on this important subject and bringing it *for the first time* into play, as a question of any doubt or difficulty with the British Cabinet. Then, as if the Question

* William Wyndham, Secretary at War, 1794–1801.

had been started *for the first moment* between us, as if it had never been the subject of any former consultation, plan, or arrangement whatever, he writes of enabling the King's Ministers to form their judgment as to the *policy*, *expediency*, *safety*, and *necessity* of that measure. Then, as if he had never before heard from me on the subject, he cautions me against committing myself by *engagements*, or even by *encouraging language* (so minute is his Grace), to give my countenance to the immediate adoption of this Measure. Then, for the *first time* it appears to have been discovered that the deferring of it would be not an *expediency* or a *thing to be desired* for the present, but the "means "of doing a greater service to the British Empire than it has been "capable of receiving since the Revolution, or at least since the "Union." All former opinions, all former discussions, all former agreements, the leading principle "of our being all convinced of the "necessity as well as fitness of the measure taking place at no distant "period," of which I reminded the Ministers in my letter of the 15th of January, all were forgotten, and the Secretary of State feels it his duty for the *first time*, in consequence of the discussion of this Question in the Cabinet the *day before*, to exhort me to use those efforts which I had expressed an intention of trying: efforts of the efficacy of which I had expressed the strongest doubts on the 8th of January, when I first mentioned my intentions of trying them: efforts every hope from which I had relinquished on the 15th, when I warned them of the necessity of immediately giving way, when I earnestly called for peremptory directions, which if I should not receive, I should acquiesce: efforts which they knew, from the whole series of my correspondence, it was impossible even to attempt without evident and certain danger.

From this period everything went on rapidly towards my removal. From my knowledge of the person I had to deal with, I was resolved myself to bring the business to the real point at issue between us, and to leave him no subterfuge. Cruelly as the Duke of Portland has treated me, I feel no difficulty in saying that his judgment was deceived before he abandoned me. On whatever grounds he has suffered himself to be induced to change all his former opinions respecting the politics of this country, and the characters and views of its principal personages, he did change those opinions, and in consequence of that change alone he has been driven to consent to the measure of my instant recall. But *I* was not so deceived. I combined all the circumstances which I have detailed to you in this letter. I perceived immediately the scheme that was laid against me, and I resolved on the only means I saw left to bring the measure to so speedy an issue as should preserve my honour, and vindicate my public character. In my answer to Mr. Pitt, a copy of which I send to you, and which I wrote the very night I received his letter, I entered fully into the subject of my dismissals. I stated, as you will see, my reasons for having determined on them, as well as for adhering to them, when once resolved on; reasons of which, from your knowledge of this country, you will, I am sure, admit the justice. I then put it to himself to determine for me, and for the efficacy of my Government. I left it to him to make his choice between Mr. Beresford and me.

The same night I wrote to the Duke of Portland. I testified my surprise to him, that after such an interval of time, and after the various details which I had transmitted to him, advising him of the hourly increasing necessity of bringing forward the Catholic Question, and the impolicy and danger of resisting or even hesitating about it, I should now be pressed for the *first time* to defer the Question till some future occasion. "I refused to run the risk of such a determination; I

" refused to be the person to raise a flame in the country, that nothing " short of arms would be able to keep down." I then alluded to Mr. Pitt's letter, appealed to his knowledge of the situation of a Lord Lieutenant in this kingdom, and left him to determine whether, if he was not to be supported, he ought not to be removed.

These letters I wrote on the 14th of February. Shortly after came two official letters from the Duke of Portland dated the 16th, in which he enters into a long detail of the various points of view in which the Cabinet wish to have the Question of the Catholics considered. On the same day with these came a private letter of his own, dated the 18th. In this his Grace dwells most particularly on the necessity of the Cabinet having information submitted to them on all these points of view, and a detailed plan of all the additional advantages intended to be conceded to the Catholics. He observes that, *if* the consideration of this great question could be deferred till the Peace, he should not have a doubt but that it would be attended with advantages which, perhaps, are not to be hoped for in any other supposable case. But he added (I beg you will attend to this), "*that it was surely going too far to infer from anything he had said, that I was desired to undertake the task of deferring it to that period.* If the Cabinet were to accede, what they desired was to be justified in that accession by a free and *impartial investigation* of *facts*, of *circumstances*, and of *opinions*, in which, AS OF REASON, MINE *would have the most* DECISIVE *weight;* and as I had expressed a wish to have the mode considered in England, whilst it was still within my reach to have it limited or modified, before the Bill was introduced, and before the plan was known to the Catholics, he wished to have that plan and the heads of the Bill transmitted for consideration."

If anything was wanting to confirm me in my opinion that the Duke of Portland had suffered himself to be completely deceived and duped in this business, a comparison of this letter with what immediately followed would alone be sufficient to establish that conviction. At the moment of his writing this letter there was not a "fact," a "circumstance," or an "opinion" that could have been transmitted to him of which he was not in possession. He acknowledges himself, and frequently refers to my letter of the 10th of February, in which he had the Plan, the Oath, on which the whole depended—on which everything that regarded the constitution, the ecclesiastical establishment, and the settlement of property vested. He had the Primate's opinion, and some ideas that his Grace had suggested. In a letter of mine, dated the 20th, he had still more ample details on these various heads. But for these details, *which of reason were to have* such *decisive weight*, he was not suffered to wait. The decision had been already formed before he had called for them. *The very day after* he had written that letter, in which he had pressed for more information, he assisted at the denoument of the piece. He assisted at the Cabinet meeting that unanimously concurred in the necessity of recalling me, and in a letter of the 21st sums up all the reasons why that measure was deemed necessary, without one dissenting voice, for the very preservation of the Empire. Can anything be more self-evident, or, in order to account for the real causes of my recall, did it require that this letter should be accompanied, as it was, by one from Mr. Pitt of the same date, accepting, in fact, the alternative I proposed to him, and declaring himself fully prepared for the event, however he might lament it? It is true, indeed, that, for the very first time, he mentions the Catholic business, and declares his concurrence in the general desire of the Cabinet to prevent any further progress being made in Mr. Grattan's Bill, "till *they should receive* and *consider the information which they thought it their duty to call for.*" Would you

not have supposed, from this, that to decide on my Government Mr. Pitt meant to wait till he received further information respecting the important Question of the Catholics? No such thing. By the dereliction of all my friends, and by the prospect of my falling alone, he was prepared to throw out this as a matter on which to amuse his colleagues at the moment, and the public at a future period, while to myself, without allowing a moment's further deliberation, he boldly and peremptorily pronounces on what I had determined to be the point to decide on my Government. "On the subject of arrangements he felt himself bound "to adhere to his sentiments, not only with respect to Mr. B., but to the "line of conduct adopted in so many instances towards the former "supporters of Government. By these sentiments he must *at all events* "be guided from a regard to the King's service and to his own honour, "however sincerely he might lament the consequences which must arise "from the present situation." Need I add any comment on this letter? Need I observe to you that the measure of the R. Catholics, on which it is now asserted my Administration was determined, is here reserved for future consideration, while the subject of arrangements is peremptorily and finally decided. *At all events*, and independent of every other consideration, his own honour obliges him not to give way on that subject, and however he laments it, he acquiesces in what I had stated to him must be the consequence of such a decision on his part.

Let my friends, therefore, my dear Carlisle, no longer suffer the Catholic Question to be mentioned as entering in the most distant degree into the causes of my recall. Let them listen no longer to that terrifying enumeration of evils and miseries to result to the Empire from a measure which my enemies assert to have considered either as originating with myself exclusively, or as hurried on by me rashly, precipitately, or without consent or consultation. You have seen when the dread of these miseries was first conceived, and when the complaint of this want of consultation was first brought forward. Had Mr. B. never been dismissed, we never should have heard of them; and I should have remained. But so remaining I should have been disgraced indeed—disgraced by the failure of all the measures which I had planned for the public welfare, and loaded with all the odium which that gentleman and his connections have entailed upon the Government to which I had succeeded. But it will be said that in proving this point so strongly, I still leave myself open to other accusations, which affect my character. When I avow the earnestness with which I had determined to pull down the power of the Beresfords, I submit to the imputation of wishing to raise the Ponsonbys. It was only one family acquiring consequence and another family losing it, according to an insinuation of a letter from one of the Cabinet. Am I then so little known to my friends? Is it my character in the world, that while I pretend the public good, and the King's Service, I am insidiously consulting my private interests, and instead of my country have only my own connections in view? I think, my dear Carlisle, you would be sorry to see me condescend to enter into the merits of such an accusation. But by dismissing Mr. B. I broke my engagements with Mr. Pitt. So he himself states it. I acted, as he pretends in his letter, inconsistently with that principle by which alone the full advantage of the Union, which had taken place in England, could be extended to Ireland. Would he insinuate that the Union which took place in England precluded every idea of removal? Was there no removal in the War Office in England? None in the Post Office? None in the Cabinet? Has there been no removal of *his* own friends at the Admiralty? Or did Lord Spencer, on his succeeding Lord Chatham, act inconsistently with the spirit of the Union,

when he required such changes and the constitution of such a Board as, judging for himself, should command his confidence? What was right and consistent in so many instances in him, must it be blameable and inconsistent in me? Charged with the Goverment of a distracted and discontented country, am I alone to be fettered and restrained in the choice of the persons by whom I am to be assisted, and rather than indulge me in that single point (even considering it in the light of indulgence), must the Ministers of England boldly face the *certainty* of raising alarming discontents in this kingdom, and perhaps of opening another breach for ruin and destruction to break upon us? Must I be interrupted in the most unanimous Session of Parliament the country had ever seen, commanding, by my influence, and on the credit of the persons whom I had employed, and, I must add, on the satisfaction I had given by one dismissal, supplies and forces beyond every former example, and causing a spirit of union and harmony to succeed to that general discontent and disaffection as well (*sic*) against the war itself, which at the time of my arrival manifestly and avowedly pervaded the bulk of the nation?

And now I think I have sufficiently proved that the Catholic Question entered for nothing into the causes of my dismissal, and have shown that as far as my conduct *in Ireland* had anything to do with it, I have traced it to the dismissal of Mr. B. But after all, why are we looking for the causes of my removal in the acts of my Administration here? We are seeking in vain; it is labour lost; the true cause is not to be found here. The fact is, we must go back to a more distant period. When the Duke of Portland and his friends were to be enticed into a coalition with Mr. Pitt's Administration, it was necessary to hold out such allures as would make the coalition palatable, or even possible for them to accede to. If the general management and superintendence of Ireland had not been offered to his Grace, that Coalition could never have taken place; the sentiments that he entertained and the language he had held so publicly for years back on the subject, rendered the superintendence of Irish affairs a point that could not be dispensed with by him. It was become of absolute necessity that it should be transferred to his management. Accordingly it was offered from the beginning of the negociation; as was also the Home Department of Secretary of State. Ask the Duke of Portland, when he engaged to accept that department, if he entertained a doubt that the office offered to him was to be entire, and such as his predecessor had held it; ask him if he was forewarned by Mr. Pitt that it was to be divested of half its duties, half its importance, and all its character; ask him if he was apprised that another Secretary of State was to be cut out of the Department, and that he was to be left but a joint possessor with an inmate*; ask him, when he accepted the management of Ireland, if he did it under any restrictions whatever; ask him if he pressed upon me under any, and if he did not propose and recommend to me to lay out immediately for making such arrangements in the Government as would enable me to restore peace, tranquillity, and order in the country, and as would reconcile the general mass of the people to the Government. But, my dear Carlisle, the instant we had proclaimed our acceptance of office, then the scene began to open; then it was first discovered that the object of all this mighty work was not to strengthen Administration by an accession of character, but to debase, degrade, and disgrace that character. When the junction was irrevocably avowed and declared,

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* *i.e.*, a lodger.

then the pretensions of Mr. Dundas to the continued management of the War were brought forward, and a new office was to be cabbaged out of the Duke of Portland's, and an obvious diminution of his credit and authority was to be proclaimed. No sooner had I declared my acceptance of the Lieutenancy of Ireland than delay interposed, and soon doubts and difficulties arose; it is a matter of public notoriety in in this country that Mr. Pitt assured Lord Westmorland as early as August, that he should not be removed, and I know that I could bring evidence to prove that, in the course of the autumn, he pointed out Lord Camden as the person who he intended should succeed to my predecessor. No. Mr. Pitt did not wish for our assistance, but knowing the importance we gave to the system then pursuing relative to France, he conceived it an opportunity, and determined to make that the means of disgracing our characters and of rendering us by repeated slights and affronts fit for no other service hereafter, but to be his vile tools and instruments. Flattering himself that this, his first and last object, the only end of our admission into his Administration, was done and effected, he has not cared how soon he began to turn some of us adrift to all the disgrace and contempt it was his expectation and wish should attach upon our characters in consequence of his contemptuous and ignominious treatment.

Here, then, is the clue to all the mystery: here you see unravelled the real ground of my deposition and attempted disgrace. To my measures Mr. Pitt has no objection: I predict that he will adopt them by the medium of my successor. I am not sure that he will not even court the connections I have formed for Government. For the person for whom he has pretended to contend so strenuously he has no regard; and I doubt whether he will even permit him to resume his station at the Revenue Board, though he is entitled to do it, even without a reappointment, for, in fact, he has never been out of office. To get rid then of me personally, and thereby to consign me over to immediate disgrace, has been the motive to everything that has happened relative to Ireland. I have then the glory of being the object of Mr. Pitt's dislike. I feel it such, because I know that it is a proof that I have maintained, in the great and important situation which I have filled, dignity of character, and have not been found submissive, vile, and subservient. For this he has deposed me, but by it, I have the arrogance to say, he has deposed a faithful servant of the Crown, a beneficial Governor for the people of Ireland, and a steadfast friend to the unity and connection of the two nations. I feel myself unshaken, and my character above the reach of calumny and aspersion. Trust me, my friend, I will not be the murderer of my own fame: I will not put the seal to my own disgrace by submitting to any insidious compromise that may be offered: by my conduct, such as it has been, I will stand or fall: and I never will give to the good people of Ireland, to whom I owe so large a debt of gratitude for their unexampled support, implicit confidence, and manifest attachment, ground to reproach me with being a party in a fraud upon them—reproach me with having established an Administration to which they looked up with reverence, confidence, and affection, in order that unsuspected I might dive deep into their pockets, and, having gained my point upon their ingenuous credulity, turn them over again to the persecuting and unforgiving spirit of that harsh, oppressive, and obnoxious Government from which they had just escaped by the tribute of so large a price.

Original, signed. Endorsed by Lord Carlisle: The Lord Lieutenant's letter to me. Received March 27th, 1895.

[Lord Fitzwilliam] to Lord Carlisle.

[1795, March.]—Dear Carlisle,—Your letter, the kindness of which I really feel in a very sensible manner, has given me occasion to write fully on those charges which you report are brought against me. What you have heard, everybody has heard, and therefore it is not before you, but before as many as interest themselves or ever speak on the subject, that I must lay the grounds of my exculpation. I look to no protection, but that which my cause affords me; and yet that cause might be stated ten times more strongly, if I could bring myself to enter into the detail of all its circumstances: but I cannot divest myself of ancient habits and recollections, even under the smartings of the most irritating treatment. Weak as I leave my case on certain points, such as it is, on it I look for exculpation. Whoever has curiosity about it, let him see this defence. I set no restraints to your shewing it, unless you should have reason to think that Administration mean to concede: I certainly do not. I state the concession on the part of Administration as a possibility, because I have received a letter from Mr. Windham, that seems to lead to it; but speaking as he did in terms that may mean to include his colleagues, but are equally open to be disavowed by them, I have sent a messenger for explanation. The rumour of London will probably let you into the secret of their decision: by that you will judge, when first you may produce this justification: but I trust to your friendship that it will be the earliest moment you think it right: for I feel the unequal contest a single absent man has to manage, when he contends with such a corps as a Ministry. I think this the more essential from the tone and style taken in their papers. The charges are positive and specified. I wish to give them a denial.*

Explanation settled between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Burke, coming from Lord F[itzwilliam], and the Chancellor.

[1795, March.]—They stated that Lord F.'s view was: "To support in Ireland the English Government, considering Mr. Pitt as *the Prime Minister*, without whom no material measure as to *things* or *persons* is to be concerted or done—not setting up a Government of Departments, but that each department acting *under* him should meet with its due and honourable support *from* him.

"No vindictive removals; those which may be necessary for convenience to be settled *here* by amicable concert.

"Misrepresentations and indiscretions may have had effect on both sides; to wipe away all memory of them, and to start as on new ground. To arrange, in the best manner for the interest of both kingdoms, the state of Ireland. For this purpose to meet as soon as possible."

The above words were settled in the course of the conversation. After Mr. Grattan and Mr. Burke had left him, the Chancellor added the following note:—

"This from Lord F. and understated; he is ready and *desirous* to state it more fully himself."

The Chancellor thought it necessary for him to see Lord Fitzwilliam himself, which he did the following day in the presence of Mr. Grattan. The note was fully considered in all its parts, and Lord F. made no objection or remark, except that in the memorandum added by the Chancellor he observed the word *willing* would have been more exact than *desirous*.

In Lord Loughborough's hand.

* This was found among Selwyn's letters, but it is in the same hand as the letter signed "Wentworth Fitzwilliam," and dated 19 April 1795.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

[1795, April ?]—I have shewn your letter to Mr. Pitt, who agrees with me in opinion that your writing to Lord F[itzwilliam] may tend more to correct the strange misapprehensions that have seized upon his mind than any other representation.

I am exceedingly confirmed in my own idea of the utility of your writing by a letter I have just received from Mr. Grattan, which turns entirely upon his dread of what he calls the Monarchy of Clerks under a Beresford Administration. I will attempt to convince him that it is neither the person nor the power of Mr. Beresford that excites or continues the least difficulty in the arrangement of the business between this country and Ireland, but that the obstacles are all created by the tone and manner in which affairs have been conducted in Ireland and transmitted from thence. But I am not confident that I shall succeed in curing a disorder which has fastened so strongly upon the imagination. There is not a word in his letter on any other topic but this, which seems to me the least important of any.

Lord Carlisle to Lord Fitzwilliam.

1795, April 14.—A friendship which commenced in the earliest period of youth, and which I trust will only cease with the termination of life, would readily supply sufficient excuse for heavier difficulties than those imposed upon me, owing to the two letters you addressed to me, in answer to mine of the 27th February, finding their way to the inspection of the public.

It is not easy for me to guess what idea the public may have formed of that letter which has produced such copious answers from you, and seemed to force you to a justification beyond the limits of a secret and confidential correspondence.

In turning to that letter I think you will perceive nothing, besides my zeal for your welfare and interest, which could have prompted me to the communication and disclosure of such opinions of the opening of your Administration as I was enabled to gather, and to which (however erroneously or correctly conceived) it appeared to me you ought not to have remained a stranger.

If my poor sentiments could have been collected by you at this period of the dawn of your Administration, and which it was not my intention to obtrude upon you, they could only be discovered in my fears, that you adopted a *system*, difficult to recede from or abandon, before you had been long enough near the source of real information confidently to take by your own scale the just measure of its size and magnitude. God knows I never meant (though from writing hastily, I might express myself inaccurately) with arrogance to pronounce upon the great Measures themselves, then in your contemplation to advance, but with diffidence $\frac{\text{left}}{\text{confined}}$ the conception and consideration of their probable effects to the judgment of your near political connections, capacitated by their situations and knowledge to trace and pursue their tendencies and bearings, and whom report did not scruple to assert were both surprised and charmed at the rapidity with which these great objects were approached.

I stated to you that a general belief prevailed, that in your final arrangements and concluding conversation with his Majesty's Ministers, at which others assisted, it was settled that no material Measure either as to *persons* or *things* was to be concerted or decided upon, without

further communication and concurrence with/of the Cabinet in England. I might have added this (*sic*) the easier obtained in the world, owing to the obvious necessity that the most perfect harmonious understanding should prevail between the Governments of both countries, as to their system of rule, always necessary, but more particularly so at this moment, when both have objects of such importance and joint interest before them as to demand at least a suspension of everything not intrinsically connected with them.

As to the sudden dismissions of certain individuals who had not had the opportunity, if you could suppose they had the will, to offend in/against your Administration, I certainly had not the same anxiety to keep back my sentiments upon that step. Justice to some of those persons, who during my Government served the public with fidelity, honesty, and ability, I mean Mr. Beresford &c., demanded of me a less cautious mode of expression; and in truth your subsequent reasoning upon those dismissions calls upon me to say a word or two upon this subject.

Of the alarming power to Government of the Beresford family or following, I pretend not to form a comprehension, nor can I conceive how any Lord Lieutenant, standing upon your high ground, challenging the public confidence by the undisguised fairness of your good intentions, could ever be destitute of the means of crushing any power, but particularly that which derived the essence of its strength from office, whenever such presumed to stir a hairbreadth in an attempt to molest the Government of the kingdom in that road in which for the public interest it thought fit to travel. But till that vain and mischievous disposition should have manifested itself, I clearly leant to the opinion [that] the hand of superior strength ought not to be stretched out against it.

You say to me in regard to some-others, "You left them Clerks, I found them Ministers." When and how this metamorphosis happened I am unable to conjecture. That I left them most usefully employed for the ease of their principal, and for the quick dispatch of business, is unquestionably true. With long habits and intercourse with men in high and subordinate official situations, for unsuspected integrity and secrecy, for mildness and conciliating manners, for the most perfect arrangement and method in conducting the business of his office, I can fairly say I never witnessed the equal of Mr. T. Hamilton. Mr. Cook was in my time young, but quick, diligent, and very promising as a useful person in the station he then filled.

Respecting others with whom I never had any connection, who were to remove from their elevated situations of their profession, you call upon me to admit the propriety of such removals on the fact of having from necessity a splendid Parliamentary debater annexed to the condition of a great Law servant of the Crown. Indeed, my dear Fitzwilliam, I subscribe to no such opinion, and, in vindication of a very opposite one, refer you to the example of many men on this side the water, whose acknowledged abilities and learning would have been lost to the State had they been driven from their situations, because they made not the same brilliant figure in the Senate as they [had] done at the Bar.*

I have dwelt the longer upon this part of the subject to show you how fairly a different opinion may be opposed to yours, and that such may be conscientiously entertained without any design to wound your

* A passage in depreciation of "fashionable eloquence" is struck out here in the draft.

feelings or injure your reputation. In Mr. Pitt's endeavour to hold up a shield to shelter persons who had merited the favour of the last Lord Lieutenant by their services, and on whose conduct no blame or censure had attached, I can only perceive an instance of firmness and of justice; and surely it requires explanation to convince plain and impartial men that such removals, taking the mode, time, and provocation, were not at least a seeming departure from the amicable dealing towards the King's Prime Minister, which we at a distance were taught to hope and believe was to mark the junction of your party to Mr. Pitt.

I dwell upon it for another motive, which touches me more personally. By the extensive dispersion of your letters, I find myself the conductor of severe animadversion, where I cannot agree it ought to have been directed. To have consented to have been the bearer of such sharp invective to the doors of the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, &c., I must previously have acknowledged the justice of it before I undertook so painful an office; but, acknowledging its justice, could I stop there and continue an independent support of a Minister capable of the monstrous design of risking the condition of Ireland, of flinging it into the greatest probable confusion by trifling with its hopes and expectations, for the purpose of weakening a party of whose strength and importance he confessed the value, by invitation and acceptance; which strength and importance in the public estimation must be as necessary for his purposes at this moment as the first hour you flung your weight into his scale.

Such are the difficulties I allude to at the beginning of my letter: in the first place, that of appearing by silence to adopt that censure I am made to convey; in the next, of submitting my sentiments freely to you, and thus approaching a matter of a most delicate nature, where the public curiosity ought not to be conducted, with any observance of that discretion and secrecy which my education has led me to consider not to be dispensed with in great transactions of Government.

On the great question of the additional indulgencies at this time to be extended to the Roman Catholics I shall say but little. The sentiments of an individual would in this place obtrude themselves very clumsily. I shall hope to be believed when I assert I have not toleration only upon my lips but in my heart, and that in my experience I never witnessed anything in the Roman Catholics of Ireland that gave me a moment's doubt of their loyalty and attachment to their Sovereign. That an unfortunate difference of opinion has been raised on this point between you and the Cabinet in England, we all know, and all deplore. But you are much mistaken if you think the world, endeavouring with very inadequate means to detect on which side the error or misapprehension lies, even supposing it should be suspected to be with you, has ever aimed any censure at your head which made it necessary for you to appear at the tribunal of the public, and upon a defence, in my mind unprovoked by accusation from *any quarter*, forcing you to advance upon such tender and delicate ground to points generally not considered accessible, unless where an attack upon life is meditated, or, what I feel is dearer to you, fame and honour.

You allude to a part of my letter, where, joining in the general anxiety as to the precipitancy with which your great measures seemed to be brought forth, I confessed I could not contemplate the innovation without terror. Always being taught to consider the Roman Catholic Question as of great moment, it was not extraordinary that the quickness with which you decided upon it (I mean not to arraign that prompt decision) should have occasioned a strong shock of alarm to me, however

incompetent to direct an accurate view to its near or remote consequen[ces]. Under every circumstance of disagreement in opinion of a nature less reasonably interesting the attention of the political world, violent opinions on both sides will be formed, which candour and moderation would lose their labour in attempting to reconcile. Doctor Barrow says every fact has two handles, one that severity, ill-nature, and harshness is ever inclined to lay hold of; the other constantly presents itself to calmness, moderation, and gentleness. I shall address myself to the latter, not the former, to gather and submit to you the judgment I conceive candid and honorable men have formed upon these unfortunate transactions.

In many parts of your letter, if I mistake not, it may be collected that, owing to the circumstances of the times, the pressure of business produced by the War, and the necessity of pointing all thought, as well as all exertion, towards the defence of the Empire, it was a general wish to postpone the consideration of the merits of the Roman Catholic Question to a moment better fitted for a less interrupted investigation of it. Of course, excepting otherwise driven by necessity, we should have seen you acting at least in unison with the views of the English Cabinet, had you terminated the Session of Parliament with this point still reserved for future consideration. You, for the reasons assigned by you, conceive that necessity to be so apparent and so strong, as to leave you in policy and prudence no choice or remedy. Upon this point the whole matter seems to hinge. The public, turning towards the English Administration for $\frac{\text{information}}{\text{instruction}}$, discover them opposing that power you consider as irresistible. Great stress is laid upon the impossibility of utterly preventing this discussion from some quarter or another being forced upon the Houses of Parliament. That some one eager in the cause would infallibly stir it, was clearly to be foreseen, though Mr. Grattan held back. But as in that case the argument for suspending might have been adopted by those who were inclined to fall into the views of both the Lord Lieutenant and the English Minister, it did not seem to follow that on such ground a person so high in name and reputation, and so closely connected with the Castle, was impelled to seize that hour for giving notice of this Bill, sustained by Government and its adherents.

Still keeping clear of an impertinent obtrusion of my own sentiments upon the great Question itself, I only take as an hypothesis that the King's Ministers did not in their judgments yield to that necessity which you state was sufficiently powerful with you to determine you no longer to $\frac{\text{restrain}}{\text{confine}}$ yourself to those limits within which it appears, at least for the time, it was the wish of your political connections you should have confined yourself; and from this we guess has arisen that fatal misundersta[nding] which has deprived Ireland of so much honour and integrity, [and] the King of a faithful servant; has loosened the bonds of the closest friendship; has carried the poison of distrust and resentment into houses never before at variance; and conveyed a heavy charge, indeed, to the doors of his Majesty's Ministers. May I, my dear friend, in this place be permitted to say, that weighing every part of this subject in the most dispassionate and impartial manner I am able, I never heard the sound of accusation of your conduct in any quarter; perceived no attack aimed against your character; no stain endeavoured to be fixed upon your reputation; no abandonment of private friendship or affection; no wretched symptom of that refined dissimulation you

fancy you have detected; in short, nothing that wore the shape of accusation or charge, which brought you to the painful alternative of repelling or submitting to.

Under the strong feeling of a repugnance (which I am confident you will comprehend and excuse) to lend myself with a silence that might argue willingness to become the channel of censure to individuals who had acted serviceably and honourably by me; to others whose conduct I have had opportunity of watching, and still retain my opinion of their unshaken friendship and attachment to you; lastly to others, on whom I could not assist in heaping such disgrace, without holding them out at the same time as utterly unfit for the high situation they fill; I have been obliged thus tediously to trespass on your patience, an apology for which can only be looked for and found in that friendship I before alluded to, and which has for so many years taught us indulgence for each other.

Draft, not signed. *Endorsed*: Answer to Lord Fitzwilliam's two letters, 14 April 1795.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Carlisle.

1795, April 18.—It will not be in my power to give Mr. Coomb the living of Bloomsbury, should Dr. Willis not recover, for there had been a proposal made to me in the course of the last autumn for an exchange of that living which Dr. Willis was desirous to obtain, and as it is my own parish I had pitched upon the person to succeed him, who has taken some measures in consequence of that expectation. I shall be very glad to serve Mr. Coomb on any other occasion, and it will probably be no disadvantage to him, for the living of Bloomsbury is much below its reputed value at present, and will require great exertions to raise it again, depending very much on the popularity of the incumbent.

Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Carlisle.

1795, April 19, Sunday night, Grosvenor Square.—I have been so much occupied that I have not had time even to acknowledge the receipt of your letter.

When you made yourself the vehicle for communicating the heavy accusations laid to my charge, I thought myself justified in making you the vehicle of my defence: I must be fair (*sic*) to confess I thought that the object of the communication; I can see no other: but if it was an erroneous conception, I am sorry for the mistake.

Your wish to conciliate, to reconcile mistake, to cement again broken affection, is laudable, but I doubt its producing its end: had my friend a cause to settle, I should doubt the wisdom of his referring it to an arbitrator, whose judgment was already made up and declared on every point in question, and on every one made up against him.

I lament that in the number of my adversaries, I must rank you: public duty may impose the necessity of public decision: of that no man must presume to complain: but to enter into private controversy is matter of option: with my friend I do not choose to carry on a controversy on a subject in which he has no immediate concern: if therefore I decline making a single remark on any part of your letter, accept it as the best proof I can give of my determination to remain, ever unalterably yours (&c.).

Lord Loughborough to Lord Carlisle.

1795, April 20, Monday morning.—I think your letter admirably well turned to allay the irritation upon Lord F[itzwilliam]'s mind, which the false apprehension of his standing as a person accused has excited, and which has drawn forth from him the most unjust charge against his best friends by the most violent breach of public and private confidence. The greatest service that can be done to him is to induce him to abstain from any further public discussion, and to recover the prejudice which already prevails against him from the past discussion, which I am sure you must have observed to be very general in the world. The strictest directions have been given in Ireland to stop all debate upon the subject of his letters to you, and in terms the most kind and attentive towards him. The same reserve will certainly be maintained here, which will put him more in the wrong if he endeavours to break through it. From the time of Mountague's ill famed attack upon Lord Danby by the production of his confidential letters, to this hour, no quarrel amongst Ministers has ever led to such a communication, and the public opinion is not divided upon this point.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Carlisle.

1795, Dec. 29, Downing Street.—Expressing pleasure at the receipt of his pamphlet, which is calculated to produce a good impression.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Carlisle.

1798, Feb. 28, Downing Street.—Replying to a request that he would recommend Dr. Coombe for preferment.*

Lord Clare to Lord Carlisle.

1798, March 23, Dublin.—I am extremely thankful to your Lordship for the pamphlet which you have had the goodness to send me. I have had it printed and dispersed here, and I sincerely hope the people will have grace to attend to the useful lesson which it inculcates. We have lately been enabled to arrest nearly the whole of a Provincial Committee of United Irishmen, and three of The Executive Directory. Two of the latter have fled, and it is a melancholy consideration that Lord Edward FitzGerald is one of them. The villains who are in custody will I hope be brought to justice. I feel the peevish and intemperate indiscretion of Sir Ralph Abercrombie's order as strongly as it seems to have impressed your Lordship, and it is a provoking circumstance that the critical situation of the country makes it inexpedient to resent this act of intemperance as it merits. He had not my communication on the subject with Lord Camden before he issued his order, and states in his defence that he never meant to counteract the proclamation of the last year published under the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and that his only object was to enforce military discipline.

The public prints have very much exaggerated a compliment which the mob of Dublin seemed inclined to pay me on the day when the arrest of the last batch of traitors was made. About forty or fifty of them did follow me with a quick step on Cork Hill; but as I have for some time past never quitted my house unarmed, I determined to begin

* In a letter of 1 Jan. 1800, the Earl thanks Pitt for advancing Dr. Coombe to a stall at Canterbury.

the attack, and having turned suddenly upon them and produced a pistol, they made a very precipitate retreat. On reading the pamphlet which I sent your Lordship, I find it full of blunders committed at the printing office.

Endorsed: Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Lord Carlisle to Mr. Pitt.

1798, June 9.—*Private.*—I risk an intrusion upon a subject which, though connected most intimately with the interests of all, I confess, regards not me individually more nearly than many others, whose opinions justly merit more attention from you, than I can expect should be given to mine.

The subject I allude to is the present condition of Ireland. It may perhaps be but a weak apology for this interruption, to own I cannot help looking at that country with a sort of affection, like an old house which one has once inhabited, not disliking the ancient arrangement of its interior, and perhaps unreasonably prejudiced against many of its modern innovations.

The innovation that has given me uneasiness, and which now seems most seriously to perplex the Irish Government, was the fatal institution of an Irish Cabinet, which has worked itself into being considered almost as a component part of that deputed authority. A Government composed of Lords Justices, natives of that country, as a permanent establishment, absurd as such an expedient might be, would not have at least that radical defect, of authority disjointed from responsibility. We now feel all the bad effects of a power, which should never have been conferred, and which is strengthened from hence, by many acting with you, so as to make it impossible for the Lord Lieutenant to manage with it, or without it.

You have, in my poor judgment, an opportunity offered, to crush at one blow this defective system.

Ireland, I scruple not to say, cannot be saved, if you permit an hour longer almost (*sic*) the military defence of that country to depend upon the tactical dictates of Chancellors, Speakers of the House of Commons, &c., &c. I mean to speak with no disrespect of Lord Camden; I never heard anything but to his honour; but I maintain, under the present circumstances, the best soldier would make the best Lord Lieutenant, one on whom no junto there would presume to fling their shackles, and one who would cut them short if they presumed to talk of what they did not understand. With this idea, I confess Lord Cornwallis naturally occurs to me.

Next to this, but not so efficacious, would be sending immediately some one equal to the military duties, freed from all control, saving that, for form's sake, good sense would acquiesce under the King's Deputy. But I cannot doubt but a deeper change would be most advisable. The disaffected to our Government (and I fear it is too general) may perhaps have their degrees and divisions of animosity against it, and some possibly may be changed by a change of men, more than by a professed change of measures, which perhaps they think little about. I know they are taught to believe a particular set of men are their enemies: in truth, I question if in tyrannizing over, and thwarting the Castle, and talking so injudiciously, they ought to be considered as our friends. Pray observe, I am keeping clear of the great points, which [it] would be impertinent in me to touch; for if the former strong measures, or even stronger, unmixed with any attempt to divide and

separate, shall be deemed right to persist in, these had better be trusted to a fresh, strong military hand; if more lenient, these can only be attempted by stripping those of power who are determined to obstruct them. I only mean to show that in both cases, and for the execution of either scheme, you will be enabled to draw from the side of the Irish Government this tormenting thorn of a Cabinet.

Consider, dear sir, how precious is every moment, and what may be the consequences, if the Fleet of England, with so many Irish on board, should catch the infection, so much more poisonous than we flattered ourselves it was.

Copy.

[Lord Carlisle] to [Lord Loughborough] the Lord Chancellor.

1800, Jan. 2, Grosvenor Place.—*Private.*—When I, many years ago, applied to your Lordship to advance Dr. Coombe in the Church, you gave me every reason to suppose he would be a favoured object of your protection.

The then precarious health of the Rector of St. Giles' opened to my view the means by which, in the event of his death, you might have fulfilled your good dispositions towards Dr. Coombe, and have answered all that your warm expressions in his favour naturally excited in me.

My letter on this occasion obtained no answer whatever. When, some time afterwards, there was a prospect of an immediate vacancy in the living of St. George's, Bloomsbury, still relying upon your friendship, and encouraged by those expressions, I ventured to propose a Dr. Coombe for that preferment, your Lordship answered my application in a very satisfactory manner; in the first place, by assuring me that I was mistaken in the value of the living, that it was not worth Dr. Coombe's acceptance, that you had more kind and more extensive designs for a person so strongly recommended by me, and lastly, what is infinitely more intelligible to a petitioner, that you had already destined it for another.

Under the supposition, however, that he still retains the same place in the list of those whom your Lordship has taught to believe it was your intention to provide for, I think it right in me to exonerate you, as soon as possible, from an obligation, which I am to take for granted has not been, in this great length of time, within your ability to fulfil.

Mr. Pitt, on whose sincerity and regard I have, with reason, ever depended, has now effectually recommended Dr. Coombe to a stall at Canterbury; it therefore becomes a duty in me to remove any obstacle he might occasion to the pretensions of others, who might, in your Lordship's view, hold higher claims than myself to similar marks of favour and attention, either from a more respectable size and independency of condition, or from the manifestation of more zeal in support of his Majesty's Government.

Copy, omitting the signature. *Endorsed:* Copy of my letter to the Lord Chancellor.

Lord Loughborough to [Lord Carlisle].

1800, Jan. 4, Bath.—When your Lordship mentioned to me several years ago your wish to advance Dr. Coombe in the Church, that was a sufficient title to recommend him to any service I could do him, but the occasions have not favoured my wish.

The living of St. Giles is still held by the same clergyman who then possessed it, and whose health was very speedily re-established.

The living of St. George, Bloomsbury, is in the same situation. There seemed at one time to be a probable expectation that it might become vacant, because an application had been made to me for an exchange on account of Dr. Willis's bad health, which obliged him to live more in the country than the duty of such a living would permit. I informed your Lordship of this, adding at the same time that by the account I had received of the amount of the living, and rating it also according to the value of that which Dr. Willis would have taken in exchange, it did not seem to be an object for Dr. Coombe's acceptance, on the condition of residence, but that it would suit Mr. Nares, whose other engagements fixed his residence in that parish, at the same time that they did not interfere with his attention to the care of it. No means, however, occurred of making the exchange, and very fortunately Dr. Willis by a few months' relaxation was enabled to resume his functions, and I hope has found the living, though very inferior to his merit, of more value than it had been.

There are very few livings in my list upon the same scale with these two; not one as far as I know of their value has been in my disposal, except one which his Majesty commanded me to give. My intention to serve Mr. Nares is not doubtful, but all I have been able to do for him has only been, by an exchange for a country living (which he declined because he could not reside), to enable him to obtain from the Bishop of Litchfield a prebend in his Cathedral.

Having thus stated to your Lordship what I think must remove any suspicion of neglect of Dr. Coombe, I cannot but express my satisfaction that Mr. Pitt has appointed him to a stall at Canterbury. No person has a better title than your Lordship to such marks of favour and attention, when you add your weight and independence to the support of his Majesty's Government; and I take leave to add that no person can be more gratified than myself in observing every mark of that entire union between your Lordship and Mr. Pitt, which it has always been my study to promote.

Lord Carlisle's Dramatic Works.

1800.—Two letters from W. Roscoe, dated near and at Liverpool, acknowledging the receipt of two tragedies sent to him by Lord Carlisle, and commenting thereon.

There are also letters from Anna Seward and others relating to the Earl's play entitled "The Stepmother."

George Brummell to ———.

[c. 1800.] Thursday, Bentworth.—I am quite unhappy that I have not any more drawings to send you, and I have equally to regret my inability to plead any better excuse for the pauverty of my portefeuille, than my own natural idleness, and the frequent depredations of my friends.—Sincerely yours, &c.

Lord Carlisle to the Prince of Wales.

1801, Feb. 26.—The ready admission, on the part of your Royal Highness, of the motives which alone could excuse my presumption in submitting, the other day, my humble opinions to you, encourages me in the hope that you will condescend to accept those opinions in a more

correct form than they could be presented to you, in that moment of agitation and first affliction.

Every hour, Sir, confirms me in the judgment, how truly advantageous to us all has already been your Royal Highness's conduct, during the extraordinary events which have lately occurred, and that the persisting in it will lead, by the quickest and safest road, to everything that ought to be, under any circumstances, a legitimate object to your Royal Highness's desire or pursuit.

If the King's most dreadful malady should terminate more fatally than at present is apprehended, the humane and dutiful attention of your Royal Highness to a parent thus afflicted, the wise resolution of keeping at a distance all cabal and political intrigue, and the affectionate manner of sharing with your family a distress, one of the greatest that humanity can be visited with, must, I am confident, prove the best security against the attempts of those who would wish to fling a cloud upon the morning of your acceptance of Power. If, on the contrary, the disorder should so continue as to render it necessary for your Royal Highness to lend yourself to the Public and endure a temporary load of Government, I am equally confident that this exemplary behaviour would lead to the possession of every degree of authority, in the only manner worth your accepting, by the unanimous and willing voice of the whole People of England, uttered through the medium of Parliament.

Consistent with these ideas, I submit to you, Sir, whether, in the latter case, your language should not be, in the first instance, most explicit, reconcileable to the conduct and pure sentiments which have gained the general approbation. The nice and dangerous ground of Right, I would not permit again to be discussed in my hearing, but, as soon as possible, entrench myself on the safer rock of Parliamentary disposition and settlement, following the example of that wise Prince Henry the 7th, and of Queen Elizabeth, who rested her claim solely on her Parliamentary title. Whatever should be that Parliamentary disposition as to the conferring a quantum of Power, my poor advice would be to accept it, with the simple observation that, if the authorities conferred were large, so would be the weight of undesirable Responsibility, and for your Royal Highness to lend yourself to the Public service, without making a stipulation or demand beforehand. Should the error prevail of illiberally holding back that power necessary for the conducting of Government, as well as for the dignity of the Character you were to assume, I am, Sir, persuaded, a momentary resignation to that painful condition would ensure a more honourable and effectual change of that ill-timed and ill-placed severity, than all the efforts of a party avowedly devoted to your interests.

This, Sir, you will say, is a great departure from former systems. I confess it is. So many mistakes obtained, on both sides, in the transactions of 1789, that we ought so far at least to profit of our errors, as not to permit them again to influence our conduct.

Copy, in Dr. Coombe's hand.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Carlisle.

1801, March 15.—I can assure your Lordship that I have no disposition to suppose that any advertisement which you are so good as to convey to me can proceed from any other motives than those you are pleased to admit, for in my own breast I find no trace of any sentiment towards you but that of kindness from old acquaintance, which leads me to regret much the distant terms on which we have lately lived.

As a friend, I am sure you will be glad to know that on the subject of the Commission for passing the Bread Bill I cannot feel the smallest degree of uneasiness, but rest perfectly satisfied that the discharge of my duty (in that instance at least) requires neither apology nor explanation.

MEMORANDUMS of the PRINCE OF WALES communicated to me [LORD CARLISLE].

1801, April 15.—That after an interval of nearly a month he was admitted to the sight of the King, his father, who received him with every mark of love and fondness.

He, the King, began with the happiness he felt at being able the same day to embrace his son, and dismiss Dr. Willis' keepers; that being the first day since his illness that any one of his own servants had been permitted to attend him.

The Prince was delighted to find that his mind was not poisoned on his account, but on the contrary he did him ample justice for his correct conduct during the whole period of his malady.

He continually and repeatedly talked of himself as a dying man, determined to go abroad to *Hanover*, to make over the Government to the Prince

N.B.—Of the condition of Hanover no one had ventured to talk to him.

He insisted much on the P. accepting a white Hanoverian horse, laying the most vehement stress upon the P. of W.'s exclusive right to mount such a horse, his joy, his pride; and this went to very incorrect discourse.

He turned quick to the most violent accusation of Mr. Pitt; detailed methodically a variety of instances of his insolent conduct towards him; warned the P. against his ambition, and concluded with saying, of a bad set, Lord Granville was the honestest.

His manner of giving the Great Seal was a mixture of neat compliment and a wandering mind. He talked of it as a trick he played. He took the Seals out of the Purse, and hid them in his bosom. When he gave Lord Eldon the Purse, he thought he was made Lord Chancellor. But the K. burst out in laughter, and said you have got the Purse, and that's all. Lord Eldon looked dismayed, not knowing how this would act (?). But the King with a handsome recollection of his conferring that dignity upon Lord Thurlow, and a very genteel comparison of them, took the Seals from his bosom, and said, "These, as I did [hid?] them, I give you from my heart."

He then ran off, and talked of the device he used, by some position of his wig, to make the Council believe (?) him in better looks and health. Here (*sic*) was very wild.

He took the P. up to the room, the scene of the late confinement, and complained of the treatment he had experienced in terms the most moving.

He made the P. sit down to dinner with him, and expressed that once in his life he should have to say he dined *tête-a-tête* with his beloved son.

He eat little—a small piece of mutton, a little beetroot, a small piece of cheese, and the contents of a small apple tart. He drank 3 glasses of wine, and all to the P.'s health.

He talked of all his children in terms of the greatest affection—in terms to move tears ; but particularly so when he dwelt upon his little granddaughter.

In Lord Carlisle's hand. Endorsed: Relative to the P. of Wales' business.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Carlisle.

1804, May 15, Tuesday, York Place.—*Private.*—I well know, and could not be surprised to learn, the regret which your Lordship has felt at the failure of my endeavour to establish that extended and comprehensive Government to which my wishes as well as your own were preferably directed. But while I partake in that sentiment I am most unwilling to forego the hope that your public opinions, as well as the favourable sentiments you have done me the honour to express towards myself, may still induce you to consider the Administration now formed as not unworthy of your support. At all events I feel a strong desire to have the opportunity of conversing with your Lordship fully and without reserve on the present state of affairs; and if you have no objection to gratifying me in that wish, I should be much obliged to you if you could have the goodness to call here at half-past one tomorrow, or at any later hour which you may prefer.

George, Prince of Wales, to Lady Elizabeth [Cavendish].

1806, Oct. 6, ½ pt. 5 p.m., Carlton House.—Many thanks, my dearest Lady Elizabeth, for your most kind note. I am really much better, and in a manner well. I have sent to Farquhar, and find that he is to be in Town tomorrow, and I shall see him as soon as he arrives, though I am so much better that I am confident that he will find it hardly necessary to do anything at all. I am quite happy that the dear Duke* has got rid of his gout; pray say everything that is most affectionate from me to him. I suppose you will have heard that as my Brother wished so much to see Chatsworth, as we went close to it, we stopped for an hour there ; I confess to you it was almost too much for me, the recollection of several of the pieces of furniture which I had seen in her† room, and which I had so often sat upon in her room when conversing with her, quite overpowered me, for it is enough to have known her as we have, never to be able to forget her. It is quite impossible to describe to you all I have gone through of late ; such a loss and such a calamity are almost beyond all sufferance ; at least it is so to me. I will not dwell upon melancholy subjects ; I will therefore only add how truly I remain, my dearest Lady Elizabeth,

Your most affectionate

George P.

P.S. I hope dearest Georgiana does not vex herself about Morpeth's being gone. I would, if I dared, call at Devonshire House, to see her, and enquire after her, but really I am not sufficiently stout to venture it, as I could not answer for how I might expose myself in entering that House.

The Right Hon. C. J. Fox.

[1806.]—"Character of Charles James Fox" ; in the handwriting of the fifth Earl of Carlisle.

Begins :—No character I believe was ever more mistaken. He has been generally considered as a man devoted to desperate ambition :

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* Of Devonshire.

† Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, died 30 March 1806. (Burke.)

another Rienzi, capable of seizing on power by any means, even to the excitement of revolutionary commotion. In truth, ambition was not his ruling passion. Pleasure, in all its most extravagant gratifications, held a stronger dominion over him.

5½ *pages.*

[Lord Carlisle] to the Prince of Wales.

1807, Feb. 2.—Under the pressure of a long and painful disorder, which made death no unfamiliar object, it was natural to give much thought to the condition of those who were to remain behind, and who claimed, either from affection, esteem, or respect, every degree of anxious consideration. In this melancholy course of reflections, the situation of the Prince of Wales, both as a public and a private character, could not fail of frequently presenting itself: in the former view as touching and bearing upon the dearest interests of every Englishman, and in the latter claiming the most grateful regard for many acts of kindness extended towards myself and my children.

The following considerations are the results of much serious meditation, tinged and vitiated perhaps by error, but imputable to no motive that conscience and honour would blush to own.

In contemplating the actual situation of the Prince of Wales, it is with deep concern I perceive it replete with many distressing circumstances both to himself, the whole Royal House, and to the country.

The charges against the Princess of Wales, in proportion as they have been most serious and heavy, and have long been agitating the public mind, so common justice demands that in the face of the world they should aid in her acquittal or her condemnation. Neither of these alternatives, under the present circumstances, seem likely to be her lot; and during the long period of suspense, it is vain to conceal from oneself that the public every hour incline towards her and from the Prince, who does not stand with that public in the estimation he might do. The sad reverse of fortune, and the calamities that have lately overwhelmed her family, have served to render her a nearer object of interest and compassion, and induce many to shut their ears against any insinuations of criminality in her conduct. It is not worth considering whether this humane view, which the public take of her supposed oppressed condition, is due, or not, to an unerring conduct, but to what degree the Prince actually is, and ultimately may be more, affected as long as this general sentiment prevails; as long as neither her innocence nor her guilt be manifested.

Should the attempt fail, of proving crime, or continue to be hid in mystery, I am convinced that even suspicion of incorrect conduct would every day become weaker. It is not to be expected that the world will patiently witness the continuation of this sort of Repudiation; or if it should be *now* endured, what is to happen when the Prince ascends a vacant throne? No power he will then be vested with will enable him to persist in this strange divorce. He will find himself possessed of no authority for which the then Minister or Ministers must not be responsible; and these future Ministers must feel a most extraordinary degree of fortitude when they are to answer to the country for their advice for the prevention of her Royal Highness partaking and bearing her part in the ceremonies of the Coronation, of enjoying her state and household, and all the rights of the Queen Consort of the Sovereign of England; considered by the law as a public person, exempt and distinct from the King himself.

Few cases of embarrassment are so desperate as not to admit of the adoption of a preferable measure. In the present I am free to say that that preferable step rests entirely upon what the Prince is capable of adopting for his *own* sake, that of *his family*, and for *us* all.

In the case of all doubt being removed from the public mind as to the guilt of the Princess: the question will then be at rest; and the Prince may depend upon the jealousy and fear of a spurious issue doing everything for him that he can look to with a view to his own ease and domestic comfort, and to the re-establishment of the public favour. But should this not be compatible with justice, there appears to be no alternative but for the Prince to be the first to acknowledge the falsehood of the accusations, to offer himself generously to cast the veil of oblivion over all the past, to open again the gates of Carlton House for her reception, and to crush all future curiosity as to the interior, by a suppression of all complaint on either side. This never will be considered by a discerning people as any humiliation on the part of the Prince. Magnanimity and humanity will be attributed to him by all. Every good and rational man will rejoice at seeing such a tombstone closing all these cruel dissensions, and this evident sacrifice of his former feelings will be gratefully accepted by a public, who now may consider itself affronted by the little value the Prince may appear to pay to its opinions and judgment.

In case of the Princess's restoration and readmission into the Royal Family at Windsor, the Prince seems exposed to increased difficulties, even to more alarming embarrassments. One trembles to think what a sensation may be created at any hour by the mistaken zeal, or malicious effort, of any individual in either House of Parliament. There is no guessing to what height the storm may rise against those who, from supposed motives of their own, make use of influence with the Prince, and will be considered as opposers of the general wish, and enemies to the real interests of his Royal Highness.

Though I do not only believe, but *know*, how innocent Mrs. Fitzherbert is of all that may be imputed to her on that head, yet I solemnly declare I consider her situation as becoming most perilous. Measuring, as I fancy I do, the feelings and dispositions of many of the lower classes of the people, I hardly have a doubt that, with half the mischievous ability of a Lord George Gordon, Mrs. Fitzherbert might at any hour be liable to insult and danger not only in the streets, but also in her own house.

Should the Princess be so ill advised as to refuse the generous offer, nay even pause upon it, the real friends of his Royal Highness will no longer be under anxiety for his vindication, or for the revival of his popularity. The tables will be instantly turned against her, and she will be left without an advocate.

Under the admission that the Princess cannot be expelled from the Royal Palace at the accession of his Royal Highness to the throne of England, it surely is worth considering whether *then* her restoration to her condition in the world will not appear as the effect of compulsion, not of choice, losing thereby all its grace and advantage, and serving to continue the present ill humour; and further whether his Royal Highness is not imperiously called upon to well weigh the difference of his being carried to that height on the unfeigned zeal and affections of his people, or amidst their grumbling discontents; introducing at the same time, by a domestic schism, a principle of perpetual weakness to his own government.

Endorsed by the Earl of Carlisle: Copy of a paper sent to the Prince of Wales.

George, Prince of Wales, to Lord Carlisle.

1808, Nov. 11, London.—A thousand, thousand thanks, my dear Lord Carlisle, for your kind letter and flattering recollection of me, which I only found this moment on my return to London, or I should immediately have returned an answer together with my best acknowledgments to you. I do assure you, my dear friend, that in the very little it has been in my power to do, towards Frederick,* to evince the goodwill and friendship I must ever feel most sincerely for him, that little (and which is far short of what my wishes must always lead me to) has not in this instance in the least proceeded from the high and affectionate regard and esteem which I ever must profess for yourself personally, as well as for those that are belonging to you, but from his own excellent and most amiable qualities both of heart and mind, and which, upon living with him, and knowing him, render it impossible not to feel the deepest interest in his welfare, and not to love him, and which I do acknowledge to you that I do most sincerely. Your making no mention of your own health, my dear Lord, encourages me to hope and to flatter myself, that it not only has continued throughout the summer, since your departure from London, but that it now is established in that perfect state which it must ever be the truest wish of all your friends, (amongst which I must be allowed to mention the writer of this letter as not one of the least of your friends and wellwishers) that it should, and that it will permanently be, and continue to be. I will not now intrude any longer upon you, but, desiring you to present my best respects to Lady Carlisle, and my love to Morpeth and dear G.,† if they are with you, subscribe myself, my dear Lord,

Your very sincere and affectionate friend,

George P.

——————— to Lord ———————.

1808, Nov. 23, St. Valeri, Bray, Ireland.—My most grateful thanks are due to your Lordship for your extreme goodness in sending me your admirable pamphlet. I have read it with great satisfaction. I sincerely hope that the excellent hints which it contains may be attended to. If they should, the English stage may be saved. At present it is in imminent danger. Its great stays, Shakespeare, Jonson, Otway, &c., are banished, and "tinsel pantomime" has ursurped their place.

If the manager cannot be tempted to contract his plan, may he not be, in some degree compelled to do so? The patent may be withheld, if the space occupied by the theatre should exceed certain dimensions. The Sovereign, whose servant the manager is, may mark its limits.

As little injury as possible should, however, be done to the interest of the proprietor. He might be directed to average the (probable) annual profits on the receipts of a house of a certain magnitude, and be compensated by Parliament for any loss he might sustain by diminishing it. If Parliament should deem the amusement of the people beneath its notice, surely the Theatre, as a school of morality, has some claim to its encouragement and protection. "Plays," says an old prologue, "are moral rules made entertaining." Amongst the ancients the stage was a concern of the State.

Most highly do I approve of your Lordship's idea of reviving the office of Ædile. If the Legislature be indifferent to the appearance of the metropolis, it should, undoubtedly, watch over the lives and

* Major the Hon. Frederick Howard, killed at Waterloo.

† Lady Gertrude Howard.

properties of the inhabitants, or at least, provide, or imperiously suggest, means of protecting them against the ravages of fire. No building public or private should be raised, but under the superintendence of, or according to a plan approved of by, a magistrate similar to the Ædile of ancient Rome. Every precaution against fire should be used. Timber should as much as possible be excluded from staircases. Nor should the floors of warehouses, or the apartments in private houses appropriated to children and servants, be floored with wood; tiles, bricks, or stucco should be substituted. This, with a narrow division between the houses, might serve at least to stop the progress of fire. To guard completely against it is impossible. But even a short interruption to the spreading flame might afford time to save lives and properties.

Since the segment of a circle cannot be adopted, the form which your Lordship would give to the new theatre is certainly the best that could be devised. The theatre at Parma, as described by Addison, might furnish some hints in regard to sound. Pains, I trust, will be taken to guard against the accident of fire, so that he who goes to the theatre "shall not (to borrow your Lordship's forcible language) in so doing walk into his tomb." Corridors and staircases of stone, I would most heartily join in recommending. And I think that in every possible case where iron could be substituted for wood, it should be used. To the roof particular attention should be paid. In the case of fire, the great danger lies there, for universal destruction attends its fall. If iron could not be used in the construction of the roof, might it not be employed in its support? In order to afford the means of speedy escape, there should be several doors opened outwards, or, as the ancients expressively termed them, *vomitoria*. Vid. Rt. Honble. W. Conyngham's Memoir on the Theatre of Saguntum—Trans. of the Royal Irish Academy for 1789.

Perhaps the whole building should be *isolated* like the opera-house of Bordeaux. Thus circumstanced, it could not either catch fire from or communicate it to any neighbouring building; besides the great advantage in admitting of many entrances, and affording a space for carriages to drive round.

Such are the ideas that arose in my mind on reading your Lordship's excellent pamphlet. I have not the vanity to think that I have thrown out any hint that could be of use on the present occasion; but I consider it a duty incumbent upon me, to bestow steady attention upon any subject to which your Lordship may do me the honour to direct my notice.

Having taken a general view of the pamphlet, I shall proceed to offer a few particular remarks.

Incomplete.

Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh.

[1809.]—The following is a Statement of the Course of that Transaction, upon a misapprehension of the leading facts of which Lord Castlereagh's letter appears to have been founded.

It is perfectly true, that so long ago as Easter, Mr. Canning had represented to the Duke of Portland the insufficiency (in his opinion) of the Government, as then constituted, to carry on the affairs of the country under all the difficulties of the times; and had requested that unless some change should be effected in it, he might be permitted to resign his office. It is equally true that, in the course of the discussions which arose out of this representation, it was proposed to Mr. Canning and accepted by him, as the condition of his consenting to retain the

Seals of the Foreign Office, that a change should be made in the War Department.

But it is not true, that the time at which that change was ultimately proposed to be made was of Mr. Canning's choice, and it is not true that he was party or consenting to the concealment of that intended change from Lord Castlereagh.

With respect to the concealment, Mr. Canning, some short time previous to the date of Lord Castlereagh's letter, without the smallest suspicion of the existence of any intention on the part of Lord Castlereagh to make such an appeal to Mr. Canning as that letter contains, but upon information that some misapprehension did exist as to Mr. Canning's supposed concurrence in the reserve which had been practised towards Lord Castlereagh, transmitted to one of Lord Castlereagh's most intimate friends, to be communicated wherever he might think proper, the copy of a letter addressed by Mr. Canning to the Duke of Portland in the month of July, in which Mr. Canning requests, "in justice to himself, that it may be remembered, whenever "hereafter this concealment shall be alleged (as he doubts not it will) "against him, as an act of injustice towards Lord Castlereagh, that it "did not originate in his suggestion—that so far from desiring it he "conceived, however erroneously, Lord Camden to be the sure channel "of communication to Lord Castlereagh; and that up to a very late "period he believed such communication to have been actually made."

The copy of this letter, and of the Duke of Portland's answer to it, "acknowledging Mr. Canning's repeated remonstrances against the concealment," are still in the possession of Lord Castlereagh's friend.

The communication to Lord Camden, to which this letter refers, was made on the 28th of April, with Mr. Canning's knowledge, and at his particular desire. Lord Camden being the near connection and most confidential friend of Lord Castlereagh, it never occurred to Mr. Canning, nor was it credible to him till he received the most positive asseverations of the fact, that Lord Camden had kept back such a communication from Lord Castlereagh.

With respect to the period at which the change in the War Department was to take place, Mr. Canning was induced, in the first instance, to consent to its postponement till the rising of Parliament, partly by the representations made to him of the inconveniences of any change in the middle of a Session; but principally from a consideration of the particular circumstances under which Lord Castlereagh stood in the House of Commons after Easter; circumstances which would have given to his removal, at that period of the Session, a character which it was certainly no part of Mr. Canning's wish that it should bear.

Mr. Canning, however, received the most positive promise that a change in the War Department should take place immediately upon the close of the Session. When that time arrived, the earnest and repeated entreaties of most of Lord Castlereagh's friends in the Cabinet were employed to prevail on Mr. Canning to consent to the postponement of the arrangement.

At length, and most reluctantly, he did give his consent to its being postponed to the period proposed by Lord Castlereagh's friends, viz., the termination of the Expedition then in preparation. But he did so, upon the most distinct and solemn assurances, that, whatever might be the issue of the Expedition, the change should take place at that period; that the seals of the War Department should then be offered to Lord Wellesley (the person for whose accession to the Cabinet

Mr. Canning was known to be most anxious) ; and that the interval should be diligently employed by Lord Castlereagh's friends in preparing Lord Castlereagh's mind to acquiesce in that arrangement.

It was therefore matter of astonishment to Mr. Canning, when, at the issue of the Expedition, he reminded the Duke of Portland that the time was now come for his Grace's writing to Lord Wellesley, to find that so far from the interval having been employed by Lord Castlereagh's friends in preparing Lord Castlereagh for the change, the same reserve had been continued towards him, against which Mr. Canning had before so earnestly remonstrated. Being informed of this circumstance by the Duke of Portland, and learning at the same time from his Grace, that there were other difficulties attending the promised arrangement of which Mr. Canning had not been before apprised, and that the Duke of Portland had himself come to a determination to retire from Office, Mr. Canning instantly, and before any step whatever had been taken towards carrying the promised arrangement into effect, withdrew his claim for its execution, and requested the Duke of Portland to tender his (Mr. Canning's) resignation, at the same time with his Grace's, to the King. This was on Wednesday the 6th of September, previously to the Levee of that day.

All question of the performance of the promise made to Mr. Canning being thus at an end, the reserve which Lord Castlereagh's friends had hitherto so perseveringly practised towards Lord Castlereagh, appears to have been laid aside. Lord Castlereagh was now made acquainted with the nature of the arrangement which had been intended to have been proposed to him.

What may have been the reasons which prevented Lord Castlereagh's friends from fulfilling the assurances given to Mr. Canning, that Lord Castlereagh's mind should be prepared, by their communications, for the arrangement intended to be carried into effect; and what the motives for disclosure to Lord Castlereagh, after that arrangement had ceased to be in contemplation ; it is not for Mr. Canning to explain.

This appears to have been written with a "pen and stylographic manifold writer." Endorsed: Statement.

Lord Carlisle to the Prince Regent.

1812, Feb. 10, Gros[venor] Place.—Sir,—With a most grateful recollection of the flattering protection, with which you honoured my son Frederick, and under the strong conviction that neither in thought, word, or deed, he has ever intentionally done anything to forfeit your good opinion and favour, I feel courage when I advance his name to your R. Highness's notice, and humbly suggest the advantage that will accrue to him should you, Sir, condescend to place him upon the list of your Aides-de-Camp ; conceiving his rank in the Army does not preclude him from this honour, it having been acceded to the pretensions of Lord Forbes.

In order to render this interruption as little irksome as possible, I confine myself to this single point, and only add that I press this request on your indulgence with the anxious, but I trust pardonable, eagerness of a father.

Copy.

Lord Fitzwilliam to [Lord Carlisle].

[1819,] 18 Sept., Wentworth.—The events at Manchester have caused such a jealousy in the public mind in this neighbourhood that I find it in the contemplation of gentlemen to have a County Meeting called, not for the purpose of giving countenance or support to Hunt and his crew, but, disclaiming all consideration of them, and deprecating their measures, to confine the object of the Meeting to a serious enquiry into the proceedings of the Magistrates, which hitherto remain without their cause being explained, without their legality being shewn. The Magistrates may be able to shew urgent necessity for their activity, and sound law for their proceedings, but as yet all the public knows is the bare fact that a military body was sent to disperse an assemblage of people, without notice given to them to disperse, without the essential legal form of reading the Riot Act having taken place; at least, as yet it so appears to the public—the public has not been able to discover that it had been. These are the circumstances, this breach of positive Law, this violation of its true spirit, on an occasion when the people were exercising (whether for wise purpose or not is not the question, but they were exercising) the undoubted right of assembling. These are the circumstances that these gentlemen think, call, not for immediate condemnation or censure, but for enquiry into their truth and nature. They are besides anxious to show to the lower orders that the higher orders are watchful guardians of their rights and privileges, and, in this view of the business, are particularly anxious to have as large a number as possible of the most distinguished names of the County subscribed to the requisition to the High Sheriff to call a Meeting. I need not say that that is an irresistible reason for its being made known to you, and, therefore, forgive my troubling you. I hope it will afford me the occasion of hearing that you continue as well as you was when last I heard.—Ever yours, W. F. [Wentworth Fitzwilliam.]

Endorsed in pencil: Lord Fitzwilliam on Peterloo.*

Lord Carlisle to Lord Fitzwilliam.

[1819, Sept.].—In *confidence* to you, I can freely own my fears, that the Manchester magistrates have overstept their legal authorities, and have conducted themselves with a violence uncalled for by the provocation. In my view of the transactions (and I have only the public prints to instruct me), nothing short of the sad necessity of *firing* on the multitude can afford a justification for the *charge* of *cavalry* acting under the orders of Magistracy. The conduct of Government seems to mark downright insanity. For, observe, they rush in the first moment, before there has been time for investigation, on unqualified approbation; and when more time has been afforded to the discovery of facts, the Regent is made, in his petulant and undignified reproof, to say, even inquiry would be prejudging the question. Therefore, to acquit without examination is commendable; to demand information, reprehensible.

I am ready to admit that a more unfortunate impression could not be made on the public mind, than that the higher orders were deaf to the voices, or blind to the sufferings, of those of the lower. But am I to believe, with such unequivocal proofs to the contrary, such an impression could easily obtain? or, if it could, it would be obviated by the risking (*sic*) measure of calling a County Meeting; and of *such a county*, in such a moment of fever and irritation! Am I not to fear,

* The Manchester Reform Meeting, 16 August 1819.

that however pure may be the motives of those who promote the meeting, the result will be the raising another scaffolding of triumph for their worst enemies. The moderate will make a wretched show against the sons of anarchy in the Castle Yard.

The object to be reached by the call, I conceive to be the acquirement of knowledge of a subject, interesting to all, and now obscured by doubt and ambiguity. How is this light proposed to be obtained? By an application to Government to afford it? Will explanation from that quarter appease, or even gain credit? Will investigation be solicited through the medium of a law process by the Attorney-General? And will not this rather presume too much crime *has been* committed? Instructions to the Members to pursue the inquiry in part? If satisfaction is only to be gained at a distant period, may I not suggest the trials in the spring promise most to afford it, both as to the accused and also in respect to the Magistrates, whose vindication must depend upon a development of facts, then, and only then, likely to be cleared of misrepresentation.

You are aware that it is asserted the Riot Act *was read*; it appears however that the dispersion of the mob by the military took place before the expiration of the hour. But even on these facts you have contradictory evidence. Is it possible that the truth will be detected in the tumultuous din of such an assembly?

These are my sincere, though perhaps erroneous, opinions. I write in haste, and should not enter upon the subject at such oppressive length, was not my health improved, for which you have the kindness to express anxiety.

Copy.

PAPERS relating to "TRANSACTIONS at MANCHESTER."

1819, Oct.—1. Private Note on calling a County Meeting of Yorkshire in October 1819, to promote an inquiry into the transactions at Manchester, and the conduct of its Magistrates. (4 *pages.*)

2. Reasons for objecting to call a County of York Meeting in order to institute an inquiry imto the conduct of the Manchester Magistrates. (2¼ *pages.*)

Both in Lord Carlisle's hand (?).

GEORGE, PRINCE REGENT to [GEORGIANA, LADY CARLISLE ?].

1819, Dec. 13, Monday evening, Malbro', Kew (?).—My dearest G.,—I hear that you are arrived in this place, but it grieves me to learn that you are indisposed, and that you say that you are too much so to admit of your seeing me: this is the more vexatious to me as I am under the necessity of going to London tomorrow, and therefore shall not have it in my power to present myself at your door till after my return; in the meantime I cannot help expressing a hope that if there should be anything which my house can afford that may be acceptable to you in any way, that you will have the goodness to order it, *sans ceremonie*, to be sent to you; in doing this you will confer a real obligation, on one of the oldest and most affectionate of your friends.

GEORGE P.R.

Lord Carlisle to the Lord Chancellor [Lord Eldon].

1820, Aug. 10, Castle Howard.—My Lord,—In obedience to the resolutions of the House of Lords communicated to me by your Lordship, I presume to request you to submit to that House my acceptance of the indulgence extended to Peers who have passed their seventieth year, permitting them to absent themselves from their seats, on the proceedings to be resumed on the 17th inst., against her Majesty the Queen.

I believe I ought to add that I, upon my honour, claim this exemption from my Parliamentary duties.

Copy.

Lord Carlisle to the King (George IV.).

1820, Sept. or Oct., Castle Howard.—If any one of your Majesty's most loyal subjects could with any propriety presume to intrude upon you on the following important topics, that person who would feel himself best qualified so to do, would be one who entertains, with me, the most grateful sense of your Majesty's unvaried favour. It would be that person who has no views beyond your prosperity and that of his country; who, like me, has outlived ambition, and has not suffered avarice to take its place; to oppress your Majesty with unreasonable solicitation. That which I feel as a duty now to address to your attention, may be considered as erroneous officiousness, but I claim of your Majesty's candour and justice, not to deem it insolent interruption.

It may, Sir, never yet have been represented to you, even in the most triumphant mode of carrying the present Bill through Parliament, that the most perplexing mischiefs will not only be attendant on, but even be materially augmented by, that very success.

A very numerous body of your people, elevated above the Radical herd, look with anxious hope towards Parliament, that a change may take place in the Bill before it reaches the Throne. I need not say that their objections point to the Divorce clause, which, not being bottomed on previous Ecclesiastical process, ought not to pass into a Law. To reason with these in order to convince them of the impossibility of instituting in this case such a proceeding, we gain nothing, but that such a preliminary is indispensable, and if beyond reach, the abandonment of this clause ought to follow.

That there will be triumph, where we wish not to create it, by the removal of the clause, cannot be denied, but this will be insignificant in comparison of that raised upon the ruins and defeat of the whole measure; a consequence to which we ought to look, if the Bill in its present shape is to be persisted in. That, Sir, will be an awful moment for you and the country. Consider the countless numbers of various classes who will riot in that victory, and what increase of force the Radical may obtain, by even the show of such a union.

Allowing the Bill to pass the Upper House in its present shape, may not *any* division operate fatally to its progress through the other? Besides, during this recess, Members will have been enabled to ascertain the public sense, and your Majesty in your sagacity will decide, what reliance ought to be placed on their courage to resist it.

In the possible case of the Bill being lost, to what excesses may we not look, when half the male, and almost the whole female, population of the country will, without intending it, be flinging their weight into the Radical scale, and aiding those who have no object but plunder from Revolutionary confusion.

Is, to quell such excesses, the Army to be depended upon? In the present moment it might be unjust to doubt its steadiness; but who can answer for the continuance of it, in the uproar of licentious exultation, and with every art used to induce the soldier to join in it?

To conceal these truths would, in a Peer and Privy Counsellor (*sic*), be deemed culpable; but when personal attachment and grateful respect are added to other obligations and duties, that concealment would well deserve a harsher appellation.

With no apology to offer to your Majesty, if purity of intention and sincerity of heart afford none,

I am, sir, your Majesty's most devoted servant and subject,

CARLISLE.

If your Majesty in your condescension should ask what remedy can be opposed to such dangers, it would be too presuming to say more, than that the only one, confessedly a severe one, that promises any relief or safety, will naturally present itself, and result from your Majesty's good sense, knowledge of mankind, and of the actual state of political world.

Two copies, one in the Earl's own hand: one dated Sept., the other October.

[LORD CARLISLE] to the KING.

1820, Oct. 31, Castle Howard.—Sir,—As a Peer of Parliament, as a Privy Counsellor, and, in addition, as an individual under the strongest sense of gratitute for many marks of your Majesty's condescension and indulgence, I venture, with all humility, to approach you.

It is too late, Sir, to indulge vain lamentation over the erroneous and disastrous measures lately adopted in Parliament, and which have so agitated almost every class of your Majesty's subjects; cementing the well-intentioned with the worst-disposed, in the most unnatural union. It is also too late to deplore, that, when the two straight and simple paths, of charging High Treason, or of proceeding by impeachment, were deemed impracticable, a third so unsatisfactory and objectionable should have been resorted to; a path so little leading to the relief of your Majesty as an injured individual; to the maintenance of the Monarchial character; or to abate the raging fever of the public: at the paroxysm of which, I fear, we are not now arrived.

There is, Sir, no duty, in this awful moment, more difficult for an honest man to dispense with, than that of aiding, however feeble his endeavours may be held, the general cause, the universal safety, which now seem to be so rudely shaken.

Two, and I may also say, equal dangers are at our doors; the one springing from the defeat and rejection of the Bill, pregnant with all the mischiefs of a Radical triumph; the other, perhaps not the least, the consequence of forcing it through both Houses with small majorities, increasing the present too general sourness and discontent.

Your Majesty will observe that the ground of objection taken will not be affected even by the proof of guilt; for it solely applies to the *mode* of inquiry into that criminality. Now, Sir, the tide runs too strong for easy resistance, and hurries away with it many that the country regards with esteem and respect. Supposing a vote for the Bill should be obtained in the House of Lords against a large minority, partly of this description, I would submit to your Majesty, whether that moment might not be most seasonably laid hold of for the intervention of your Royal Prerogative of proroguing the Parliament, manifesting, through your Ministers, the motive which induced the step, your Majesty's

observance of that want of unanimity, which, in a judicial proceeding, is so particularly to be desired. This, Sir, I humbly conceive may best tend to baffle the excesses of exultation arising out of a positive rejection of the Bill. It may tranquillize the general irritated state of the public mind, recall to their senses the well disposed, though misled, and dissolve the preposterous union between them and the most wicked and seditious.

Bereft of all apology for this intrusion, if purity of intention and sincerity of heart afford none,

I am, Sir, your Majesty's most devoted servant and subject, ————.

Two copies, omitting signature; one of them being in Dr. Coombe's hand.

THE HARD CASE of Mrs. BILBY, of Bilby Hall, in the County of Lincoln, submitted to the COUNTESS OF ———— and all Ladies visiting at Brandenburg House.

[1820.]—Encouraged by the generous protection you have so nobly shewn to an injured Queen by sympathy with her under her wrongs, and by your congratulations on her narrow escape, I venture to solicit your pity and compassion towards my unfortunate condition, which, to compare small things with great, bears a close resemblance to that of our oppressed Q. of England.

Be it known, then, than I am a Widow Lady in affluent circumstances, residing in the old family mansion of Bilby, in the county of Lincoln, inconsolable for the loss of that angel of a man my late husband, as you all can easily imagine. It is no wonder that my nerves should have received the rudest shock, and that fears of fire and thieves, which I ever entertained, even under the shadow of conjugal protection, should be too much for me in my naked and defenceless condition. You will admit, under such terrors, it was most natural to provide a defender and supporter to be near at hand in case of alarm during the night season, and being confident, had dear Mr. Bilby been consulted, he would have recommended John, the coachman, for that service, in pious obedience to his wish, John was the guardian on whom I fixed to be very near me during the hours of repose.

Now, Ladies, what you will hardly believe, from this innocent care of my personal safety a thousand calumnies were spread through the neighbourhood, even to asserting John's bed was placed in my own chamber; a horrid calumny, but thank Heaven easily refuted, when I can prove that the closet where John is situated is nine feet three inches and a half distant. Thus cleared as to character, I feel how your gentle hearts will bleed when I expose to you the cruel persecutions I daily undergo. Anonymous letters without number; one containing a filthy tale about an Ephesian matron and stuff; another from a boat builder at Gainsbro' to tell me the polacre I ordered was in great forwardness. As I hope for mercy I never gave any such order. Today I learn the tent and awning I bespoke in London are actually despatched by the Lincoln waggon. An impudent rascal, styling himself a Venetian Jeweller, hears I want to purchase a gold chain for a particular friend. But now comes the worst of all. In going into church very lately, I noticed the courtesy of the Vicar's wife was very cold and frompish, and to mark the black ingratitude of man, the parson himself, on whom the living of Bilby was conferred by my ever deplored husband, chose his text from the 9th Chapter 2nd Book of Kings, *And the driving is like the driving of Jehu, the son of Nimshi, for he driveth furiously;*

and as I am a Christian woman, the whole congregation arose and stared into my pew. To add to these enormities, John, blubbering and sobbing, just now tells me they have nicknamed him the Baron Jehu, and he does not dare go to the alehouse.

In these embarrassments, and a victim to such oppression, I have no choice but to fly the country, and seek for justice in a metropolis, from which prejudice is ever banished, where party violence is so seldom known to pervert the opinions and vitiate the judgments of the other sex, and where, should this ever happen, ladies like yourselves will be found to revise their decisions and snatch innocence out of the claws of unfeeling Judges, and for the future check the impertinent curiosity of all Attorney Generals, who might better employ themselves than by poking their great wigs under tents and awnings, to their utter shame and disgrace.

I have now, dear Ladies, only to implore you to extend a little of the same charity with which you have so generously sustained a Queen, equally immaculate with myself, and suffer me to hope that all your carriages will be seen at No. 32 Mansfield St., and calling at my door; and thus by only holding up and unfolding my visiting book, I may silence all my accusers, and by that simple act use it, like Medusa's head, to convert the parson, his wife, and all his congregation into stone, a just reward for their jeers and libels on my spotless reputation.

In Lord Carlisle's hand.

SUPPLEMENT.

Debts of Charles James Fox.

1773, 1780, &c.—Letters between Lord Carlisle, Charles James Fox, and others, respecting Fox's debts. There is also a paper, dated at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, 2 Dec. 1773, relating to this subject.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Sept. 9, Saturday, Richmond.—I lay in town last week, which was when I wrote to you last; I returned here the next day, that was Wednesday. I dined on Thursday at Lord Cholmondeley's, and on the evening of that day Storer, whom I found out to be in London, and who dined with me there before I set out, came down here to the *assemblée*. He lay at my house, and left me yesterday after dinner.

Tonight we meet at Lady Fawkener's, and the great annual *assemblée* at Lady Cowper's is on Monday, being a moon-light night. So by this you may have an idea of the manner in which I pass my time. *Il y a des ressources, comme vous voyez, mais avec tout cela, je m'ennuye considérablement, à l'exception de ces momens que je passe avec l'enfant.*

I do not think it will be to any purpose, that I extend this suburbal retreat beyond the next week. I must then resign my charge *à ceux qui s'en chargent d'une manière qui me met quelquefois au dèsespoir* I will do what I can to put off my engagement with my nephew, and the *homme d'affaires*, &c. at Luggershall, and set out for Castle H[oward], where I want to be, extremely.

I was a little vexed to hear Storer say yesterday that you did not much expect me. That entirely depends upon yourself, for if you should change the system and settle in London upon the opening of the Session, which I hear is to be the 26th of next month, then I should think that I might as well defer the journey; if not, I shall certainly execute my project of going, if no extreme cogent necessities oppose my setting out. All I can say is that now I shall not be prevented, either by Gloucestershire, by the shortness of the days, the severity of the weather, or anything that use[d] to terrify me. I am perfectly well, and if I was not, I believe that I should have at least as much attention paid to my condition whatever it might be with you, as in any place whatever; *j'ai dans votre amitié la plus grande confiance possible*, so as I shall have C[astle] H[oward] constantly in my view, if you stay there. It is a moral certainty that I shall go there, if no accidents happen to prevent me, which I do not foresee. Vaughan, the Duke of Newcastle's friend, who has a house the other side the River, is either dead, or at the point of death. . . .

You tell me in your last, that Hare promised you to speak to Charles. I have no great confidence, to speak the truth, in those remonstrances, or in the effect which they will produce. There is a levity of mind and conduct in a certain class of people which has destroyed all the credit that I should otherwise have given them, and which puts me quite [out] of humour whenever I speak to them; and therefore, for my own part, I shall have as little intercourse with them as possible.

Almack's is shut up I hear for two months, which will put, I suppose, a considerable sum into the hands of Mr. Martindale, especially as the Parliament meets so soon. I am impatient to see Gregg, which I take for granted that I shall do in the course of next week. Storer has said something to me about the Manor of Lanercost. . . .

[George Selwyn] to Lord Carlisle.

[1775,] Nov. 25, Saturday m[orning], at home.—I think that Lord G[ower], you, and I, are firmly of opinion that there is no reason to repent of the part which you took upon the offer lately made to you; I had occasion to know yesterday, that many more are convinced of it. For whether you have been dealt with sincerely or not, the result or issue must be the same to you, only that, if you was deceived, you will be upon better ground where you are, than in place. The manner in which you speak of your affairs, and knowing the frame of your mind and temper, makes me conclude still more, how insignificant a thing to you an employment would be, which was not very lucrative, and flattering at the same time from other circumstances. . . .

I was so interrupted at the time I wrote my two last letters, that I do not know very well what I said to you. Eyres has, I believe, withdrawn his petition; that is not bad. Storer attends very closely, and seems to have a mind to speak. I wish that he would try that ground. He could not fail doing tolerably well at least, and that would be doing well for you. All I wish in the two others is attendance; they will not refuse what you desire. I only desire it, to take off all possible objection which may be made to your importance.

March has received expresses from Scotland, which have convinced the Administration that no recommendation of theirs is of weight against his nomination to a Member for Twee[d]dale; but having shown that the Election was in his hands, and in nobody's else, he has complimented your relation, Lord Suffolk, with choosing Sir R. Keith. The Duke of Buccleugh I believe will be mortified at this, because he was in hopes, which hopes I do not, to speak the truth, take very kindly of him, that M[arch] had lost his interest by his long absence, which it is now manifest is not the case; that made me say that M[arch] was triumphant in Scotland.

I carried Mie Mie yesterday to Lady Dunmore's, who is going to Paris with her children for their education. I dined upon a chicken with Lady Holland. The things sell at Holland House very dear; the books which are to be sold are valued at 2,500*l.* I have got a few trifles.

Charles has had a very *vive* altercation with his cousin Ackland in the H[ouse] of Comm[ons]. He attacked the Militia Petition. Mr. A[ckland] attacked his *libertinage, et dissipation, et enfin sa pauvreté*, and concluded with comparing him to Cataline. By interposition these reproaches did not go *à toute outrance*. Charles defended himself well, and concluded his speech with saying, that although he felt all the disagreeable consequence[s] of poverty, he should lie down to rest without the reflection of having made so illiberal a reproach to any man, as that he was a poor (*sic*); I think he said "ungentlemanlike" too.

We shall have another week of strict attendance, and then I believe that the Opposition will not have so merry a Xmas as they expected. There is certainly no immediate prospect of a change at home, and our affairs abroad are undoubtedly better in appearance than it was expected that they would be. In my mind, it is very difficult for *les plus*

clairvoyans to determine what will become of our present Ministers, till another campaign is over. I think that there is more reason to apprehend a disunion at home from the Premier and the new Secretary,* than from any other circumstances whatsoever.

Bully looks so cheerful that I am apt to suspect that he has got up and rides behind John† in this new employment. *A propos* to our Counsellor, I found him at a table at Almack's last night writing to you. He showed me that part of the letter where he makes free with my name. But he lies damnably in saying that I was drunk. If I was, I cannot tell with what, for I was but just come from Lady Holl[an]d's, where I am sure that I drank nothing but one pint of poor rotgut claret.

Today Sir C. Bunbury, March, and Storer dine here, and I hope nobody else. Fish C[raufurd] is mightily embarrassed; he wants to be a patriot, to pay his court to Oss[ory] and Charles. But having just had a place, made so for life, he cannot *honnêtement, as they tell him*, pursue his own inclinations, which are to be well with the next Administration, but at present he has a merit with both. He votes with those who are in, and loves cordially those who are out. Richard‡ proposes to him to quit; *il n'est pas de son avis, n'ayant pas appris encore le talent de vivre sans argent. Richard s'en moque à son ordinaire, étant toujours sans souci, et sans six sols*, as the conundrum says.

Mons. de Guines gives suppers, and there is there a Mons. Tessier, *le meilleur acteur et gentilhomme qui fût jamais.* His talent at representing ten different characters in the same piece, with his different modulations of voice, both in tragedy and comedy, is very extraordinary.

Pray let me know how Lady C[arlisle] does, and little Caroline—it is pleasant to know that they are well, as all the rest. But how do they amuse themselves? Does Car behave to your mind? I have heard, besides what you told me, of a mad dog, which Gregg says came into the house, and run through the rooms. *Voilà une idée qui me glace le cœur.* It was most likely that he should have met the children, at this time of the year, in some of the rooms. Why did you not mention it, as no accident has happened? I am willing to believe what I heard Me Geoffrin say once, *que les accidens arrivent rarement.* If I did not believe that, *je passerois bien mal mon tems, éloigné, comme je suis, de ce que j'aime si tendrement.* Poor little Mie Mie has been subjected to too many. But I thank God no one *de bien fâcheux* has as yet happened to her, and this day I have a penny post letter to let me know that she has a prize of 15*l.*, of which her nurse receives in the proportion of 5 per cent. There is at present a strong flirtation between her and little Lord Holland. Did you expect to see that epithet, and that title, so soon united? I beg my compliments to Ekins, and my hearty love to all the children. I hope that I shall now soon see them, and you and Lady C[arlisle], to whom my most cordial respects. Adieu, my dear Lord. *Soyez content et heureux; vous en avez des raisons sans nombre; l'estime universelle n'en est pas la plus petite.* . . .

Address (on a separate leaf): To the Earl of Carlisle, Castle Howard, Yorkshire. *Seal (a head).* *Postmarks,* A. C., *and* 25 No. *Also stamped in red ink:* Free.

---

* Lord North and Viscount Weymouth.
† St. John. ‡ Fitzpatrick

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Dec. 2, Saturday at home.—[Touching Lord Carlisle's refusal of the Bedchamber.] . . . You have, I think, by this refusal or suspense, showed that you can preserve your independence, which I hope in all circumstances whatever you will preserve, and I think by want of impatience you will not long want a better thing than you would have had otherwise. I can but repeat what I have before said upon this, and therefore I will not bore you with it. If they are in earnest, you will not repent of the delay, for it will not be long or dangerous. If they were insincere, you would have been vexed to have been placed and left where you was first placed. . . . .

And now to your paragraph concerning Hazard. I am very sorry that I mentioned it to you, because your conceptions and apprehensions go so far beyond the real state of it. But I do not wonder or complain; all I can say is, that if you will enjoin me a total abstinence, I will consent to it, and for any time you please. March should not have given me the *bride sur le cou;* but he did, and it may be very fortunate, if you please, that no ill consequence has happened from it, for I think, if there is any difference at all between what my circumstances are now, and what they were when you left me; and from the 5th of last March, the day of that fatal overthrow, after which I was tied up; I say, if there is any difference, it cannot be of more than two or three hundred pounds, and these in my favour. But that I have played, and that I love play, and that I hope to win and everything of that kind, I own. But if you have any fears that this will go any length, or that I shall forget that 5th of March, or get into any great scrape, you may know me better than I know myself. There shall be an *ense recidendum*, and the account shall be closed as it now stands.

The play at present is pretty much confined, and not very deep. There are but two or three *capables de perdre*, as Affligio used to say, and these are Cholmondley, Stanley, and Stavordale; the last will, I think, one of these days have a *culbute, dont il ne reviendra pas facilement*. There is a young Lord Monson, who shows a strong propensity, and has been initiated. He has a very pretty figure, and address, and is extremely well spoke of, but I do [not] apprehend can have great opulence.

Charles struck his cousin Stavordale the other night for 300, which did not produce any fruit. I dunned him last night about Spencer's annuity, by showing him Gregg's letter to me. He said *qu'il y mettroit ordre, et il n'y songera plus*, unless you will address, petition, or remonstrate. So much for gaming and gamesters, among which (*sic*) I beg not to be ranked at present. I dread at present all the consequences of losing any considerable sum, [so] that I have flattered myself that I shall not exceed certain bounds. But if you repeat your Alas, alas, alas !* I beg to offer myself to you tied and bound, and I will not set foot into the House of Almack's or of any other where a game of chance can be found, till I see you next, and to do then what you shall in your wisdom best advise, or think most meet.

As to the Gin, Gunpowder, and Negus, all I can say is that whatever has been my regime, it agrees with me. I look handsome, and see clear, *et je mange sobrement, mais d'un très bon appétit*. No harm has as yet happened since the great disasters of last year. *Que ne nous anticipons point. Je vous donnerai bien meilleur compte de ma conduite à notre première entrevuë que vous ne pensez.* But I say

* See Jesse, III. 120.

again, if you insist upon it, *j'y renoncerai absolument et pour le grand jamais, si vous croyez voir plus de sureté en prenant ce parti, qu'en prenant celui de risquer davantage. En voilà assez pour aujourd'hui.*

I have wrote till it is quite dusk. I am going to a great dinner at Cholmondley's; *c'est un des premiers fruits de sa nouvelle succession.* My niece Lady Middleton got yesterday a prize of 1,000*l.* in the Lottery. We sat last night till 12; had two divisions. Two days more of business and then the Recess, and then I shall prepare myself *pour mon voyage.* This is too long to read over, so you must supply mistakes. . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775,] Dec. 28, Thursday night, Almack's.—I am come here to find out, if I can, through our Counsellor's* profound looks, and impenetrable circumlocutions, if he will go with me to Castle H[oward], and when. He thinks Tuesday next the most likely day, and professes himself excessively inclined, but his new office, and a consultation which he is to have upon the subject of his absence with Mr. Chambers, is, as he pretends, the immediate cause of his suspense. Sir G.† also flatters me that he will go with me as far as Ampthill. But yet I had much rather have a companion, the dullest that ever was, than be three days alone at the mercy of my low spirits. . . .

Burgoyne is come, and I came here partly to see him, and hear him talk of America, but I have not yet seen him. I have seen young Stanley, who, if he can be credited, gives me a much better prospect than I had of getting the dominion over the Rebels, by a well disciplined army next campaign. But God knows how it is to end. I must own, I think that the Government of this country will be too strong for them, if those who are at the head of it will think that this business is the principal one deserving their attention. But if they look upon it as a secondary consideration, I will not answer for the consequence. But I am on a subject which I know nothing of, so I had better leave you to your own reflections, which probably are made upon a better foundation than mine.

I have been sending today after Emily,‡ but can get no intelligence of him. Craufurd is tormenting to death everybody at Ampthill with his ennui, and his jealousies; and Lady Oss[ory], to have her revenge, is quoting passages out of Lady Holland's letters, where she talks of her dinners, of Lord R[obert?] and I dining there, and my furnishing the venison. He wants to know where I got venison. Lady H[olland] intends to fit up the house at Foxl[e]y, near Malmsbury, which is her own estate, and to make it her summer residence. She is made to believe that her son's estate will be a good 6,000*l.* a year.

Adieu. I wish this journey over; I mean only the going down. I am sure of my satisfaction at the end of it. It pains me to be here, knowing you to be alone, and it pains me to leave what nobody seems to care for but myself, perhaps myself too much, but that I cannot or wish to help. It is time to finish and seal up my letter, for John is uneasy to know what I have said of him and his intentions about going; *certès que mes sentimens ne sont pas trop flatteurs pour lui.*

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* John St. John, Surveyor General of the Land Revenues of the Crown, 1775.
† Macartney.
‡ Edward Emly, afterwards Dean of Derry.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1775?]—(*Beginning wanting.*) . . . . As I was riding here today, I met Lavie in his cabriolet. He saluted me with a *souris* (*sic*) *si gracieux, affable, suffisant et content, comme si rien n'en etoit.* He is undoubtedly one of the most impudent coxcombs I ever saw in my whole life; no words passed.

Lord and Lady Fitzwilliam come to Broket Hall tomorrow, in their way to London and to Tunbridge. They are to be in town on Wednesday, so I shall see them.

It is said that Charles's negotiation about his place has been already transacted; Jenkinson is to have it. Charles is to have 1,800*l.* a year pension, for 31 years, and this he calls directly. I hope that you will write him a letter for the 1,500*l.*, and for the redemption of the annuity. When shall I have done talking of him?—when he has paid you; and then whatever he pleases to do with the rest of his fortune, I am sure is a matter of indifference to me. But if he does not appropriate some of this intended bargain for your satisfaction, I shall look upon the debt as put off *aux calendes grecques.* I own that I lose all temper whenever I think of it. I am not quite satisfied neither in regard to Lord Stavordale. . . .

Lord Harrington and Lady Harriot come here tomorrow m[orning] to take leave of Lord and Lady Sefton in their way to Dover; they are going a six weeks' tour to Spa, &c.

Tuesday m[orning], Chesterfield Street, 2 o'clock.—Lord Harr[ington] and Lady Harriot came to breakfast, and then set out to lie at Sittingbourn; she with a swelled cheek and swelled heart, at parting from her mother and sister, and the Old Goat with a swelled hand, and nothing else; he was in great good humour. I then rode hither through Wandsor (*sic*), where there was the celebration of their septennial farce of the election of two members for Garrick. *Je n'y compris rien.* Garrick and Mrs. Garrick were at a window; a monstrous mob in the town; flags, drums, music, a stage, all kind of drolls, and pantomimes, and the face of the mob as busy, and red, and drunk, and interested as at a real election.

I have sent my coachman to Dowgate Hill with the extract of what regards Gregg, that you may have an answer as you desire by the return of the post; so I take for granted that you will receive one by the same post which brings you this. I then came here and found a letter from Lady Carlisle, and another from Sir J. Lambert; an account of which you shall have in another packet.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1777,] Aug. 3, Sunday m[orning], at home.—I went last night to Almack's after nine o'clock, to write several letters, and one principally to you. But, as it often happens when I postpone writing till I think that I shall have the most leisure, and have completed my course of intelligence for the day, I am prevented, and so do not write at all. Almack's and White's are good places, when they are full, to pick up news in, but very bad for communicating them.

Lady Ann will be at Castle H[oward] before this arrives. I was in hopes that I should have seen her yesterday, and went to Lady M[ary] Howard's for that purpose a little before her dinner time; but Lady Ann was not come, and Lady Mary was not dressed, so I saw neither of them.

I would have gone in search of Lady Ann in the evening, but I dined at Lady Lucan's with Mie Mie, and that prevented me. The little Duke of Bedford and his next brother came there to dinner from Westminster School. Lady Lucan carried them back after dinner, and I went with her two youngest daughters, Mie Mie, and Mrs. Webb, into Kensington Gardens, and there I met, to my great surprise, Sir W[illiam] Musgrave, who has lodgings at present in the Palace, and with the gout in both his feet; that is, he was stumping in the garden in black cloth shoes. I dine today at Lady Townshend's on a haunch of venison. I was asked to dine with Foley and Lady Harriet, but that does not come within my present system.

I have received your last, I believe, which came on Friday, but with no date to it. I do not like that inaccuracy, because it may sometimes be of consequence. What you say of Lord D[eerhurst] is a most melancholy truth. I have had a letter from him, and a large packet of others to forward to Lady Buckingham and the Lord knows who. I have despatched them, safer I believe, than he did Charles's, but I have as yet made him no answer. He has wrote to Williams and to L[ord ?] North[ingto]n, but we do not know, any of us, what to say to him. I desired Mr. Palmer yesterday, the Duke of Bedford's guardian, who has a weight with Lord Coventry, to reason with him about his son, who may *in some measure* be retrieved if they fall upon a right scheme. Everybody seems to be of my mind except Lord N. and his father, who seems to have no mind at all to hear any more of him.

I am against a return to the Army. It will not perhaps be permitted; it ought not to be so, but it will not succeed if it is. The country is the only place of retreat, and that for three or four years, but, in short, what have I to do with this? or what can I do in this? However, if the writing upon the subject draws off my attention from another more disagreeable, and consequently more painful to you, I do right to change the topic.

Meynel is gone, I believe, for some time, and I have heard no more of his transactions with his son. At Almack's last night—the Duke of Grafton, Lord R[obert] Sp[encer], Charles, Foley, Sir W[illiam] D[raper], Hare, Thompson, the two Craufurds, Mackaw, Lord Meilbourn, Lord Egremont, Hazard, which I left, and Hare a very great loser; what I shall hear of it today, I know not. Charles is persuaded that Richard's letter was never put into the post. I think it as likely, if not more so, that the servant did not put it into the post, than that his Lord lost it; therefore, I would not load this boy with more than needs must.

Gregg was to meet Lord Ilchester yesterday, and he is to dine with me in a few days. You tell him, in a letter which he showed me, that you supposed that I should be too much occupied to think of that affair of Lord Ilch[ester]. My dear Lord, if I wait till my mind is free from that unhappiness and solicitude, with which it is now filled, before I do any business, I must remain in a state of inactivity and sloth, and I do not know what, to the last hour of my life. But I hope that will not be the case, but that when I have done all I can for my poor child, in this country, that I shall then search for every occupation which can divert my thoughts from so melancholy a subject, and I shall be very particularly attentive to your affairs, if there is at any time the least probability of [my] being of use to them. If I succeed, the more efficacious the balm will be.*

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* The rest of this letter is printed on p. 321 ("I am convinced," &c.).

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, Jan.] 13, Saturday m[orning], Cleveland Court.— . . . Charles Fox was the night before last attacked by two highwaymen the other side of Highgate. He fired, Andria fired, one of the highwaymen fired, but the postillions flogged on, and no harm was done. I have not seen him since.

The behaviour of the French in the Island of Jersey is universally cried out against. We are now in hopes that the Emperor will act against the Dutch, and declare for us. A report has spread that the Empress of Russia would assist them; that must be a conjecture only, for no news can be come since our rupture with them. Mr. W. thinks but of one event, which is General Conway's being sent for in a weak state of health from P. Place. If he had been in Jersey he would not have been sent for to go there.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, Jan.] 22, Monday, 2 o'clock p.m., Cleveland Court.—I am just come in from the Park, where I have been with George walking. We went to Lord Gower's, to know when he would be in town. We were told, tomorrow or on Wednesday. I left word that Lord Morpeth would not go to school till Thursday, so he would come and pay his duty to him. . . . My nephew Tommy was with me yesterday, and made an agreement with him, that when he went to Eton, his second son, who would, probably, be then at the head of the school, should take him under his care, and George should in return protect his third son, between whom there is the same disparity of years.

Yesterday Jack Townshend came *pour me demander à dîner*, and also *de la part de ses amis*, Lord Edward and Hanger. The Duke of Queensberry also dined with me, and stayed at table till near nine. We were in the apartment next the Park, so we had no intercourse with the children. Today I expect letters from abroad, [and] from Gloucester without number. The Miss Selwyns come and stay the evening with me, so I shall go out no more.

Tomorrow the House meets again, and the racket of faction is to be renewed. Messages from the Crown, enquiries, complaints, addresses, and perhaps impeachments, and Lord Robert brought into Parliament by the D[uke]* his brother, and voting against the Government. The D[uke] says that he cannot now give one third to his own younger children, of what he has given to his two brothers, who have left him to be seduced by Charles F[ox]. Here is a Fox running off from Marlborough House a second time with their geese, as the old Duchess used to say. Our friend Trustee makes no figure on this occasion; the party which he espouses thinks him duped; and that he leaves abuses him, because he would, willingly, have kept his place, and by not being in Parliament, and so under no necessity of voting, have been as hostile in other respects, as he pleased. *Cette conduite n'est pas digne d'un homme de qualité, ou de qui connoit le point d'honneur.* . . .

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, Feb.]—About 300 of the Americans in St. Eustache made a resistance, according to an account which came from Rodney yester-

* Of Marlborough.

day, but they were soon silenced. All this does little more as yet than pay Rodney's debts, if so much. I shall be very much out of humour with the Ministry if they do not gratify this man to the utmost; no officer ever had the merit which, by accident, he has with his country at this juncture.

I played last night at whist with Storer, but am tired of losing continually at it. I am in no form above George. I have held a small Pharo bank to Lord Ailsford, Offley, and two or three more, on a night, at two guineas a card, and have picked up, by 50*l.* at a time, a few hundreds. I have played at nothing else. I shall keep to this trade, once my better guide, as long as it is confined to such a small circle. If it is likely to proceed further, I shall cut it, as I have done all other play, and Brooks's. I cannot sup; what with the hot bath, opiates, and bark, I [am] in a very strict regime. Potts assures me that these spasms will go off, and that the passage is unhurt, strict only. But *pour le moment*, I am at times in great pain. I will tell Storer what you say; I have called upon Bob, and desired Bory to bring him to my house, and he shall lie in my room and eat at my table till he becomes quite domesticated. I abominate his attachment to the house independent of the persons. Bory is going directly to Chesterfield Street. Pray send me a better account of my poor little Louisa.

On Friday Dr. Barnard dines with me, and I shall ask Mr. Gibbon to meet him. There is tonight a great rout at Lady Harcourt's, but I shall not be able to go. . . . Sir Alexander Craufurd's promotion is in the Gazette, and Lady Craufurd will, I take for granted, be soon in town to receive the satisfaction of her new honours.

Four o'clock.—I must now go to the House, and from thence, if I can, I will go to dine at Offley's, and before I leave that street call on Lady Mary.

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781, June 13.]—(*Continuation of letter on pp.* 497, 498.) . . . . coming here by compulsion . . . . I met the Duke of Hamilton, who told me that he had received a letter from his sister. Lady C[arlisle, Dowager's] quarrel with Lady Rivers is, for having given her advice to send away her Baron, and to return hither; and being also a friend to Dr. Warner, whom I suppose she hates like poison. . . . Lord Talbot, as I was told this morning, is going very fast; so indeed it has appeared to me, for some time. Lord Macartney told me that Lord Weymouth had a promise of one of those sort of offices. He seems at present to grow more than ordinarily peevish. The company which he has to sit with him, for one third of his time at least, does not seem calculated to enliven him, or make his life much more joyous. He does not in my mind merit much esteem or compassion; whatever happens to him, *c'est un charactère qui n'est pas des plus respectables.*

[George Selwyn to Lord Carlisle.]

[1781,] June 24, Sunday m[orning], Streatham, in the Garden.—I dined yesterday at Gregg's; Lord Ravensworth, Storer, a Mr. Owen of the H[ouse] of Commons, Dr. Gemm, and I. Gregg lives admirably well; he has been here this morning to make me a visit. . . .

I should like to be here for the rest of the summer, if this house and place were my own, or even if I had any certain tenure in it; but as a lodger it is uncomfortable. Mr. and Mrs. Goldsmith are the two

civillest people in the world, but they are like your Volunteers---they have not my commission to be so.

Storer flattered me yesterday that he would come and dine here, nay, that he would bring his own sheets and lie here, and I should be glad if he did. But how far it will be right in me to take up the Duchess's rooms, I cannot tell, and the doubt makes it unpleasant. He looks but poorly, but he was in good spirits. He told me that he had heard from you.

I hope that you will not have cause to be dissatisfied if you have none to be obliged; of that you are in no danger from Lord N[orth]. His son talks of being with you in about a month. The D[uke] of Q[ueensberry] may also dine here today; I think it rather probable that he will. I have told him to bring with him anything he can, from a brown loaf to a bone of mutton. But I have a very good citizen's dinner of ham and chickens, and here are roses in plenty and perfection, and I feel no difference between these, and those I relinquished by not going to Matson, except that these are not my own; which circumstance, let philosophers reason as they please, makes an essential difference.

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